Baruch Margalit

The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT

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Dedicated to the
memory of my father
חַיִּים־זְאֵב ב״ר בָּרוּךְ
[1913 – 1980]

and תבל״א to my
wife Bina
אֵשֶׁת חֵן וְחוֹנֶנֶת דַּעַת

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Haifa, January 1988 Baruch Margalit

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Abbreviations

ACIO	Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Orientalisti
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (1965 – 81)
ANE	Ancient Near East
ANEP	J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament* (1954)
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament* (1950; ^{2}1955; ^{3}(1969)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AuOr	Aula Orientalis
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1907/1966)
BOS	U. Cassuto, *Biblical and Oriental Studies* (ed. I. Abrahams), 2 vols. (1973 – 75).
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CAD	*The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (1956 –)
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (1956)
CML^{2}	J. C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (1978)
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques...*, (1963), 2 vols.
DN(N)	divine name(s)
EA	(t.) El-Amarna (tablets)
GN(N)	geographical name(s)
HAL	W. Baumgartner *et al.*, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexicon z. Alten Testament* (1967 –)
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society (of Columbia University)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
KAI	H. Donner – W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (1952 – 64). 3 vols.
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, *Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit* (1976)
LC^{2}	J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan* (2nd. ed., 1966)
Lex. Syr.	K. Brockelman, *Lexicon Syriacum* (1928/1966)
MHeb	Middle (Talmudic) Hebrew
MLC	G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (1981)
MLD	B. Margalit, *A Matter of 'Life' and 'Death'* (AOAT 206 [1980])
OLP	*Orientalis Louvainiensis Orientalia*
Or	Orientalia

O. T.	Old Testament (= Hebrew Bible)
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PN(N)	personal name(s)
P(NW)S	Proto-(Northwest)-Semitic
RANE	I. Mendelssohn, ed., *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (1955)
RB	Revue Biblique
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
RIH	Ras Ibn Hani
RLA	*Reallexicon der Assyriologie*
RS	Ras Shamra (= Ugarit)
RSP	L. Fisher, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels* (1972–75). 3 vols.
SP	J. C. De Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu* (1971)
SVT	see s. v. VTS
TO	A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques: Mythes et Légendes* (1974)
UF	Ugarit – Forschungen
UG	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar* (1940)
UH	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (1947)
UIR	G. D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect* (1981)
UL	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (1949)
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1967)
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplementum
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch d. Ugaritischen Sprache* (^{2}1965; ^{3}1969).
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenland Gesellschaft

'... 'tis about a lad,
a lass,
and a bow.'

Introduction

I

At a symposium marking the fiftieth anniversary of Ugaritic Studies held at the University of Wisconsin in February, 1979, one which I had the privilege to address, Professor Dennis Pardee, in his rôle as panelist, concluded a talk with the following observation:

> "I would like to suggest that the next step that we owe the scholarly community is reasoned commentaries of the Ugaritic texts – somewhat like the biblical commentaries... I think we are getting to the point now where we need 300- or 400-page commentaries to the Aqht legend, or the Baal-Anat cycle".[1]

This statement fell on my receptive ears and, in retrospect, was the spark which ignited the process of research, organization, and composition culminating nearly a decade later in the present work.

For shortly before the symposium, I had completed a monographic study of the *Baal-Mot* epic (KTU 1.4 – 5 – 6) which was published a year later as AOAT 206.[2] The monograph stopped short of constituting a full-scale commentary, but the thought of such a work had entered my mind at the time. I was daunted however by the fact that no such work had ever been written, and by the doubt as to whether it was possible, or even desirable to write one.

Various factors delayed commencement on the present *Aqht* commentary[3] until the end of 1981, when a Sabbatical leave and a *séjour d'étude* (courtesy of the French Foreign Ministry) at the *Collège de France* enabled a leisurely examination of the first and third *Aqht* tablets in the Dept. of Oriental Antiquities at The Louvre. The final sentences of the manuscript were written nearly six years later, though several articles based on ongoing researches were published in the interim, notably in UF 15 and 16.

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[1] G. D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect and Prospect: 50 Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic* (Winona Lake, 1981): 191.

[2] B. Margalit, *A Matter of 'Life' and 'Death': A Study of the Baal-Mot Epic* (CTA 4 – 5 – 6) [Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1980].

[3] The decision to choose *Aqht* was made fairly soon after the symposium. Pardee's mention of *Aqht* as the first of two plausible choices may suggest that he too considered it a good choice for a beginning.

Although it draws on, and occasionally reproduces, some of these earlier publications, the present work is an integrated unity rather than a collection of essays or disparate discussions on various aspects of the poem. It is structured, and intended, as a Commentary in the fullest and strictest sense of the term, despite the fact that, as the first of its kind in Ugaritic studies, there is no convenient yardstick by which to take its measure. The word 'Commentary' brings to mind Biblical studies, and Pardee's comments quoted above invite comparison with such series as *Anchor Bible* and *Biblischer Kommentar*.

I do not fear such a comparison. But the reader and critic must bear in mind that a Commentary on a Ugaritic text cannot be adequately appraised using a Biblical standard of measure exclusively. One can give a dozen reasons, but surely the most significant as well as obvious one is the fact that Biblical Commentaries can, and do, draw on nearly two millennia of exegesis and hermeneutic, both ancient and modern, faith-predicated and midrashic as well as scholarly and critical. The task of the Biblical commentator (O. T. and N. T.) is more a task of selection and presentation than one of seeking solutions of explication and interpretation. Although there are some notable (as well as notorious) exceptions, one does not generally find a great deal of 'originality' in the standard Biblical commentaries. This conforms as well to the prospective reader's expectations.

This situation does not apply to the field of Ugaritic studies where, even today, nearly six decades after the first publications of the epochal discoveries at Ras Shamra, much uncertainty as well as controversy prevails even at the most basic level of explication, not to mention interpretation, of the texts. Exegesis no less than hermeneutic remain at issue in many cases. Consequently, any Commentary on a Ugaritic text, and on one of the major epics *a fortiori*, will necessarily bear a strong imprint of 'originality' (for better or for worse) and will contain explanations and interpretations which cannot, and do not, claim to represent a scholarly consensus. In this respect a Ugaritic Commentary cannot entirely avoid being a 'monograph'.

If the label 'Commentary' is appropriate nonetheless for the present work, it is because of its claim to be comprehensive, dealing with all of the major, and most of the minor, issues relating directly and indirectly to the chosen text. The one area which some scholars may consider neglected is the strictly 'grammatical' (as distinct from the 'philological'). However, even in such detailed Biblical commentaries as the ICC and the BK, discussions of strictly grammatical and linguistic questions are a rarity. Be this as it may, the present work makes no claims to having advanced scholarly knowledge in this area (although the student of

comparative Semitics and Ugaritic grammar may wish to revise a particular opinion as a result of the philological treatment of a word or passage).

II

A literary text of narrative content must answer three questions before its communicative purpose may be considered achieved: what does it say (or report)?; how is it said (or reported)?; why is it (so) said (or reported)? This hermeneutic requirement stems from the nature of narrative as

> "a functional structure, a means to a communicative end, a transaction between the narrator and the audience on whom [it] wishes to produce a certain effect by way of certain strategies..."

whence it follows that

> "our primary business as readers is to make purposive sense of it, so as to explain the *what*'s and the *how*'s in terms of the *why*'s of communication."[4]

These are the three questions we have consistently and persistently put to the Ugaritic poem known as *Aqht*: to describe, analyse, and interpret the textual and narrative data in a manner at once detailed and comprehensive, closely as well as broadly focused; the trees as well as the forest (and, not least, the singing birds therein). At once analytical and synthetic, this study of one of the three major epic poems of Ugaritic literature seeks to be definitive as well as enlightening.

Such an undertaking entails, at bottom, the awareness that in Ugaritic poetry the 'what' and the 'how', and occasionally even the 'why', are closely – at times inextricably – intertwined. We consider it axiomatic that a proper understanding of *what* the poet is in fact saying, at the basic as well as at the higher levels of discourse, presupposes on the part of the reader a thorough grasp of the technical devices and literary conventions which (s)he uses to convey the message.[5] What grammar is to normal linguistic communication, prosody – in the widest sense – is to the poetry of Ugarit; and the techniques of this poetry, its prosodic principles and conventionalized rules, must be properly con-

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[4] M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985): 1.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, 9: "... communication presupposes a speaker who resorts to certain linguistic and structural tools in order to produce certain effects on the addressee; the discourse accordingly supplies a network of clues to the speaker's intention ... [Intention] is a shorthand for the structure of meaning and effect supported by the conventions that the text appeals to or devises.".

ceived and assimilated in order for the literary contents to reveal their gem-like qualities.

Once revealed, the 20th century scholar cannot but stand in awe at the level of literary and philosophical achievement attained by the Canaanite poets of the Late Bronze Age. They are arguably the first people in recorded history to have developed a literary sensibility, a sense of literature as art, as a consciously cultivated medium for providing at once a mirror-image and an X-ray exposure of Life. At its best – and the poem of *Aqht*, despite its regrettably truncated form, is Ugaritic literature at its best – this poetry reflects a pitifully honest, no-holds-barred confrontation and grappling with the ultimate Illusion which is the Meaning of Life. It does this by means of a lavish use of irony – now comic, now tragic, now caustic; by infusing the subtleties of word-play, deliberate ambiguity, and even the occasional riddle; above all, by a close and fascinated observation of human experience leading to profound, often bemused, reflections on the 'human condition', yet disciplined by a sophisticated aesthetic and a literary craftsmanship which keeps it from degenerating into the explicitly didactic and the 'preachy'. It is a mark of poetic genius that the close reader of *Aqht* must find himself frequently on the verge of tears, occasionally without the certainty as to whether they be tears of laughter or of pain, or both.

In these as well as other respects, Ugaritic-Canaanite literature is second only to that of the Classical Greeks who may be considered the spiritual, if not also historical progeny of the LB Canaanite bard. The story of *Aqht* in particular is, in my opinion, unrivalled in its poignancy and dramatic qualities in the pre-Greek Near East. It is one of the 'strategic aims' of this study to bring the reader to acquiesce in this judgement.

III

The organizational structure of the present work has been determined largely by the aforesaid objectives of analysis and synthesis, with attention to formal and structural elements as well as to matters of theme and ideology. The Table of Contents speaks for itself, except for the largest chapter entitled 'Literary Commentary'. The latter contains the sum of our understanding of the story and its underlying 'philosophy', as well as an exposition of the main literary devices which inform the poet's craft at each stage of the drama. Here too the reader will find, at irregular intervals, several EXCURSES on various questions and problems, including a considerable number of extended lexicographic notes. In conjunction with the text and the translation, the 'Literary Commentary' can be read as an independent, self-contained unit. The non-

specialist may wish to avail himself of this option. But (s)he too is advised to first familiarize himself with the Appendix on the Fundamentals of Ugaritic Prosody at the end of the book. As noted above, these 'rules' determine the forms of Ugaritic poetry as surely as the grammar determines the language; and it behooves us to master both if we are to gain admittance to the inner sanctum of literary enterprise and creative endeavour.

Part I

§ 1. History of Research

Ch. Virolleaud, *La Légende Phénicienne de Danel:* texte cunéiforme alphabétique avec transcription et commentaire ... [MRS I; Paris, 1936].

1.1 This volume, the *editio princeps* of the *Aqht* texts discovered by Schaeffer at Ras esh-Shamra in the excavations of 1930–31, was published together with that of *Krt* [= MRS II], thus launching a new and remarkably fruitful era of Ugaritic and O.T. research. This monumental publication, still a major landmark on the Ugaritic scene, is prefaced by the author's "Introduction à l'Étude de la Civilisation d'Ugarit", an eighty-four page essay divided into eight sections, each treating of a different aspect of the epochal finds destined to revolutionize our knowledge of virtually every facet of ancient Near Eastern civilization in the second millennium B.C.E. The transcription, translation, notes and general commentary which make up the bulk of this work are accompanied by meticulous autographs and by photographs of extraordinarily high quality and clarity which are still of enormous benefit to the serious student of Ugaritic literature.[1]

1.1.1 Nevertheless, this volume is the creation of its time. In a foreword to author's aforecited essay, the excavator C. Schaeffer clairvoyantly sensed that this essay was necessarily a pioneering first step soon to be superseded:

> « Comme l'ensemble de l'étude que M. Virolleaud a consacrée aux textes de Ras Shamra, elle a le mérite qui revient aux travaux originaux. Dans une matière aussi nouvelle et aussi difficile, on ne peut avancer que par tâtonnements successifs. Si telle solution doit être abandonnée par la suite, elle n'en aura pas moins le mérite de nous avoir faire un pas en avant. »[2]

This statement, which applies to Virolleaud's translation and commentary on *Aqht* as well as to his essay, is also true of all the early pioneering works of Ugaritic specialists in the decade which followed publication

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[1] Virolleaud's autographs and photographs are photostatically reproduced in Herdner's CTA. But the scale of the autographs is reduced and the quality of the photographs is inferior to that of *Danel*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

of the present work, works interrupted and impeded by the tragic events of a war-torn Europe.

1.2 Of the essay itself, only § IX: *La Bibliothèque de Ras Shamra* (pp. 78 ff.) is of interest to us here. Author touches briefly on a number of questions which are still relevant for the study of *Aqht*.

1.2.1 *Date of Composition:* Basing himself on the colophons occasionally found in the major poems – including *Aqht* (end of 1.17) – V. concludes that they were all written and composed by a single scribe named Ilimilk who lived in the mid-14th cent. B.C.E. But he is cognizant of the possibility that the legendary materials which they comprise may be centuries older: "Il semble bien ... et dans certains cas il apparaît évident que ces légendes datent d'une époque beaucoup plus ancienne que le temps d'El Amarna ... probablement plusieurs siècles ..."[3]

1.2.2 *How, and in what form, did these legendary traditions reach Ras Shamra?* The very question presupposes, in my view correctly, that these traditions are not native to the city-state of Ugarit founded in the early MB period, some five hundred years before the texts. Author offers two possibilities, in the belief that the discovery and publication of additional texts as well as further study will enable a decision: (1) Ilimilk merely transcribed into alphabetic cuneiform ancient texts which subsequently disappeared (an hypothesis which incidentally contradicts author's aforementioned view of Ilimilk as both writer and composer!); (2) Ilimilk composed the works, taking his inspiration from legends transmitted orally for a long time by Canaanites.

1.2.2.1 With the benefit of fifty years' hindsight, it may be said that barring some windfall discovery of a unique nature – such as a Ugaritic legend in non-Ugaritic script at (*e.g.*) t. Dan or t. Oreimeh – it is doubtful whether a choice can be made between these alternatives. However, insofar as *Aqht* is the measure, it seems clear that the Ugaritic poet has in fact drawn on ancient lore originating in northern Canaan and northern Transjordania (Golan-Bashan), the former homeland of the ruling class of Ugarit as originally surmised by V. and his French colleagues, albeit for insufficient and generally mistaken reasons.

1.2.3 *The Nature and Quality of the Language of the Texts:* Author characterizes the language of the texts as one of 'extreme simplicity and great poverty', cognate with ancient Hebrew (especially in matters of vocabulary) and considered the language of the 'Phoenicians' in the 14th

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

cent. reign of Amenophis IV/Akhenaton. Author's interests are mainly if not exclusively (religio-) historical and philological. One searches this volume in vain for an understanding, much less an appreciation, of the poetic and literary artistry of the texts generally, and of *Aqht* in particular.

2.1 The major part of this work [pp. 85 – 242] is devoted to "La Légende de Danel", headed by a thirty-five page 'Introduction'. The stated aim of this part is [p. 86] "avant tout, sinon uniquement, une étude épigraphique et philologique" with a view to establishing with maximum precision the text itself, accompanied by detailed analysis and commentary. Author's purpose is indeed admirably achieved in this volume even if the philology, understandably, reflects the period when Ugaritic studies generally were still in their infancy. But if author's translations and interpretations are today mainly of historical interest, they contain on occasion some illuminating insights, to be noted below.

2.1.1 The most serious deficiency of this work from a philological viewpoint, and the main reason why its overall interpretation of *Aqht* became dated fairly soon after publication, is the mistaken ordering of the tablets. To be sure, we are informed at the outset [p. 85 f.] that the sequence adopted for the tablets is 'purely provisional' and simply in accordance with their respective lengths and in descending order. However, it is clear to the reader that this decision was taken *faute de mieux* – "on ne saurait, pour le moment, songer à les rétablir dans leur suite logique, les lacunes étant très considérables, et l'échaînement des idées ou des faits nous échappent souvent même quand il s'agît d'un texte assez cohérent comme [1.19]" – and, what is more important, is not consistently heeded in the 'commentary'. Author's lengthy and detailed summary of the narrative events presupposes a belief in having ordered the tablets correctly; otherwise, there is no story to be summarized! Moreover, it seems that after completing his analysis and commentary, author became at least partially aware of his error: "il paraît probable que le no. III [= 1.18] devra être placé tout au côté du no. I [= 1.19], soit avant soit après" [ibid.]. – It was left to Cassuto two years later to recognize the correct sequence and thus to lay the foundation for a correct overall interpretation of the poem.

2.2 The publication includes four tablets: 1.17 – 1.18 – 1.19 as well as 1.20 as an appendix, here labelled '4D' but subsequently designated I Rp (= *Rephaim*). The texts are thought to have been part of a 'cycle' of Danel stories current in early 'Phoenician' tradition. However, 1.17 – 1.18 – 1.19 were from the outset recognized as forming a continuous narrative or 'story'.

2.2.1 Of the three tablets properly ascribed to the story of *Aqht*, only 1.19 (labelled by V. 'I D', i. e., first in the sequence) was found relatively well preserved. Consisting of four columns, two on each side, it measures 17.5 cm long and 11.6 cm wide.[4] It was found in 1931 on the tell itself. Text 1.17 (labelled 'II D') was found a year earlier. Originally comprising six columms (three on each side), less than two-thirds (cols. I – II; V – VI) are preserved. Text 1.18 (labelled 'III D') was found in 1931, together with 1.20. It was formerly thought to have consisted of six columns, of which only cols. I and IV (on opposite sides of the tablet: 'obverse' and 'reverse') are (partially) preserved. Subsequently, it was thought that 1.18, like 1.19, consisted of four columns only.[5] However, the present writer's investigations have demonstrated that 1.18:IV is the direct continuation of 1.18:I; cf. below, Part II § 3.

2.2.2 Paleographically, there is nothing to distinguish these texts from those of *Baal-Anat* published earlier by Virolleaud. All belong to the period of Amenophis IV/Akhenaton. This conclusion emerges clearly from 1.17 which has a residual colophon with the name [atn] *prln*, clearly the 'chief priest' whose 'disciple' (√*lmd*) Ilimilk is familiar as the scribe of the *Baal* texts 1.4 and 1.6.

3.1 *Some interesting insights and/or observations*

3.1.1 HRNMY: The word is taken as an ethnicon, formed from an otherwise unknown town or country HRNM. Dussaud[6] will subsequently surmise an identification with Eg. HRNM of *Pap. Anast.* I, an identification destined to become the scholarly consensus following Albright's brief exposition in BASOR 130 [1953].

3.1.2 *Dan'el's Kingship:* considered by Virolleaud, despite the seemingly explicit evidence of 1.19:III:46, as merely "vraisemblable". V. further remarks on the interesting fact that unlike King Krt, we are not told the name of Dan'el's kingdom. Author nevertheless assumes that Dan'el was an ancient king of Tyre, a conclusion based largely if not exclusively on Ez. 28!

3.1.3 The name AQHT – vocalized *Aqhat* in accordance with its presumed O.T. congener PN *Qehat* – is derived from √*qht* considered

[4] Thus CTA; V.'s measurements are given as 17 × 11.5.

[5] Cf. CTA, 84; TO, 40; MLC, 329. – We note in passing that tablets 1.17 and 1.19 can be seen in the Dept. of Antiquities of The Louvre museum, whereas 1.18 is on loan to the equivalent department of the British Museum.

[6] *Découvertes*, ²1941.

to be of unknown etymology, and patterned on the epitheticon ALIYN (Ba'al).[7]

3.1.4 *Pġt:* V. suggests a connection with the O.T. fem. PN *Pu'āh* (Ex. 2:15). Her main function is understood to be 'the cultivation of the wheat and vine'. She collaborates with Dan'el and is his 'best associate'. When her brother is killed, she declares herself willing to avenge him, but on her father's advice, seems to have abandoned the idea. At the conclusion of the extant text, V. believes that Pughat and Yṭpn drink the wine of reconciliation. – Except for the initial statement, there is little truth in this analysis. If we have nevertheless summarized it at some length, it is because much of this erroneous interpretation survives in scholarly publications of the sixties.

3.1.5 *Toponyms:* The references to *Ablm* and *qrt. zbl. yrḫ* are taken as self-evidently 'mythical' or 'mystical', and as denoting places outside of Dan'el's realm. Thus, *apud* V., the poem of *Aqht*, unlike that of *Krt*, "n'est pas localisée". The difference is attributed to the 'different nature of the two poems' – a significant observation in itself, and too little heeded subsequently – and the fact that *Aqht* "n'a pas le caractère historique ou epique" of *Krt*. Yet the two poems are believed to share a common origin in s. Phoenicia – Palestine.

3.1.5.1 Given author's predisposition to locate the poem of *Aqht* in southern Phoenicia and (northern) Palestine, it is nothing short of amazing that the reading *bknrt* = "in the Kinnereth" in 1.19:III;41 was never even considered by Virolleaud, notwithstanding the epigraphic 'encouragement' which his own published autograph [Pl. III] provides for such a reading. Not less curious and remarkable is the fact that even after De Vaux provided a year later[8] detailed topographical and toponymic arguments in support of a setting for *Krt* in the same vicinity, it remained for the non-specialist (and American!) Barton to propose the 'Kinnereth hypothesis' for *Aqht*.[9]

4.1 *General Interpretation:*

As already noted, V's mistaken ordering of the tablets vitiates much of his interpretation of the story as a whole as well as its major particulars. Still, there are a number of noteworthy points.

---

[7] Cf. Grondahl, § 125.

[8] RB 46 (1937): 362–72; 440–47.

[9] That Barton seems to have been unaware of De Vaux's publications – despite the appearance of his own article first in the memorial volume for P. Lagrange, O.P., head of the École Biblique in Jerusalem, in turn 'home' of the RB! – was all the more reason to be favourably impressed by its conclusions.

4.1.1 V. writes [p. 109]: "Le trait le plus saillant de la légende de Danel ... c'est le conflit où se trouvent engagées ... Aqhat ... et ... Yṭpn ... le serviteur ou l'émissaire de ... Anat... Ces noms mêmes d'Aqht et Yṭpn ne fournissent aucune indication sur la nature des deux antagonistes". Author then poses a question of crucial importance, one which subsequent *Aqht*-scholarship has generally overlooked to its detriment, viz., "Qu'elles sont les causes qui les divise"? [*Ibid.*]. Despite his "analyse ... très detaillée" of the facts and figures in the story, V. confesses to not having an answer. He may be pardoned for this. Still, it is at least curious that though cognizant of Yṭpn as Anat's servant or emissary, author should have failed to see how deeply implicated Anat is in this question. The reason, one suspects, is the inability to conceive of the goddess Anat as a 'Devil-figure' who commits murder for material gain.

4.1.2 There is a good deal of the Frazerian in Virolleaud's general analysis. The lad Aqht is "entre autre choses ... mais avant tout – génie ou le dieu des moissons"; and the poem as a whole, like that of *Baal-Mot*, is a Canaanite version of a theme "dont la légende d'Adonis ... n'est que l'expression la plus récente et ... la plus achevée" [p. 110]. This approach is also destined to survive and persist in much of subsequent *Aqhtiana*.

U. Cassuto, "La Leggenda Fenicia di Daniel e Aqhat", *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nationale dei Lincei.* Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche, e Filologiche. Serie VI – Vol. XIV. Roma, 1938; pp. 264–268.

I

1.1 The stated objective of this brief communication, published two years after V.'s *editio princeps*, is to present the author's interpretation of the poem of *Aqht* in broad outline. A continuous translation and the supporting evidence were to be published elsewhere.[1] Cassuto states at the outset that his interpretation, though indebted to Virolleaud's "pre-

[1] No such comprehensive treatment was, to my knowledge, ever published by the author. An article dealing with 1.19:II:11–26 (CTA: 19:61–75) appeared in the following year in *Orientalia* 8:238–243 (= BOS II: 193–198), and a second article dealing with the list of filial duties in 1.17 was published in 1940 in REJ (N.S.) 5:125–131 (= BOS II, 199–205). This seems to be the extent of Cassuto's publications on *Aqht*, a circumstance which one cannot but regret.

gevole lavoro", diverges considerably from that of the *editio princeps*. But the article contains no explicit criticisms or argumentation.

1.2 In retrospect, it is clear that Cassuto's article marks the true beginning of *Aqht* exegesis, implicitly underscoring the limitations of the *editio princeps* in this respect. We owe to Cassuto not only the correct ordering of the tablets[2] but also a remarkably accurate and coherent reconstruction of the story which has stood the test of time. Cassuto's understanding of the narrative on the literal level remains in fact unsurpassed until Ginsberg's publications in BASOR (1945). The unpropitious circumstances of the article's publication – in Fascist Italy, on the eve of a global conflagration – doubtless deprived the article of the wider audience it so deserved and thus retarded the advance of scholarly interpretation.[3]

1.2.1 We present herewith a summary and short critique of Cassuto's interpretation of the narrative.

II

2.1 *1.17:I–II:* In the opening scene (cols. I–II) Dan'el is seen offering sacrifice to the gods in order to obtain their blessing for the birth of a son. Cassuto pointedly observes (*pace* V.) that the hero is portrayed neither as a god nor as a demigod but rather as "un semplice mortale". He also accurately notes Baal's rôle as intercessor with El on behalf of Dan'el, although he does not pose any questions nor does he draw any conclusions from this fact. In the list of filial duties, Cassuto recognizes that the list begins with the obligations of the son to his deceased father.[4]

El's favourable response to Dan'el's plea is communicated to a joyous Dan'el. Cassuto resists the temptation to cast this response in the form of a theophanic revelation. The text is silent on this matter, and so (properly) is Cassuto. Cassuto mistakenly sees the following scene in

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[2] Except for IV–D = 1.20 which Cassuto mistakenly considered as the second *Aqht* text. But this conclusion in no way vitiates his interpretation because, owing to its fragmentary state, Cassuto makes no attempt to analyze its contents. Hence there is no detriment to the reconstruction of the plot. Its position in the sequence is determined by a process of elimination. Cassuto erred in his reasoning in that he did not consider the possibility that 1.19 was only the last of the *extant* tablets, not the final tablet of the original composition.

[3] It is surprising to note that this article is not included in the posthumous translations of Cassuto's major articles collected and translated by I. Abrahams in BOS I and II.

[4] In REJ (1940) Cassuto will cite the O.T. parallel in 2 Sam. XVIII and the striking (though possibly fortuitous) similarity of diction between v. 18a^{b} and the Ugaritic text (*din. bn. lh*).

Dan'el's home as 'sacrificial' rather than 'feasting'. But he correctly understands the 'Kosharot' to be goddesses charged with the fecundity of families as well as "protettrici delle donne gestanti e dei figli nascituri".[5] This determination, confirmed some thirty years later by the polyglott texts of Ug. V, compares favourably with the subsequent consensus view of the 'Kosharot' as 'jubilantes' and 'artistes'.

2.2 *1.17:V:* Cassuto supposes that the bow brought by K-Ḫ is intended for Aqht and comes in response to a prayer by D., allegedly preserved in the fragmentary opening lines of the column. But the interpretation of lines 2–3 as a prayer by D. is precluded by the 1 c. s. form of the verbs *abl* and *ašrb*'. The ensuing banquet in honour of the artisan god is also mistakenly presumed to be accompanied by a sacrifice "per gli altri dei" who remain unidentified. Thereafter D. hands the bow to Aqht for use in the hunt.

2.2.1 Up to this point Cassuto's reconstruction of the story's plot is virtually without fault. However he goes astray in the crucial 1.17:VI, the first of two major errors of interpretation.

2.3 *1.17:VI:* Cassuto recognizes that the scene is a banquet which he supposes to have been arranged by Aqht for the gods "per impetrare la concessione di una lunga vita e di grandi successi venatorii" [p. 266]. He concludes from the ensuing dialogue between Anat and Aqht that the goddess agrees to Aqht's request and promises to enlist Baal's support in its realization. The two part amicably.

2.3.1 To be sure, Cassuto will shortly hereafter acknowledge that "per qualche motivo a noi finora ignoto, ha cambiato atteggiamento verso Aqhat e ha determinato di farlo morire".[6] But neither he nor other scholars for the next seven years will suspect that this strange *volte-face* is the result of a major misinterpretation of 1.17:VI.[7]

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[5] P. 265.

[6] P. 267.

[7] Cassuto's second major error at the end of 1.19, is also accompanied by the remark, 'for reasons unknown'. As a rule of thumb in Ugaritic philology it may be stated that whenever a translation or interpretation doesn't make (literary) sense, the reason lies with the scholar's faulty understanding rather than with the 'prelogical', non-Western thinking of the ancient poet. We do well to rid ourselves once and for all time of the 'noble savage' mentality willed by our Romanticist forebears, at least insofar as it relates to the literature of the ancient Near East. We are much closer to their way of thinking than we sometimes are prepared to admit.

2.4 *1.18:* Cassuto corrects Virolleaud's ordering of the columns of this fragmentary tablet, recognizing that V.'s col. IV is the obverse and not the reverse. The text begins with Anat instructing a personage named Yṭpn in the details of an aviary scheme whose purpose is the slaying of Aqht. Cassuto ventures no thoughts either on the identity (*mhr. šṭ*) or the place of residence (*ablm*) of this character, nor does he suggest anything that might elucidate Anat's motives for engaging him.

2.5 *1.19:* Cassuto admits to being unable to make sense of the first seventeen lines of col. I. He nevertheless fastens on the word *imḫṣh* in lines 14 – 15 to surmise that the text deals perhaps with the 'forthcoming death' of Aqht. Like scholars before and after him, Cassuto is unaware that the word *imḫṣh* occurs in textually extraneous material (ll. 14 – 17a). However, he is cognizant of the fact that D. at this point in the story is still unaware that his son is dead, an inference to be drawn from the literary portrayal of D. seated in judgement in the city-gateway, i. e., conducting business as usual.

2.5.1 Suddenly Dan'el and his attendant daughter Pughat behold portentious omens. Cassuto hesitantly (but correctly) surmises that the omens take the form of unusual and unexpected dessication of the vegetation. There follows the perception of eagles (*nšrm*) hovering curiously above their home. Cassuto attributes to Pughat at this point an outburst of bitter crying, like scholars generally overlooking the nuanced qualifications *bm. lb // bm. kbd* indicating that Pughat is crying inwardly, i. e., she is *stifling* sobs! This error is then compounded – again Cassuto is a harbinger of the consensus to come – by the assumption that D. now rends (√*mz*) his garments "in segno di lutto", allegedly because the hero *supposes* that the omens foretell the cessation of rain and the onset of drought. Yet at the same time, Cassuto (correctly) notes that D. offers a prayer (*yṣly*) for rain, indicating that he does not consider the situation hopeless and an occasion for despair and lamentation. This optimistic mien, at least outwardly, will in fact characterize D.'s behaviour in the following scene as well, a scene accurately described by Cassuto (without recourse to groundless postulates of ritual magic) as a tour-of-inspection in the fields of his estate.

2.5.2 An incidental but significant remark by Cassuto in this connection is his suggested emendation of YṢRK in 1.19:I:43 to YBRK "he (= Baal) will bless". For it is clear to Cassuto that if D. is praying, then he must be praying for rain – i. e., Baal's blessing. The idea that D. might wish to inflict drought on his own estate defies credibility; yet this idea is destined to become the reigning consensus! The alternative of course to emending YṢRK is to recognize that the speaker at this point is no

longer Dan'el, whose prayer is not stated verbatim, but rather an oracular, disembodied voice addressing D. from the direction of the entreated clouds (*ʿrpt*).

2.5.3 Cassuto's understanding of the following scene is as simple and forthright as it is compelling. Touring his fields while mounted on a mule, D. beholds some solitary sprouts which have managed to withstand the withering dryness of the fields. He embraces one of these sprouts – *bṣql*, "una spiga fresca", one of the few and, together with $\sqrt{šrg}$ = "deceive", most enduring philological contributions of this article – kisses it, and then prays (*aḥl. an*) that the sprout will grow tall for Aqht to reap and store in the granary. Cassuto's highly developed literary sensibility comes to the fore here in the observation: "preghira commovente di un padre che pensa con affeto a suo figlio senza sapere che è morto" [p. 268].

2.5.4 The scene is interrupted by the unexpected arrival of messenger-boys – (incorrectly) assumed by Cassuto to be D.'s servants ("servi") – announcing Aqht's death. The ensuing description of lamentation is mistakenly attributed by Cassuto to Pughat rather than to the messengers. But this is a minor error, of little significance for the story (though significant in other respects).

2.5.5 Cassuto treats the remainder of 1.19 (cols. III – IV) very cursorily and much less satisfactorily. Thus, the inspection of the bird-entrails is thought to be a rite of hepatoscopy for the purpose of divining the will of the gods with respect to the proper manner of burying Aqht. It doesn't occur to Cassuto to ask how and where Dan'el recovered Aqht's cadaver. Then, after a perfunctory reference to Aqht's burial, Cassuto skips the ensuing three-fold curse of the site of Aqht's murder and proceeds directly to the mourning activities conducted in D.'s home. At the conclusion of the seven-year mourning period (also without comment), D. is thought to pronounce 'terrible oaths' against Aqht's assassin(s). In fact, the oath taken by D. at this point is part of his benediction for his courageous daughter who has volunteered to 'redeem the blood' of her slain brother.

2.5.6 By far the most serious of Cassuto's errors comes in the concluding scene of the (extant) story. Again acknowledging "motivi che non possiamo conoscere", Cassuto suggests that on her mission to avenge her brother's death Pughat becomes reconciled with his killer. The impetus for this, in itself highly improbable (not to say fantastic) suggestion, is the mistaken idea that the toast which Pughat drinks with Yṭpn to the latter's deity is a symbolic act of reconciliation. But the deeper, underlying reason for Cassuto's error is the fact that he is not

aware that Pughat is attired to look like Anat, so that Yṭpn is drinking a toast with someone whom he takes to be his employer (*agrtn*) and the architect of the successful plan to murder Aqht.

III

3.1 Any evaluation of Cassuto's contribution here to furthering our understanding of *Aqht* must take cognizance of the fact that not only does it follow Virolleaud's *ed. pr.* by a mere two years – an *ed. pr.*, moreover, from which he could learn very little in the way of interpretation – but that in 1938 Ugaritic studies as a whole are still in their infancy, with neither systematic Grammar[8] nor Glossary at hand. In this context and under these circumstances, this brief essay is a remarkable achievement in text comprehension, and the most significant contribution to *Aqhtiana* until Ginsberg's publications in BASOR of 1945. The brilliance of Cassuto's reconstruction can only deepen one's feelings of regret that the promised comprehensive translation and commentary never materialized.

G. A. Barton, "Danel: A Pre-Israelite Hero of Galilee", in: *Mémorial Lagrange* [Paris: 1940]: 29–37 = JBL 60 [1941]: 213–225.[1]

I

1.1 Author identifies two schools of thought concerning topographic identifications in the literary texts from Ras Shamra: a 'Southern' school, represented by Dussaud and Virolleaud, which believes that the Ugaritic texts incorporate "traditions brought by a Semitic population from s. Palestine in its trek northward from Arabia"; and a 'Northern' school, represented by Ginsberg, Albright, and Goetze, which sets the stories in north-Syria, in and around Ugarit.

1.2 While admitting to many differences of opinion with the French scholars, author nevertheless agrees with them on the whole. He accepts the GN Udm of *Krt* as a reference to the biblical Edom; the word *ngb* (*ibid.*) as denoting the 'Negev' region of Palestine; and *mdbr. qdš* of 1.23 as an allusion to the 'wilderness of Kadesh' in Sinai. Similarly, *aṯr*

[8] Gordon's *Ugaritic Grammar* appeared in 1940.

[1] The summary and quotations which follow are based on the later JBL publication which contains an expanded version of note 19 in the original, and is also more readily accessible to the reader.

of *Krt* [1.14:II:42, etc.] is identified with the Israelite tribe of Asher, and *zblnm* [*ibid.*, I:17] with the 'Zebulonites'. Author also cites with approval Dussaud's identification of *šmk* in 1.10:II; 9,12 with 'Semachonitis' of Josephus, the modern Ḥuleh Valley just north of the Sea of Galilee through which the Jordan flows on its southward course.

1.3 It is against this background that author advances his theory of Dan'el as a 'hero of Galilee'. This highly original and controversial theory draws its principal support from Barton's proposed new reading of the final word of line 41 in col. III of text 1.19, read by him *bknrt* and rendered "in [the sea of] Kinnereth".

1.4 Barton is aware that the decisive issue here is epigraphic; and he takes considerable pains to convince his readers that his proposed reading is justified epigraphically, irrespective of its philological interpretation. Thus he writes [p. 217]:

> "Virolleaud transliterates ... *knkn*(?), but both his copy and the photograph justify ... *knrt*. True, one of the five wedges of the R is rendered indistinct by what seems [to be] an imperfection of the clay, but from the photographic reproduction and the copy, it seems clear that the third consonant is not K but R, and that the last one is T."

1.5 Sensing perhaps that his own authority in matters of epigraphy may be insufficient, Barton adds in footnote (in the JBL version): "I have submitted the photograph and Virolleaud's copy to three other persons all of whom agree in this reading".[2]

1.6 Author seeks and finds additional support for his hypothesis in the repeated references to *qrt. ablm*, identified by him with O.T. *Abel-Beth-Maacah*, mod. *abil-el-qamḥ*, just west of t. Dan. However, the credibility of this identification hinges very much on the cogency of the 'Kinnereth hypothesis' and cannot be considered additional support for it.

II

2.1 It is an irony in the history of Ugaritic research that this undoubtedly correct reading and its corollary hypothesis should have been almost completely ignored by scholars subsequently, or dismissed by them as

[2] The identity of these three persons is unknown to me. But a few years later, the Belgian scholar R. de Langhe, while disagreeing with Barton's *interpretation* (though he himself held a similar view with regard to *Krt*, seq. De Vaux), will have occasion to write [*Les Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (1945): II, 168 f.]: "aussi bien la copie que la photographie justifient la lecture *knrt*".

sheer 'fantasy'; so much so, that even when this hypothesis was revived by a young student of Ugaritic named Ullendorff some twenty years later, it was presented as a new 'discovery'. But it still made little or no impression on a skeptical scholarly world.

2.2 To be sure: Barton's essay is replete with philological errors, as are most publications of that period still without a comprehensive Ugaritic Grammar. It is also clear that, in addition to lacking the philological expertise of a Ginsberg or an Albright, Barton did his case the disservice of associating it with the soon-to-be-discredited topographic-historical hypotheses of the 'French school'. But it is no less clear in retrospect that in dismissing Barton's hypothesis out of hand, scholars threw the proverbial baby out with the bath-water! For unlike the 'Negebite/ Edomite' localizations and the 'Terachite-Zebulonite-Asherite' identifications, Barton's theory is based principally on the only reasonable interpretation of a new and demonstrably correct reading previously overlooked, rather than on quixotic interpretations of agreed readings.

2.3 Furthermore: it should be remembered that not all the topographic identifications of the thirties were ultimately disproved by closer philological scrutiny. A notable, and in the present context most significant exception is Dussaud's early identification of *šmk* in text 1.10 ["Baal and the Heifer"] with Semachonitis/Ḥuleh, an identification which enjoys considerable if not universal support even today.[3] If this identification has received less scholarly attention than it deserves, it is because the text in which it is embedded is notoriously obscure and fragmentary, and therefore arouses less interest than do the major 'epics' and the smaller but better preserved pieces like 1.23 (SS) and 1.24 (NK).[4]

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[3] Cf. e. g. WUS, s. v. 2629; TO, 283, n.; Cazelles, *Annuaire* [1978–79]: 216; MLC, 469, 630. With the exception of Gordon [UT], virtually all agree that *šmk* is a GN. None of the suggested alternative identifications – cf. *e. g.*, TO, *ibid.* – can claim any toponymic support, and are purely conjectural inferences from *a priori* premises regarding the supposed north-Syrian locale of the story. Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, "Zum geographischen Horizont der Ras-Schamra Texte", ZDVG 94 (1940): 59–85, who, without mention of Barton, concluded (*ibid.*, p. 84 f.): "... es [ist] wohl denkbar, daß die phönizischen Einwohner von Ugarit ... die Erinnerung an [ihre] Urheimat über die Jahrhunderte festgehalten haben, und noch leichter läßt es sich erklären, daß das phönizische Ugarit, das ja jedenfalls zu Tyros und Sidon Beziehungen aufweist ... eine literarische Tradition pflegt, die der Bereich der beiden Mutterstädte und ihr bis an den Jordan und den See von Tiberias reichendes Hinterland [!] zum Schauplatz hat."

[4] The same is true for the important, unfortunately damaged reference in col. III of the same text 1.10 to the ranges of 'Lebanon-Hermon' as the scene of Baal's activity or residence. In lines 11–12 we must surely read (and restore) *y'l. B'l. Bġ[r. lBNN] / wBN. dgN. Bš[ryN]* = "B. went up to the mounta[in of Lebanon] / The son-of-

2.4 Some twenty years later, unaware of Barton's wartime publication and with Driver's CML text-edition (1956) as his epigraphic support, E. Ullendorff will observe:[5] "It seems almost too obvious to propose the translation '... in Kinnereth' .... I am not clear why this patent solution ... has not been more generally accepted, for it strikes the eye ..." A decade-and-a-half thereafter the present writer will argue in a detailed study of the immediate and wider context[6] that not only does this interpretation "strike the eye" but that it is prerequisite for making sense of the following seven lines of text and, indeed, of much of the poem as such. Furthermore, it has been shown that this new understanding of the context rids scholarship of the illusion that the hero Dan'el is explicitly designated 'king' (*mlk*) at least once in *Aqht*, viz., line 46, five lines below the 'Kinnereth' reading.

2.5 I frankly doubt whether there is a single line of *Aqht* the correct understanding of which is so crucial to the interpretation of the entire composition as is 1.19:III:41 [= CTA: 147]. If, as Kapelrud will aver as late as 1969, the poem of *Aqht* remained in its essentials an enigma, it is, I submit, in no small measure due to fateful history of the Barton – Ullendorf 'Kinnereth-hypothesis'.

H. Stocks, "Danel, die südbabylonische und die nordpalästinisch-phönikische Überlieferung", ZDMG 97 (1943): 125 – 149.

1.1 Without knowledge of Barton's reading in 1.19:III:41 (*bknrt*), author concludes on the basis of external evidence – Mandean legends; Pseudoepigraphic [Enoch]; O.T. [Ez. 28; Is. 14] – that the Ug. Dan'el was originally a 'demigod' in the tradition of the babylonian flood-heroes, and that he belongs to a set of traditions which centered originally in the region of biblical Dan and the Hermon range. Author quotes approvingly Dussaud's article in *Syria* XVII (1936): 205 ff. where it was argued, on the basis of text 1.10, that the Hermon-Ḥuleh region was

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Dagan, to the H[ermon]". Cf. also 1.4:VI:18 f.//20 f. and 1.22:I:23 ff., and the support for Virolleaud's 'Phoenician' tradition implicit in Deut. 3:9. It is difficult to understand why a mythological tradition allegedly at home in Ugarit and n. Syria should gravitate so persistently to the Lebanon-Hermon-Ḥuleh-Kinnereth-Bashan (RS 24.252) region, consistently designating the Hermon by its 'Phoenician' name, unless this is where the tradition was believed to have originated.

[5] JSS 7 (1962): 342 f.

[6] UF 8 (1976): 172 – 181.

the original setting of the Ugaritic myths, subsequently transferred to Ugarit.

1.2 This lengthy study admittedly belongs to the 'pre-historic' phase of *Aqhtiana*. For although correctly ordered (*seq*. Cassuto), the texts, especially 1.19, are still poorly understood. It also reflects the faulty method of trying to interpret the story by means of analogies with allegedly parallel traditions or stories widely separated in time and space. This tends to distort the interpretation even more. For beginning with a mistaken notion of what the text says, the comparisons tend to fasten on specious parallels which are then used to flesh-out and further 'illuminate' the Ugaritic material.

1.3 At the same time it must be acknowledged that, independent of Barton (although cognizant of Dussaud), Stocks correctly sensed the geographical setting of *Aqht* to be in the vicinity of the Ḥuleh valley. That a traditio-historical link connects the Ugaritic Dan'el with the 'fallen angels' episode was also, and apparently independently, surmised by S. Spiegel shortly after Stocks' wartime publication,[1] and is not to be dismissed out of hand.

I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala, 1943; reprinted with minor changes, Oxford, 1967); *Aqht*: pp. 134–142.[1]

1.1 The work as a whole originates as a doctoral dissertation, and the analysis of *Aqht* forms part of a more general discussion of ancient, allegedly divine kingship in the ANE. The state of Ug. philology reflected is still 'prehistoric' and is heavily dependent on the early studies of Cassuto, Gaster, and (especially) Ginsberg and Gordon. Barton's publication is still unknown to the author.

1.2 The 'distinction' of Engnell's commentary is the centrality of the 'royalist hypothesis' and the first expression of it as an *idée fixe*: "... the [Aqht] text ... is another ritual text ... of a strong Osirian character

[1] S. Spiegel, "Noah, Danel, and Job ...", in: *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1945): 307–318 and 336–41.

[1] Bibliographical note: The second edition is virtually unchanged save for the addition of fn. 3 at the bottom of p. 136, and fn. 12 at the bottom of p. 142. The bibliography (p. 134) contains nothing later than 1939. The second edition contains a reference to C. H. Gordon, *Or* 12 (1943).

– a ritual of the passion, death, and resurrection of the divine king" (p. 135).

1.3 The list of filial duties, *in toto*, is "concerned with *royal ancestor-cult*" (emph. original). It is "a 'virtue catalogue' of the duties of a king's son to his dead father – possibly 'dead' or 'suffering' in the cult" (p. 136). The presentation of the bow in 1.17:V – author is still unaware of Albright–Mendenhall's wartime publication in JNES 1 – becomes for Engnell "the handing over of the royal insignia by [Koshar-Ḫasis] to the king" (p. 137). Anat's offer of immortal life in 1.17:VI is understood as a "declaration of ... the king's 'eternal' life, an inherent element in the kingship ideology ..." (p. 138). The rôle of Yṭpn is alternatively that of " 'envoy' or 'henchman' " of Anat and "the counter-king ... now [en]throned in the 'city of sorrow' ...".[2] The plan and execution of Aqht's murder in 1.18:IV evokes "analogy with the treatment of Tammuz – the king" and leads author to surmise that we may be dealing with "the passion of the god-king, the demonic eagles and falcons being priests dressed up in bird-masks" (p. 139 f.). And so on and so forth...

1.4 That such statements could be made in the early years of *Aqhtiana* (and Ugaritic studies generally) is not surprising. What is surprising, and even sad, is their re-publication unchanged in 1967 – posthumously, and for the purpose of honouring the author's memory.[3]

H. L. Ginsberg, "The North-Canaanite Myth of Anat and Aqhat", BASOR 97 (1945): 3–10; 98 (1945): 15–23.

1.1 This two-part study, published in successive issues of BASOR, is unquestionably the most significant publication on *Aqht* since Virolleaud's *editio princeps*. The first part is a resumé of the narrative, interlaced with commentary on select points of interest. The second part is a detailed philological analysis of 'stage-3' in an '8-stage tragedy' (thus Ginsberg), viz., 1.17:VI:1–55. It is much to be regretted that Ginsberg did not carry out a similar analysis for the other 'seven-stages'.

1.2 The ordering of the tablets "follows Cassuto" (no reference!), an ordering which appears already in Gordon (*Or* XII [1943]) which Gins-

[2] P. 139, and note *ibid.*

[3] Cf. G. W. Anderson's 'Preface to the Reprinted Edition', pp. xv–xvi. Note well the comment – adding insult to injury – that "it is generally recognized that ... Engnell's most valuable contributions [to Ugaritic] were made in the present work."

berg does not appear to have known at the time of publication; again, presumably, due to the war.

2.0 *Part 1*

2.1 I. Dan'el is a "model judge" who prays for, and is granted a son. But Dan'el is also a "ruler".[1] The evidence for this assertion comes from:

2.1.1 the O.T.: 1 Kgs. 22:10 (= 2 Chr. 18:9), which depicts a 'summit meeting' of the kings of Judea and Samaria as taking place "on the threshing-floor, at the entrance to the (city-)gate of Samaria". This of course dovetails with the description of D. as adjudicating "in the fore-gate" (*ap. ṯġr*), "among (?) the notables (?) (seated) on the threshing-floor".

2.1.2 *Krt:* the formula "judge the widow and the orphan" in connection with the execution of royal functions is considered by Ginsberg "the permanent duty of a sovereign".

2.1.3 1.19:III:46 (*mlk. yṣm*) which "seems to imply[2] that 'the king' of this line is none other than Daniel".

2.2 II. Presentation of the bow by K-Ḫ: given to D. who hands it over to Aqht.[3]

2.3 III. The bow "excites the cupidity of Anat". After trying unsuccessfully to acquire the bow by blandishments, she proceeds to denounce Aqht before El.

2.4 IV. Anat receives El's consent by threat (citing Singer, BJPES X, 2–3). She then turns to Aqht and lures him to *Ablm*, presumably on the pretext of teaching him (*almdk*) "how and where to hunt well".

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[1] Note how G. avoids the title 'king'.

[2] Note the caution!

[3] G. will, unfortunately, change his mind later on regarding the intended recipient. G. also has nothing to say on the *motive* for the present. Later on he will see it as a token of gratitude for the invitation to the feast. But the most serious deficiency is that while cognizant of the fact (*seq.* Albright–Mendenhall) that the bow is 'composite', G. has no real appreciation of the significance of this fact for the story, viz., its extreme value, (G., like everyone else, interpreted ṮMN of *qšt. ṯmn* as referring either to 'eight' or 'there'.) owing to the extraordinary skill, and time, which it took to manufacture. Cf. UF 11:554 ff.; UF 15:77 f.

2.5 V. The Yṭpn scene: Yṭpn is described as "evidently a denizen of [the area]". Arrangements for Aqht's murder.

2.6 VI. Anat's attempts/intention to revive Aqhat: "For some reason it was not carried out. The most charitable view would be that a family of vultures ... disposed of the corpse while Anath delayed".[4]

2.7 VII. The discovery of Aqht's remains in the gizzards of the bird ṢML.

2.8 VIII. The avenging of Aqht by sister Pughat: the act has D.'s blessing (contrast V.). The girl is attired as part-warrior, part-woman. The purpose of the 'get-up': "to loose the tongue and numb the limbs of the braggart Yṭpn with wine".

2.9 *Critique*

2.9.1 This resumé by one of the foremost Ugaritologists of his day allows one to take stock of the stage of progress reached in the comprehension of the basic narrative structure of the poem.

2.9.2 I. The image of Dan'el: none of the arguments adduced by Ginsberg in favour of Dan'el as a "ruler" and "king" stands up to criticism. The O.T. citation is interesting for its reference to the location of the "threshing-floor" (obviously some form of public square or piazza) at the entrance to the city-gate.[5] But the general circumstances of the event described are hardly typical for kingship! Kings, unlike tribal elders, adjudicate in the palace (2 Sam. 15:1 ff.; 1.16:VI:22 ff.). (It is noteworthy however that G. considers the O.T. data as more weighty than the subsequent citations from the Ugaritic; and of the two Ug. sources, the *Krt* source outweighs the *Aqht* source.) The *Krt* text itself does not mean that "adjudicating the cause of the widow and orphan" is the epitome of kingship; only that kings traditionally appropriated the judicial function, displacing the local judiciary system. To give legitimacy to this usurpation, they were wont to vaunt their capacity for justice and their faithful adherence to the laws of the forefathers. The *Aqht* reference to this formulary is the true *Sitz-im-Leben*, going back to a pre-monarchic social order and an autonomous local judiciary made up of the city-elders (*adrm*), doubtless of the wealthy propertied class. It is of utmost significance that Dan'el is referred to here as adjudicating "among the notables". He is not an absolute ruler like King Krt. Finally,

[4] The ignorance of the contents of 1.19:I:1 – 17 is here very much apparent.

[5] Cf. J. Gray, PEQ 85 [1953], 118 – 123.

G.'s fine philological sense will not allow him to make too much of what for others is the obvious, viz., the *mlk* reference in 1.19:III.46. The rendering of *mlk* by 'king' here is philologically (as well as prosodically) out of the question, as I have argued at length elsewhere (cf. UF 8:172–77; UF 16:152 f.).

2.9.3 II. As remarked above, G. has not fully assimilated the significance of the determination of the coveted bow as 'composite'; nor does he correctly appraise the motivation for the present by K-Ḫ.

2.9.4 III. This is the heart of G.'s paper in the second part, clearly a breakthrough in understanding the poem as a whole.

2.9.5 IV. G. has nothing to say on the GN *Ablm*. He also has little to say on the respective character portrayals of El and Anat.

2.9.6 V. Again, G. makes little attempt to elucidate the *dramatis personae* and their motives of action.

2.9.7 VI. Aside from the dubious reading of Anath's intentions, G.'s conjecture reflects the failure to come to grips with the opening scene of 1.19. The vultures which appear in 1.19:I:32 f. have nothing to do with the disposal of Aqht's corpse.

2.9.8 VII. By making this scene no. VII, G. has jumped in effect from the end of 1.18 to the middle of 1.19, omitting ca. 140 lines of text. This includes the alleged curse *bl. ṭl. bl. rbb* which G. had utilized as the basis for emending 2 Sam. 1:21 several years before;[6] the field-inspection culminating in the 'official' announcement by youthful emissaries of Aqht's death; and the invocation of Baal prior to discovery of the remains. Unless the omission is at least partly inadvertant, it would seem that G. was still not clear as to how these interim activities fitted into the wider narrative picture.

2.9.9 VIII. Much remains unobserved and dimly perceived. There is no reference to Pughat's bathing and rouging prior to dressing; nor is there any comment on the curious combination of female and warrior attire. G. is also silent on the manner of her reception at the residence of Yṭpn and how she managed to enter so easily the lion's lair.[7] The

[6] JBL 57 (1938): 210–13.

[7] Even as late as ANET/RANE (1955) G. is still rendering *agrtn* by "our hired woman" (ital.) and predicated of Pughat!

contents of Yṭpn's 'toast' are considered "defective and obscure"; the similitude "like a snake" is thought to be predicated of Pughat.

2.10 In sum: although a yeoman effort, there is still a long way to go towards a satisfactory comprehensive view of *Aqht*. The main obstacle remains a very unsatisfactory state-of-the-art with respect to text 1.19.

3.0 *Part 2*

3.1 This part is a detailed philological analysis of and commentary upon 1.17:VI:1 – 41, divided into six sections: I. lines 1 – 10[a]; II. lines 10[b] – 16[a]; III. lines 16[b] – 19; IV. lines 20 – 25[a]; V. lines 25[b] – 33[a]; VI. lines 33 – 41.

3.1.1 § I is described as "probably a tête-à-tête of Anath and Aqht ... the winecups are still present ... and the nature of their conversation seems to remain their own secret". A challenging interpretation but almost certainly in error. The feast is rather a 'coming-of-age' party for Aqht, and the sharp repartee is under spotlight, in full view of the blacked-out background-audience in attendance.

3.1.2 § II: The sight of Aqht's bow inflames Anat. Here G. draws attention to one of his principal 'insights', viz., "that the thing that caught the goddess's eye was Aqhat's bow", and not his body (*pace* Albright). But again G. fails to drive the point home with sufficient force, unaware of just how valuable such a bow was, especially when expertly crafted.

3.1.3 § III: Anat makes Aqht an offer for his bow.

3.1.4 § IV: Aqht's reply. G. cites Albright – Mendenhall's paper as "basic" for understanding this passage. A.'s reply is deemed "brusque" (Albright – Mendenhall: "conciliatory"). Neither seems to have caught the air of 'party-entertainment' which pervades Aqht's response and the dialogue as a whole. Even Anat forces a smile after the second round (a response no doubt to the hearty chuckles and applause from the audience). Only Anat takes the entire affair in deadly earnest!

3.1.4 § V: Anat's second offer. The issue, says G., is still the bow of Aqht, not his body; this is considered "the decisive argument against Albright's interpretation of this offer as an amorous advance". Even more decisive is that Aqht pays with his life for refusing to surrender the bow! That's a strange way to a lover's body!

3.1.5 § VI: Aqht rebuffs Anat. Understood to mean, *i.a.*, "Little girls mustn't tell such whoppers to big-he-men". The emphasis on "he-man" is misplaced. The contrast is between 'child' and 'man; adult'. Anat's offer is an insult to adult intelligence.

3.2 In sum: a very significant contribution, unfortunately not carried out for the remainder. In effect a very small, if crucial, portion of the entire drama has been elucidated.

J. Obermann, *How Daniel was Blessed with a Son. An Incubation Scene in Ugaritic* [New Haven, 1946]. 30 pp.

1.1 This seminal study deals with the first two columns of 1.17, understood for the first time as a scene of ritual 'incubation'. This interpretation is destined to become a matter of scholarly consensus.

1.2 The stated purpose of this short monograph is to study the "pre-natal scene as a textual and literary unit". It is thus built on the same methodological principles as Ginsberg's earlier study of 1.17:V.

1.3 Cassuto's sequence of the texts as 1.17 – 18 – 19 is now taken for granted, of which the pre-natal scene is "the starting point, perhaps even a sort of Prologue".

1.4 A detailed critique of the author's principal hypothesis will be undertaken in an *Excursus* devoted to the question of ritual incubation in *Aqht*. Here we shall merely summarize author's views on the remaining episodes, and his overall understanding of the poem.

1.4.1 Dan'el prays "for a model son" and "El answers his prayers". There is no reference to Baal as intercessor because of the author's rather curious view – a vestige one presumes of the 'early days' – that the word *b'l* in *Aqht* almost invariably is a generic word for 'deity'.

1.4.2 Dan'el "obtains a bow from the divine smith ... and gives it to Aqhat". Author seems unaware that the bow is a gift and that it is intended for Aqht.

1.4.3 Pughat's activity at the end of the extant narrative is seen as an act of vengeance carried out at her father's *command* rather than at her own request.

1.4.4 Author believes that the non-extant conclusion of the poem must have seen Aqht returned to life. He finds evidence for this in Dan'el's "persistent efforts ... to recover physical residues [of his son] ... This would have been a fitting conclusion of the narrative that begins with a solemn and painstaking scene of his pre-natal history". It does not occur to author to compare the conclusion of the O.T. *Job*.

1.5 Virolleaud's *editio princeps* is termed "pioneer[ing] ... of necessity tentative" but altogether a "memorable publication". The select bibliography includes Albright [BASOR 94], Cassuto [REJ 1939], Ginsberg [BASOR 97 & 98], Gordon [UG and *Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat* (1943)], and Montgomery [JAOS, 1936]. Conspicuous by their absence are Dussaud and especially (for being an American) G. A. Barton. Needless to say, there is no reference in the entire discussion to the 'Kinnereth hypothesis' or to any theory of geographical localization of this or any other Ugaritic poem.

A. Herdner, "La Légende Cananéenne d'Aqhat d'après Les Travaux Récents", SYRIA 26 (1949): 1–16.

1.1 The avowed purpose of this article, explicit already in the title, is to present "une analyse du contenu des trois tablettes telles qu'on les comprend actuellement, dans le seul but de 'faire le point' sur ce sujet". Although published in 1949, the article itself is dated 'June 1947', and the latest bibliographical reference is Obermann's 1946 monograph on the so-called 'incubation scene' of 1.17.

1.2 Despite the incomplete and fragmentary nature of the material, H. believes that what we have at our disposal enables one to conclude that the narrative "n'est pas loin d'être cohérent". But from this statement it is clear that H. does not believe that *full* coherence of the material has been achieved.

1.3 The ordering of the tablets follows Cassuto (1938) who is duly credited. V.'s original ordering is said to have been "provisoire" and "selon l'état de leur conservation".

1.4 *Text 1.17:* H. follows Obermann in viewing the opening scene as an 'incubation' ritual, taking place "sans doute" in a sanctuary where the hero is spending the night(s). The repeated list of filial duties remains, *apud* H., "malgré des efforts renouvelés ... assez incertain". The story continues with El acting favourably on D.'s request, whose decision H.

believes (*seq.* Obermann) was conveyed to D. by messenger in a dream. This detail is however without factual basis and is solely an inference from the 'incubation hypothesis'. D. returns home where he hosts "les joyeuses Kâṯarât" whom he wines and dines for a week. H.'s characterization of the Kosharot follows Ginsberg and Gaster as well as Gordon, but is in fact based on an erroneous interpretation of the stereotyped epithet *bnt hll*, as first observed by Van Selms (1949). The fragmentary continuation is presumed to have described D. counting the months of gestation.

2.1.1 The missing cols. III – IV are presumed to have related the birth and infancy of D.'s son, named 'Aqhat'. When the story resumes in col. V, Aqht is grown up and D. is seen seated in the city-gate administering justice. He espies the artisan god K-Ḫ bearing 'weapons' (note plural!) allegedly made for Dan'el. Following a meal served by D.'s wife Dnty, K-Ḫ departs. D. then takes the 'weapons' ("armes") and bestows them on Aqht. No explanation is given for D.'s motive in acting so. D.'s words to his son are hesitantly interpreted (*seq.* Ginsberg) as expressing the hope for his success as a hunter. Col. V is considered "un des textes les plus faciles de toute la littérature d'Ugarit".

2.1.2 By contrast, col. VI is deemed "particulièrement ardue". H. credits Albright with having elucidated lines 20 – 25 – the 'composite bow' prescription – and Ginsberg here is acknowledged as having "reconstitué la suite logique de la narrative et élucidé de façon ... définitive ce passage capital pour l'intelligence du poème"; for it explains the source of Anat's hatred for and persecution of Aqht. *Seq.* Ginsberg, H. considers Aqht's "weapons" rather than his love as the object of Anat's desire (*pace* De Vaux, Montgomery, and Albright). The party which serves as the setting for the ensuing dialogue of Anat and Aqht is assumed by H. (*seq.* Ginsberg) to be in Anat's honour. The dialogue itself is construed thus: Aqht refuses Anat's request outright but (*seq.* Albright) is assumed to have 'pledged' ($\sqrt{ndr}$) to supply the goddess with materials for making the bow. Unsatisfied with this counter-proposal, Anat now promises immortality in exchange for the bow. Aqht declines what he takes to be an 'illusory' proposal. H.'s reading of the concluding lines (41 ff.) merely paraphrases Ginsberg.

2.1.3 It should be observed at this point that there does not seem to be as yet an awareness as to how valuable an object a composite bow (especially one fashioned by no less a craftsman than K-Ḫ) really was, hence Anat's obsession with obtaining it.

2.2 *Text 1.18:* Col. I, which follows directly on the (missing) conclusion of 1.17:VI, finds Anat in conversation with El to whom she 'complains' ("se plaint") – actually 'slanders; defames' (√*lšn*) – and from whom she ultimately obtains consent to deal with Aqht as she sees fit. The consent is extracted by means of threats of physical violence (*seq.* Singer and Ginsberg). Then, by means of false promises, she lures Aqht to a place called *Ab(i)l(i)m. Apud* H., Anat intends to 'crown' (reading in l. 27: *l mlk*; KTU:]*lt. lk*) Aqht and 'teach him' (l. 29: *almdk*). After a supposed lacuna of at least two columns – four, if the tablet comprised originally six – the text resumes with Anat on her way to the residence of a certain Yṭpn, whose name and rôle in the story pass without comment. Together they rehearse, point by point, the plan for Aqht's murder. H. concludes from the phrase *ank. laḥwy* that Anat probably intended to revive Aqht.

2.2.1 H. now turns to text 1.19. In contrast to her fluent and internally coherent exposition of the heavily damaged 1.17 and 1.18 which has stood well the test of time, requiring only minor correction and supplement of detail, H.'s summary of 1.19, a text preserved almost entirely intact, is full of gaps, queries, and – above all – dubious logic. Yet it must be remembered that merely in proposing a detailed, consecutive summary of text 1.19, H. is forced to break new ground. She has very little with which to work.

2.3 *Text 1.19:* The first 13 lines are passed over in silence, except for the observation that they are 'especially difficult'. The verdict on lines 17–21 is "le lien et le sens précis nous échappent". H. reiterates Ginsberg's conjecture that Anat's efforts to revive Aqht (citing ll. 14–17, actually misplaced!) were thwarted by the birds (*nšrm*) which made off with Aqht's remains (subsequently recovered by D. in col. IV). Following the stereotyped adjudication scene, daughter Pughat spots birds (*nšrm*) overhead. She weeps; and then D. tears his clothes! This sequence of actions generates the following remark: "La raison de ces manifestations de deuil, avant que la mort d'Aqht ait été officiellement annoncée, n'est pas absolument claire."

2.3.1 The scene in lines 39–46 (*yṣly ... ql. b'l*) fares just as badly. H. cites alternatively Cassuto's idea that D. is 'conjuring' the clouds in a vain attempt to induce rainfall; the particle *bl* (of *bl. ṭl.* etc.) taken as an imperative of √*ybl* 'yield, produce'; and Gordon's view, deemed 'more probable', that having learnt that an eagle had devoured Aqht's remains, Pughat and D., upon sighting the birds overhead, manifest their chagrin by cursing the land – *their* land! – with seven years of drought; surely a case of 'cutting off the nose to spite one's face'!

2.3.2 The 'tour-of-inspection' in the dessicated fields (beginning of col. II) is described by H. as follows: "Là, à deux reprises, il accomplît certains rites ... et prononce certaines paroles ... dont la portée générale nous échappe". But it is deemed 'certain' that D. embraces the sheaf while *predicting* that Aqhat will reap it. H. immediately notes the difficulty that this analysis poses for Gordon's 'probable' hypothesis just cited: this is a "prédiction surprenante s'il est vrai que ... Dan'el a déjà reçu un premier avertissement de la mort de son fils."

2.3.3 H.'s doubts as to what the passage means do not inhibit the Frazerian speculation that the narrative "se combine ici probablement avec un mythe agraire". Since H. is normally less than sympathetic to the myth-ritual approach of (e.g.) Dussaud and Gaster, this strange statement may have been motivated by a desire to strike a balance in what is expressly a *status questionis* exposition.

2.3.4 Lines (II:) $27^{b}-48$: although acknowledged to be severely mutilated and "passablement obscur" with respect to the sequence of actions – the text in question is in fact partially disturbed – the lines are correctly seen as the 'official' announcement via messengers of Aqht's death. But there is no discussion of the messengers' personal appearance and deportment so graphically described in the text.

2.3.5 The 'eagles scene' which introduces col. III (CTA: 105 – 150) is considered 'much clearer'. D. examines the entrails of the birds not (as formerly thought) in a rite of heptascopic divination, but in the hope of recovering Aqht's remains.[1] There follows a lengthy consecutive translation of II:55 – III:45 based principally on Gordon,[2] a section containing the burial of Aqht. H. reads *bmdgt. bknkn* as did Virolleaud; but she leaves both words untranslated. There is no reference to Barton, nor any discussion of the epigraphic problems involved in the reading. However, elsewhere, in a review of De Langhe published three years earlier in *Syria* (1946) Herdner stated her opinion of Barton's hypothesis in no uncertain terms, labelling it a 'fantasy' while dismissing any interpretation of BKNRT as a proper name. Yet we should note the implication that as late as 1946 Herdner apparently held the correct *reading* at the end of line 41 to be *bknrt*! It is difficult to know what caused her to change her mind in the space of three years (ultimately finding expression in CTA).

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[1] H. attributes this interpretation to Ginsberg, Gordon, Obermann, Spiegel and (mistakenly) de Langhe.

[2] *Or* (1943): 68 – 71.

2.3.6 There follows a translation of the three curses allegedly directed by D. at 'three cities'. But in footnote H. admits that only the third site, ABLM. QRT. ZBL. YRḤ, is self-evidently and certifiably a city. The others, QR. MYM and MRRT, are at best probable inferences from the 'parallelism' of the three passages containing the curses. The translation is accompanied by little commentary. But YṢM (III:46) is rendered "he curses" (Ar. *wṣm*) with question-mark; the phrase *amd. gr. bt. il* (III:47) is entirely omitted, as is the phrase TĠLL. BNR (III:50 – 52) describing the alleged place-name MRRT. Finally, the word UḪRY (III:49, 56; IV:7) is rendered "au loin" but is considered doubtful.

2.3.7 The author turns next to the mourning scene in D.'s house (IV:7 ff.). She translates lines $7-17^{a}$ and $20^{b}-22$ (the latter based on Ginsberg's restoration of line 20) and summarizes the contents of the intervening lines $17^{b}-20^{a}$; all quite satisfactorily (although the phrase *pẓġm. ġr* is twice left untranslated). D.'s post-mourning sacrifice to the gods is duly noted; but Pughat's address to her father in lines 29 – 31 is deemed problematic, leading H. to wonder whether she is requesting a second sacrifice prior to her father bestowing blessing on her. There follow an accurate rendition of lines 32 – 35 and a summary statement of D.'s approval of and Pughat's preparations for her mission of vengeance. Then comes an adequate rendering of lines 44 – 46; and a summarizing statement (*seq.* Ginsberg) of a mission presumed accomplished concludes the article.

2.3.8 H.'s treatment of lines (IV:)41 ff. is as significant for what it omits as for what it contains. There is no comment on Pughat's 'hybrid' dress or on her prior activity in the sea. No notice is taken of the journey's westward direction (*lmʿr*[*b*]); of Yṭpn's tent-residence; or of the word *agrtn* employed by the sentry to identify Pughat. Herdner is also silent on the 'toast' to the god offered inside the tent, and has nothing to say on the similitude "like a snake" in line 61. Some of these omissions are no doubt due to the epigraphic uncertainties of the text. But others must be reckoned as part of the considerable *terra incognita* which characterized *Aqht*-scholarship in the mid-forties.

3.1 It may be reasonably concluded that as of 1947 much of the third tablet of *Aqht* remained either obscure or misunderstood. This situation will not change appreciably over the next quarter-century, despite the clarification of certain important details in the interim (notably the recognition by De Moor that Pughat's activity while bathing in the sea includes rouging herself with murex as part of her Anat-disguise). The inadequate comprehension of text 1.19 must, I believe, be held at least partly responsible for the (at best) indifferent attitude adopted by scholars

to the 'Kinnereth-hypothesis' first of Barton and subsequently (1962) of Ullendorff, and the inability to appreciate its significance for elucidating and illuminating the narrative as a whole. It is not merely a matter of drawing this major work of Ugaritic literature into the orbit of pre-Israelite Canaan. Rather, it is a matter of understanding the poem proper. The poem of *Aqht* is simply incomprehensible in its fullness when severed from its geographical background.

P. Fronzaroli, *Leggenda di Aqhat* (Florence: 1955)

1.1 This is a pocket-size, semi-popular translation by a leading Italian Semitist. It includes a brief introduction and a yet briefer commentary.

1.2 In the *Introduction* (pp. 11 ff.) the author declares himself sceptical of attempts to identify "l'ambiente storico-geografico in cui la vicenda si svolge" (p. 11). Similarly, he doubts whether the Ugaritic Dan'el can be identified with the figure(s) cited in Ez. 14 and 28. He recognizes however the possibility that the story may have some connection with the origins of the Ugaritic dynasty. This would account for its transcription and preservation in the royal library of Niqmad II.

1.3 As regards the story proper: the human and the divine are still closely interwoven in Aqht, but the human interest outweighs the divine. El is portrayed, *apud* F., as 'playing a rôle bordering on the ridiculous', while the rôle of Baal is nondescript. On the other hand, sister Anat is a central figure in this story. According to F., she is portrayed as a 'young goddess', somewhat 'primitive' and 'barbaric', and with 'a vitality as yet untempered by wisdom'. But these negative qualities are counterbalanced, *apud* F., by 'a spontaneity which makes her rather attractive despite the objective cruelty of her actions' (12 f.). It is Aqht's sister, 'Paġat', to whom we tender our fullest admiration.

1.4 The author's philology and translation tend to follow the beaten paths of his predecessors, especially Gordon, and thus lack originality. Yṭpn's stock epithet *mhr. št* is rendered (*seq.* Ginsberg) 'drunken soldier'; the text in 1.19:I:1 – 13 is left untranslated; and the burial site in 1.19:III:41 is read *bmdgt. bkn* – and (*seq.* Gordon) is conjectured to mean "in a sepulchre, in an urn". In line 46 (*ibid.*) the phrase MLK. YṢM is understood to mean "Il re maledice", and UḪRY (*ibid.*, 49, etc.) is interpreted as personal-name "Destino" referring to Dan'el's walking stick!

1.5 In his discussion of Dan'el's stock epithet *mt. rpi*, F. considers three possibilities: (a) a connection with 'healing' ($\sqrt{rp^{\flat}}$); (b) a connection with the 'shades' (*rpum*); (c) an ethnicon connected with the O.T. tradition of an aboriginal giant-population in LB Canaan. F. favours the third possibility on the grounds that the first two find no support in our texts, whereas the third 'might refer to Dan'el's race ("stirpe") or to some deed attributed in legend to him' (p. 73).

1.6 At the conclusion of the poem (as extant), F. draws attention to the parallel with Judith of the *Apocrypha*, but believes that sister Pughat succeeded in bringing brother Aqht back to life, allegedly following the precedent of Anat with Baal.[1]

H. L. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Myths and Epics: The Tale of Aqht", in: RANE (1955): 262–279.

1.1 The poem's contents are briefly summarized prior to the translation (p. 262). Although the translation is identical with that of ANET five years earlier, the present summary, which represents Ginsberg's first and last treatment of *Aqht* since BASOR [1945], is absent in ANET.

1.2 Compared with the standards which Ginsberg established in his BASOR studies, the present summary, despite its brevity, is most disappointing. In addition to being sketchy, it is heavily conjectural and occasionally misleading. Particularly disturbing is the sweeping generalization that the story of *Aqht* "represent[s] another version of the Syrian fertility myth". This verdict makes sense (even if untrue) within the methodological framework and presuppositions of Gaster's *Thespis*. But Ginsberg is not a myth-ritualist; and he does not offer a shred of evidence for this general interpretation, save for the *conjectured* return of fertility to the earth following upon Aqht's *surmised* resurrection.

1.3 Ginsberg's resumé contains seven principal points:

1.3.1 The Ug. Dan'el is "perhaps" to be identified with the figure mentioned by Ezekiel in 14:14,20 and 28:3.

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[1] The latter assumption is however totally without foundation. Anat retrieves Baal's corpse from the Netherworld and buries it on Mt. Ṣpn. The manner of Baal's return to life is not specified, and may have been deliberately left mysterious. Cf. Margalit, MLD, 163–186.

1.3.2 Dan'el is "a venerable judge" to whom El grants a son (at Baal's behest), and named by Dan'el, 'Aqhat'.[1]

1.3.3 Upon sighting the artisan-god K-Ḫ [1.17:V], Dan'el "immediately sojourns court".[2]

1.3.4 G. correctly surmises that K-Ḫ intends the bow for Aqht, rather than Dan'el; but he errs in ascribing the motive to "gratitude" for a fine meal. Not only would this favour Dan'el as the recipient; it implies that K-Ḫ gave his personal bow as a present. But why should K-Ḫ travel about with a composite-bow? Cf. also 1.17:V:1–2 which implies that K-Ḫ prepared the bow specially for Aqht, and in advance of his arrival.

1.3.5 I find G.'s characterizations of the actors, and his reading of their motives, in 1.17:VI singularly off the mark. Anat is merely "impetuous" after merely "taking a liking" to the bow. Aqht's manner is described as "arrogant" and "haughty", as if he were not an exuberant adolescent with a sharp mind and a quick tongue 'showing-off' at a birthday-party in honour of his coming-of-age, doubtless in the spirit of Ps. 104:15[a] and Est. 1:10[a]. G. sees Anat's reaction to Aqht's refusal as one of "disappointment" and "hurt". In fact, Anat is seething with murderous anger in her juvenile, envy-ladened breast, as her performance at El's place in the immediate sequel makes abundantly clear.

1.3.6 Anat "instructs the soldier Yṭpn", whom she transforms for this purpose into a "vulture", to kill Aqht. Aside from skipping over the dramatic and fateful confrontation of Anat and El, G's designation of Yṭpn as a "soldier" is misleading in that it suggests a member of a regular army.

1.3.7 G. is at his weakest in summarizing text 1.19, which he reduces to two principal episodes: the infertility of the land caused by Aqht's murder; and sister Pughat's avenging of her brother's death. It is not limitations of space which determine this leap over ca. 150 lines of text. For G. has room to speculate on Aqht's possible resurrection, and the

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[1] The latter detail is conjectural; we are not informed, owing probably to the intervening lacuna, who proposed the name, or why.

[2] This too is pure speculation; we are not told anywhere that Dan'el *presides over* a court of law; only that he judges THṬ. ADRM. DBGRN. In practice, we never see Dan'el actually ruling in a case. The description is formulaic and stereotyped and means in effect, 'D. is going about his public business routinely', which consists of spending time periodically seated in the entrance to the city-gate. In any case, the text says nothing about sojourning court.

presumed return of fertility to the land, in order to support the 'grand theory' of *Aqht* as just another version of the 'Syrian fertility myth'. Theory and factual evidence are here in inverse proportions.

1.4 The nature of his summary, coupled with the fact that he never came back to a detailed discussion of the poem, indicate that Ginsberg did not actively pursue his Ugaritic research in the post-war era.[3] The promise of the 1945 studies was not realized to its full potential.

T. H. Gaster, THESPIS. Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East (1950/^{2}1961): 316–376.[1]

1.1 In appraising Gaster's contribution to the understanding of *Aqht* one must surely distinguish the 'philologist' from the 'comparativist', the disciple of Nöldeke from the student of Frazer. Yet in practice, the 'two Gasters' frequently interact. Thus, the story of *Aqht* is ambivalently held to be "a piece of literature pure and simple[!]", but at the same time "*au fond* nothing but [!] an artistic transformation of the time-honoured seasonal drama".[2] The extant material is prudently recognized as "a fraction of the original text ... full of breaks and ... passages ... now illegible, now unintelligible". This bane for the philologist Gaster is, however, a boon for the comparativist who is free to fill the gaps in accordance with his *a priori* theoretical constructs.

1.2 Although Gaster's reconstruction of the narrative sequences of the story does not represent a radical departure from, or advance upon, previous scholarship as a whole, it is yet the most ambitious attempt since Virolleaud at a comprehensive analysis of the poem and its meaning.

1.2.1 Echoing Obermann, Gaster interprets the opening scene of 1.17:I as a rite of incubation by the acolyte "chieftain" Dan'el. But Gaster alone bears responsibility for misconstruing both the visit of K-Ḫ in 1.17:V as well as, if not more seriously, the confrontation of Anat and Aqht in 1.17:VI. In the former, the artisan god is thought to be trans-

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[3] This tallies with the fact, well-known to students of the Jewish Theological Seminary in N.Y. (Ginsberg's academic home in the post-war era), that G. never offered a course in Ugaritic studies in all his years at the Seminary.

[1] The pagination, and all subsequent quotations, are from the *Anchor Book* paperback edition, published by Doubleday (N.Y.), 1961.

[2] P. 316.

porting "a consignment of bows and arrows destined for the gods and goddesses"; and the bow which he presents to Dan'el – "in acknowledgement of ... hospitality" – is whimsically (and, I suspect, tendentiously) thought to have been intended for Anat. The goddess is thus seen to have a legal claim to Aqht's bow, and the lad's refusal to surrender it becomes a criminal offense! Thus will Gaster justify Anat's complaint – $\sqrt{lšn}$, actually 'slander' – as that of a goddess "defrauded ... of her rightful property".[3]

1.2.2 This reading of the text is totally unacceptable; for it contradicts nearly every line of the text and every implication. Anat would never have resorted to bribery if she considered the bow to be rightfully hers. Indeed, according to Gaster, Anat's bribes include "her charms" as well as "wealth and immortality".

1.2.3 After obtaining El's consent to deal with Aqht as she pleases – G. correctly surmises that the good-natured El was initially inclined to treat Anat's complaint light-heartedly as mere petulance – the goddess is said to have lured Aqht to ABLM by pretending that "she had absconded from her father's house and decided to elope with [Aqht]",[4] at the same time offering the additional blandishment of free hunting lessons. Again, there is little in the badly mutilated 1.18:I to support these suppositions. Anat's seduction of the lad in the latter is intended to allay suspicion of her ultimate objective: his murder.

1.2.4 Gaster's wish to exonerate Anat finds expression again in his reading of the goddess's involvement with Yṭpn, identified simply as her 'henchman'. The responsibility for slaying Aqht, as well as for breaking the coveted bow, is placed on the shoulders of Yṭpn and his "bungling ineptitude" to whom, allegedly, "she made it plain that she had no desire to kill the youth, but only to render him unconscious."[5] Yet this flatly contradicts Anat's explicit instructions to Yṭpn as related in 1.18:IV, viz., "expel Aqht's life-breath like wind from his nostrils". Lack of consciousness does not involve cessation of breathing.[6]

1.2.5 In reconstructing the conclusion of the story, Gaster recognizes that sister Pughat is on a mission of revenge, but assumes that she has reached Yṭpn's domicile inadvertantly, and that only by chance, and

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[3] P. 318.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Cf. further below, 'Literary Commentary', *ad loc.*, where it is argued that the verb $\sqrt{ḥwy}$ in this context cannot mean 'live, revive', but rather 'forcibly dispossess'.

while sharing Ytpn's conviviality, did she discover that she was actually in the presence of her brother's killer. – This, too, is quite mistaken.

1.3 In advancing a 'general interpretation' for the story, Gaster reveals his originality, while reverting to his earlier and preliminary studies of the epic in 1936, almost simultaneous with the publication of the *editio princeps*.[7] Gaster is an ardent devotee and exponent of the so-called 'myth-ritual' school which tends to view much of ancient Near Eastern literature as connected originally, and inextricably, to a basically uniform 'pattern' of fertility myths and rituals extending over several millennia and thousands of square miles. The story of *Aqht* is no exception to this pattern (which admits no exceptions ...): allegedly, it originates as "a primitive seasonal myth relating how a mortal huntsman challenged the supremacy of the goddess of the chase and how his subsequent execution for this impiety caused infertility upon earth." Since myth divorced from teleology is conceptually impossible, it is further supposed that the "primary purpose of the myth would have been to account for the summer drought".[8]

1.3.1 The archtype for this story is the Greek myth of Orion. Writes Gaster: "applying to Aqhat the same interpretation as ... [to] the myth of Orion, we shall be able to discover its basic character."[9]

1.4 In fact, what we have is the grinding down of a unique literary work and its reduction to a pale and pulverous caricature of itself. In addition to not doing justice to the richly textured tale that is *Aqht*, the above description of the presumed 'Urmythos' distorts the results of the philological analysis as well. Gaster's repeated efforts to exonerate Anat of guilt derives not from the text but rather from the need to fit the story into the requisite 'pattern' in which a noble goddess is pitted against a wicked mortal.

1.4.1 Similarly, it is the categorical imperative of the 'Orion-prototype' rather than any clue provided by the text (which if anything provides evidence to the contrary) which prompts G. to locate the confrontation of Anat and Aqht (1.17:VI) in a forest rather than at a house-party; and it is the same 'Orion-prototype' which colours Gaster's perception of that confrontation. Anat does not "demand [the] surrender" of the bow, as Gaster thinks; instead, she tries to 'sweet-talk' Aqht into giving it up.

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[7] "The Story of Aqhat" in: *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni XII* [1936]: 126–149.

[8] P. 320.

[9] *Ibid.*

Nor does the text know of any sexual blandishment on the part of Anat to obtain the bow: sexual seduction will enter the picture only *after* Anat despairs of obtaining the bow with Aqht's consent and as a preliminary to murder. Here too, the Orion-Artemis prototype serves to distort the basic meaning of the narrative. Aqht is, at best, an *aspiring* huntsman, and Anat at most a *sometimes* hunt-goddess. But the former is no more the twin of Orion than the latter is of Artemis.[10]

J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan:* The Ras Shamra Texts and their Relevance to the Old Testament, VTS 5 (1957; ^{2}1965): § III: Saga and Legend (73 – 91/^{2}106 – 126).[1]

1.1 The poem, like that of the *Iliad*, is considered to have an "historical element". But "G. A. Barton ... committed himself rather too hastily to a historical view of the text".

2.0 *Summary of narrative*

2.1 "Dn'l, an ancient king[2] is pre-occupied with the problem of progeny. The text introduces him in a ritual vestment[3] ministering to the gods in *the* sanctuary.[4] During this period of seven days ... he resorts to ritual incubation with the purpose of receiving in dreams divine assurance that his wish for progeny would be granted. El accedes to Baal's intercession and Baal communicates this dream to El."

2.2 Aqht is a grown youth. The artisan god "passes by with a stock of bows" and, being entertained by Dn'el, gives one to the king. Following Gaster, it is assumed that this bow was "destined for ... Anat, who strives *without scruple* to secure it".[5] She invites Aqht to a feast and "uses all female charms and wiles to induce him to part with the bow."

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[10] In fact, a 4th cent. B.C.E. Phoenician-Greek bilingual inscription from Cyprus (KAI #42) explicitly equates Anat with Athena, and leads R. A. Oden (*Studies in Lucian's DE SYRIA DEA* [1977]: 87 f.) to the correct conclusion of "Anat's martial rôle" in ancient Canaanite mythology.

[1] All quotations and page references are based on the second revised edition.

[2] The determination is based exclusively on 1.19:III:46, though the latter is not considered "explicit".

[3] *mizrtm*!

[4] The italicized portions of the quotations cited are added for emphasis.

[5] If the bow was intended for her, one may query, then why the need to be unscrupulous?!

2.3 1.17:VI: Author follows Albright – Mendenhall. The dialogue of Aqht and Anat is curiously characterized as the 'scornful repulsion' of Anat by Aqht; mortally offended, Anat "marks the young prince down as a victim". Anat then goes off to El where she "slanders" Aqht and "extorts" permission "to destroy Aqht".

2.4 1.18:I – IV: "To this end, the goddess lures the youth to a hunting-party at a place called ABLM, where she has him ambushed [!] by her "hired thug" Ytpn. The bow is thus procured, though at the cost of Aqht's life, *a result which Anat had apparently not intended.*"[6]

2.5 1.19:I: Author omits discussion of lines 5 – 28. The vultures sighted by sister Pughat ("the Maiden") are "harbingers of death in those lands". As a result of her "fine [woman's] intuition" Pughat "apprehends the death of her brother and initiates mourning rites". D. then "puts a ban upon the rain-clouds ... the summer dew, and the subterranean water for the conventional space of 'seven years' ". To the obvious question of D.'s motives, Gray replies: "to maintain congruity [with] a conception familiar to anthropology that blood violently shed and uncovered by the earth occasions sterility." The scene is alleged to demonstrate "the close association of the primitive [!] king with the fertility; his illness induces infertility". The facile assumption of D.'s illness would seem to be due to reading *Krt* into *Aqht*!

2.5.1 Thereupon D. "makes a round of his territory [!] and performs the strange [!] rite of kissing and embracing odd stalks of grain *when the harvest is over* [!!]... This rite is probably homoeopathic magic to transmit fertility to the next crop and is associated by Gaster with ... the wedding of the 'corn-maiden' ...". Author fails to consider the possibility that the 'strangeness' of the rite belies the rite; nor the fact that rites are usually performed in suitably sacred precincts. Author deduces from this rôle the significance of D's epithet *mt. rpi* = 'the healer' or 'dispenser of fertility' (assumed to be identical functions!), allegedly "an office peculiar to the king". – D.'s reference here to Aqht "may indicate the author's desire to lend pathos to the plight of Dn'il who knows that bloodshed is the cause of the drought but does not yet know that the slain man is his son". This conclusion is not easily reconciled with the author's previous determination that D., by cursing the land, has himself induced the drought.

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[6] This evaluation would seem to stand in contradiction of § 2.3: "to destroy Aqht". The rationale is the text *ank. laḫwy*, and originates with Gaster (cf. above).

2.5.2 *The recovery of A.'s remains and their interment:* in the 1957 ed. author read with Driver (CML, 1956) *bmdgt. bknrt* which he renders "in the darkness, in a linen shroud" (= CML). But in fn. *ad loc* he expresses doubt whether the alleged Ar. cognate "is a true Ar. root". In the revised edition (1965) author reads (with CTA, 1963) *bknkn* "in concealment", Ar. *kanna.* – Author cites with approval the analogy of Gaster comparing Aqht with Mot: Aqht is "the genius of the harvest".[7] This leads author to surmise that "in spite of its human protagonists" the poem of *Aqht* represents "an originally historical theme [which has] already passed into a myth with a variety of seasonal themes". Aside from the fact that this is myth-ritual theory stood on its head (the assumption of myth-ritual theory being that the seasonal is primary, the 'historical' secondary) the entire analogy of Aqht and Mot is a specious one. Aqht's body is nowhere said to have been (in G.'s words) "dismembered and eaten by vultures" as "Mot was torn to pieces" and his 'portions' eaten by the birds. Author (and scholars generally) is simply unaware that Aqht's corpse has been interred intact (minus a few pieces of ear and scalp, and, of course, minus teeth) in 1.19:I:8 – 12.

2.5.3 The curse of "localities nearest to the scene of bloodshed" recalls Deut. 21:1 – 9.

2.5.4 Aqht is mourned; but the number "seven years" allegedly "raises a problem": is 'years' to be understood literally? – This is a pseudo-problem. In legends of origins time is always magnified, as the first ten chapters of Genesis or the Sumerian king-list clearly demonstrate.

2.6 "The social duty of blood revenge is undertaken by the sister of Aqht" whom the author considers to be unnamed. No attempt is made to explain why the heroine is unnamed; nor does author seem aware that 'Pughat' is cognate with O.T. Pu'ah which is definitely a PN.[8] Author does however sense that "[i]t is somewhat surprising" – especially if D. is a king – "to find this grim duty discharged by a female". But instead of drawing the necessary conclusions (viz., that D. may not be a king after all) author is satisfied to observe that it is the female Anat who avenges Baal.

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[7] = Gaster, 1936!

[8] Yet what is not true on the narrative level is true on the 'higher' literary level. In contrast with such names as 'Aqht' and 'Dnil', and their honorific titles, 'Pughat' (= 'Lass') is indeed 'nameless', a circumstance cast into further relief by the 'mundane' nature of *her* epithets.

2.6.1 Of special interest is G.'s observation, partly anticipated by A. Van Selms,[9] that the story of *Aqht* is characterized by a "prominence of the female", a feature which he suggests (but without corroboration) is "not unfamiliar in primitive societies at seasons of transition"[?]. He then proceeds to the grand conclusion that "nothing [!] in the *Aqht* text so much indicates the association of the text with agricultural ritual."

2.7 "The doughty damsel decks and disguises herself either as the goddess Anat or as a common harlot". In fn., author discusses the crucial word *agrtn* which Gaster, following Gordon (UH/UL) took to mean "she who hired us" referring to Anat. Author considers Yṭpn's allusion to Pughat in 1.19:IV:51 as *pġt* "maiden" as telling against the supposition of a mistaken identification. However, the word *pġt* does not occur in line 51. It is only restored! One can just as easily read *'nt* as *pġt*; and the context certainly favours the former restoration. For Pughat's activity as described in lines 41 – 46 only makes sense if it is a disguise; and it is easily shown that Anat closely fits the bill as the object of that disguise.

3.0 *General Interpretation*

3.1 Author considers such an interpretation "by no means simple". He agrees with Gaster that "the primitive myth has now become literature... [Yet] broadly considered, the text turns about the sacral office of the ancient king as the dispenser of fertility". In addition to being simplistic, this reductionist conclusion could not be further from the truth if author had never laid eyes on the Ugaritic text.

K. H. Bernhardt, "Anmerkungen zum 'Sitz-im-Leben' des AQHT-Textes von Ras Shamra (Ugarit)", ACIO 25 (1960): 328 – 29.

1.1 This brief, note-size article is a capsule summary of one of the two principal 'schools of thought' concerning the general significance and ideological purpose of *Aqht*. It anticipates the more detailed discussion by K. Koch in ZA [1967] – who does not appear to have known Bernhardt's paper – and lays the theoretical foundation for what may be termed the 'royalist' approach.

1.2 The alleged difficulty in interpreting *Aqht* is attributed to the fact that "der Text gattungsmäßig schwer zu bestimmen ist und über seinen 'Sitz im Leben' kaum etwas sicheres ausgesagt werden kann". The story,

[9] *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* [1954]: 105.

says B., is a mix of 'mythical' and quasi-historical elements. It seems to unfold in an 'historical environment'; yet there is no firm demarcation line between the human and the divine worlds. Similarly, from a literary point-of-view, the material is judged to be heterogeneous: the allegedly 'cultic' and the 'purely literary' co-exist in *Aqht* side-by-side.

1.3 Bernhardt criticizes Virolleaud and (especially) Barton for "ein ausschließlich historisierendes Verständnis" of the story; and Gaster, Gray, and Engnell for a too strongly cultic approach. Yet. B. is willing to concede to the latter "daß vieles im Text in den großen 'seasonal rites' seine Heimat hat".

1.4 B.'s point-of-departure is that Dan'el "als König dargestellt wird", and that he is cast in the image of an ancient Near Eastern ruler "mit weitreichender sakraler Funktion". B. goes so far as to assume that this type of kingship and its ideology are nothing less than "der Grundgedanke des Textes" and determine its broad literary purpose, viz., the security of the ruling dynasty of Ugarit. It is remarkable, to say the least, that B. does not consider it necessary to support such sweeping generalizations with textual evidence. It is for him apparently a matter of self-evident truth.

1.5 From here it is but a small step to tying *Aqht* in with *Krt*, treated by the author elsewhere:[1] "Beide wollen Gefährdung und Sicherung der [ug.] Dynastie ... durch göttliches Eingreifen darstellen und damit ihre göttliche Legitimation besonders augenfällig machen". The principal difference between *Krt* and *Aqht*, *apud* B., is the heavier 'historical emphasis' of *Krt*: the gods in *Krt* are background figures, whereas in *Aqht* "[m]enschliche und göttliche Größen begegnen sich auf der gleichen Ebene". But it is more a case of 'humanized deities' than 'divinised humans'. The explanation of this difference is thought to be that *Aqht* supposedly reflects "einen wesentlichen, frühern Bereich der Dynastie-Geschichte".

2.1 The absence of argumentation and text citations makes it difficult to offer a critique of this thesis. As an *a priori* construct its value must be gauged by whether or not it enhances our understanding and appreciation of the text. We therefore defer criticism for the moment. In Koch's article one sees this 'royalist hypothesis' at work, thus enabling one to draw proper conclusions. However, it is my impression that B. has come to the text of *Aqht* with fixed, preconceived notions based on his earlier work on *Krt*. For it seems to me utterly inconceivable that a

[1] "Ausführungen zum KRT-Text", *Wiss. Zeit. d. Univ. Greifswald* (1955/56).

theory such as Bernhardt's could ever result from an objective and open-minded reading of *Aqht*, even to the extent which the poem's 'literal' meaning was understood 25 – 30 years ago. That Dan'el is conceived in *Aqht* as a royal figure is at least arguable; but that 'sacral kingship' (as formulated by the 'Myth-Ritual' school of Johnson, Engnell, and Widengren) lies at the heart of the poet's concerns in *Aqht* seems to me nothing short of preposterous! Only an *idée fixe*, or ideological tendentiousness, could have given birth to such a notion.

O. Eissfeldt, "Sohnespflichten im Alten Orient", SYRIA XLIII (1966): 39 – 47.

1.1 The article focuses on the list which occurs four times – in all but the last verbatim – in 1.17:I – II. It is an attempt – unsuccessful in my opinion – to discern a formal 'dodecalogue' structure in the list and to set its contents within a wider ANE context of filial piety and disloyalty. Our reservations pertain to the initial purpose. As illustrations of filial disloyalty, author cites YṢB of *Krt* and NDB of *Aḥiqar*. The O.T. examples include Ham, Reuben, and Absalom. It is at least curious, possibly also significant, that Eissfeldt does not bring any examples of filial *piety*; perhaps such examples are unknown, not being considered sufficiently 'newsworthy'.

1.2 E. does not offer a detailed philological analysis of the text in question, although he is well aware how fraught with difficulty it is. Indeed, E. expressly states that his reading of the text as a 'dodecalogue' presupposes the correctness of the translation which he espouses, one which is in several important respects faulty.

1.3 The reading of the text as a dodecalogue rests on the assumption that:

1.3.1 the words NṢB, ZTR, MŠṢU, DMR, ṬBQ, GRŠ, AḪD, M'MS, SPU, ṬḤ, and RḤṢ are all 'active participles' of verbs; and since even this yields only eleven verbs,

1.3.2 one must add a second SPU in the elliptical verse-line beginning WMNTH, despite the fact that the conjunction *w* all but precludes such an addition.

1.4 But even doctoring the text in this way is of little avail. Neither ZTR nor ḌMR can be plausibly construed as verbs. The verse-lines

introduced by AḪD and M'MS(-) refer to one and the same 'commandment' and the verb SPU, which serves double-duty on the prosodic level, presumably refers also to a single act transpiring in the temple of either Baal or El. Accordingly, when the text is properly lineated and interpreted philologically, the list of filial duties actually contains nine verbs, three of them (NṢB; MŠṢU; SPU) doing 'double-duty'; and there are not more than eight 'commandments'. The first two (NṢB; MŠṢU) refer to the proper burial of the deceased father and (in my opinion) necromancy associated with the ancestor-cult of MRZḪ. The third and fourth 'commandments' (ṬBQ; GRŠ) involve the protection of the father's reputation as well as his person; the fifth (AḪD; M'MS), assistance to be rendered when the father is inebriated and cannot make it home unsupported. The sixth (SPU) alludes to participation in the official cults of the 'high-gods', and the seventh and the eighth (ṬḪ; RḪṢ) to the 'household' chores of plastering and laundering respectively (the latter however bearing, one may presume, a cultic connotation).

1.5 Admittedly, '8' is not a 'round number' (unless it is seen as the B-term equivalent of '7'), and some scholars may be tempted to reconstruct proto-versions of the list containing seven or ten commandments, with subsequent deletion or accretion due to *Gattung* 'contamination'. But as we have it – in all four repetitions! – the list contains not twelve but eight 'commandments'. It may be worth recalling in this connection that Lady Ḥry – the eighth wife! – bears King Krt eight children (1.15:II:23 f.; III:5 – 12): two sons (YṢB and ILḪU) and six daughters, the last one named 'Octavia' (*ṯtmnt*).

1.6 The redeeming feature of E.'s article as a contribution to the understanding of *Aqht* is the observation, made *en passant*, that the drunkenness referred to in the list is to be understood as religiously sanctioned inebriation connected with the cultic institution of MRZḪ. Eissfeldt reached this conclusion at least two years prior to the publication of RS 24.258 (KTU 1.114) in *Ugaritica* V (1968) where this hypothesis receives its total confirmation.

K. Koch, "Die Sohnesverheißung an den ugaritischen Daniel", ZA (N.S.) 24 (1967): 211 – 221.

1.1 The article covers much the same ground as Eissfeldt's, and appears to have been written at once contemporaneous with and independent of the latter. However, its importance as a contribution to *Aqhtiana* far outweighs E.'s endeavour. Beginning with a general statement on the

nature of the poem, Koch combines form-critical and religio-historical observations with a detailed philological analysis of the text-material under discussions. Even if one must, as I believe, reject Koch's principal conclusions, the challenge is a formidable one and necessitates grappling with some of the most fundamental questions raised by the poem of *Aqht*.

1.2 Author begins with a general comparison of *Krt* and *Aqht* considered by him as closely related species of "Königsepen". In addition to striking similarities of thematic detail – the childless king; the divine revelation and promise of (male) offspring; the realization of the promise – both creations are thought to share a common 'psycho-historical' point-of-departure, viz.: "die Welt einer sakralen Königsauffassung, wie sie in den syrischen Kleinstaaten des zweiten Jahrtausends wohl überall verbreitet war. Fehlt der Thronfolger innerhalb einer Dynastie, sind nicht nur Thron und Herrschaft sondern alle sittlichen, rechtlichen und natürlichen Ordnungen gefährdet".[1] This concern for legitimate heirs, rooted in historical realities of the LB era in Syria-Palestine, provides both epics with their common ground. Methodologically, this assumption also determines Koch's approach to and treatment of the specific text-material at hand, viz., the list of filial duties at the beginning of 1.17, the validity of which stands or falls with the correctness of this initial presupposition.

1.3 At the beginning of 1.17:I, Dan'el is thought to be performing 'mourning rites' in a sanctuary, the location being an inference from the fact that Dan'el is clearly not at home at this time. Obermann's 'incubation hypothesis' is conspicuous by its absence. Nevertheless, Koch will infer from "die Parallele bei *Krt*" (*ibid.*) that after seven days of rites Dan'el had a revelation, "offenbar in einem Traumgesicht", in which Baal pleaded Dan'el's case before El, ostensibly arguing why Dan'el "als König unbedingt einen männlichen Nachkommen benötigt".[2] Of course, there is here more presupposition than description; for as Koch himself will aver later on in the article: "All das, was wir uns unter den Pflichten eines Königssohns vorstellen würden, fehlt völlig".[3] Nor is this – i.e., the list of filial duties – the only instance where the (pre-)conception of a royal setting and ideology is in serious tension with the 'raw data'. Had Koch extended his study to cover more than the introductory scene, he might have sensed that this tension increasingly casts doubt on the initial presupposition.

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[1] P. 212.
[2] P. 213.
[3] P. 217.

1.4 Like Eissfeldt, Koch posits a 'catalogue' of twelve duties devolving on the 'royal prince', the first of which deals with the cult of the "Ahnen-Gott". The object of this cult is not Dan'el himself but the ILIB understood to mean 'the-god-of-his-father' (with obvious allusion to Alt's famous thesis of Patriarchal religion). Dan'el himself cultivated this cult in his own lifetime, and the heir is to follow suit. The injunction to assist the drunken father is interpreted, *seq.* Obermann, as reflecting religiously sanctioned drunkenness in the temple-precinct; again the rationale is derived from the 'royal ideology': "Je mehr der König zu sich nimmt, umso besser für Dynastie und Staat." Unlike Eissfeldt, Koch is unaware of the *mrzḥ*-background of this injunction.

1.5 The final 'commandments' of laundering and plastering are also set by author within a cultic and royalist framework; rather unconvincingly by any estimate. Following Gray, the laundering of the royal garments is considered to be potentially dangerous, "weil die Kleidung mit dem Leib und damit mit dem Träger selbst in engem Kontakt steht"; accordingly, it must be presumed to have had "rituellen Charakter" (p. 217). Similarly, the plastering of the (palace) roof which Koch connects with a mention of roof-care in certain prayer incantations of babylonian provenience: the importance of this activity derives allegedly from the fact that the roof is frequently the place where religious sacrifices are offered up.

1.6 This analysis of the latter two commandments is severely compromised by the specification that these filial duties are operative only "on a day of mud//on a day of filth" (*bym. ṭiṭ // bym. rṭ*), i. e., during the rainy season of (approx.) October to March. Is the washing of the royal garments 'dangerous' and 'cultic' only in winter? Or are we perhaps to assume that the royal garments were laundered *only* in winter-time? Again: is the roof a site of cultic activity and significance only in winter? And how does one explain a crown-prince plastering the roof of his father's palace? In a palace economy, with its minute divisions of labour, surely this is a job for skilled (or semi-skilled) workmen!

1.7 The most persuasive part of Koch's study, in my opinion, is the discussion of the list's religio-historical background. Citing the fact that the 'ideal son' "sorgt zunächst für die Kontinuität der Verehrung eines 'Gottes seines Vaters(-Ahnherrn)'" rather than the national chief-deity, Koch concludes "daß wir hier auf eine Gestalt einer frühern Religionsstufe stoßen, welche einst eine in Ugarit sich einnistende Herrenschicht als nomadische Sippenreligion mitgebracht hatte".[4] The wonder is that

[4] P. 218.

Koch does not seem to sense how this conclusion, valid *grosso modo* for *Aqht* as a whole – although for 'nomadic' one should preferably say 'village' or 'rural' – effectively undermines the presupposition of *Aqht* as a 'royal epic' steeped in royalist ideology and reflecting the existential concerns of petty monarchies in 2nd millenium B.C.E. Syria-Palestine.

1.8 The analogy which Koch properly draws with 'Patriarchal religion' is yet another hint in the same direction. Indeed, his entire analysis of the list of filial duties is more hampered than helped by the 'royalist hypothesis': as Koch himself notes (p. 217), there is no mention in the list of "Hilfe beim Ratgeben, Richten und Regieren, nichts von Unterstützung bei Kriegszug und Handel". We need only add that virtually every major episode in *Aqht* points similarly to a pre-urban, non-monarchic social organization. In this major respect, *Aqht* shows itself to be the antithesis of *Krt*.

Excursus: AQHT vs. KRT

1.1 K. Koch speaks of both as "Königsepen" with "auffällige Ähnlichkeit", "nahe Berührungen", and "Gemeinsamkeit in Aufriß", which in turn raises the question of possible 'interdependence'. I submit that the question is based on false premises and erroneous interpretation, especially of the social organization and ideology which each poem presupposes and reflects. Cf. already Westermann – Günther, *Die Verheißungen* ..., 151 – 168, *infra*, pp. 65 f.

1.1.1 Admittedly, the two poems evidence some common motifs, the product no doubt of a common Northwest-Semitic ('Raphaite'?) literary heritage and tradition. The most striking of these is that of the Raphaite 'nobleman' who has everything material but lacks that which alone can ensure happiness (in this world and, especially, the next), viz., male offspring. The motif is of course well known from the O.T. (cp. Gen. 15:1 – 3). The two poems may also have undergone some 'cross-pollination' since they seem to have been transmitted in identical circles of tradent-scribes. Yet I shall argue below that they remain fundamentally and in the most important respects very different works of literary art, as different as *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*.

1.2 There are, to begin with, important differences of detail:

1.2.1 D. may be childless, but he has a wife, and a devoted one at that. King Krt has endured seven broken, and childless, marriages. Krt's immediate problem is not how to sire a son but how to make a lasting marriage.

1.2.2 Krt's vision and revelation are spontaneous, the result of sleeping peacefully, or at least comfortably, in his royal bedroom. By contrast, D. must work very hard to induce revelation. El, apparently the deity in charge of such matters, responds to D. only after Baal's intervention on his behalf, whereas Krt has but to shed some tears of self-pity to awaken El's compassion. The reason is clear (if only implied): as a royal figure, Krt is a 'demigod' (at least according to the 'royal ideology' which he propagates in his realm). As such he is under El's direct protection; Krt is *ʿbd il* and *nʿmn. il.* Not so Dan'el, who is simply a righteous, god-fearing mortal, respected in the community but without special standing in the Divine Council. The same El will eventually acquiesce, albeit reluctantly, in the cold-blooded murder of his 'godson' Aqht; but he spares no effort to save the life of Krt, even though the latter has committed apparently the serious offence of not fulfilling a vow to the goddess Asherah (= El's wife!).

1.2.3 Eventually, Krt will sire many children, referred to as [*bn*]. *šrm* "royal progeny": six girls and two boys to be exact. This is typically monarchic: kings are wealthy, generally take several wives and concubines; multiple progeny is thus a sign of status and achievement in the international circle of kings. Not so Dan'el: this 'gentleman farmer' has but two children, a boy and a girl. And neither child, especially the daughter, seems to live 'high off the hog'. Pughat works long and hard in and around the house, while Aqht is, by implication, responsible for the harvest at an early age. They are certainly not typical royal progeny.

1.2.4 Both D. and K. are described as 'judges'. Indeed, it is the formula of 'judging the widow' in the description of Dan'el's routine activity which lends credence *prima facie* to the claim that D. is a royal figure. It serves as part of stereotyped attributes of kingship in the ancient Near East. However, the respective contexts in which the formula occurs in *Krt* and *Aqht* and the elaborations which this formula undergoes in each of the poems reveal remarkable, though insufficiently noted, differences. D. adjudicates on the 'threshing floor' located just outside (in the 'nose') of the city-gate; and if *tḫt. adrm* is interpreted to mean "among the nobility", then he is not alone in this task. Nor does the text provide any basis for the oft-assumed view of D. as *primus inter pares.* He is one of the *adrm*, neither better nor worse. Contrast King K. seated on his royal dais (*ksu. mlkh*) in his throne-room (*ʿdh* ?), a sole and apparently absolute arbiter. Admittedly, both perform the task of adjudicating the widow (and the orphan), symbol of society's weak and defenceless members. But in *Krt* there is a very significant, generally overlooked addition to the formula: the king is also expected to judge the 'persecuted' – lit., "the-short-of-breath", from fleeing either a master or a creditor.

In D.'s society there are of course widows and orphans (military casualties are generally male); but there are no persecuted, no masters and slaves (which explains why Pughat has to work so hard and why wife DNTY does her own cooking!); no foreclosures on land or personal bondage for default of loan-payment. D.'s world is that of the small town or village (with surrounding fields or 'estates'): peaceful (except for occasional clashes with neighbouring towns and nomadic tribes), slow-moving, relaxed, without the internal tensions and conflicts which result from a highly organized but socially stratified urban community where everyone knows his place, but where not everyone's place is in the sun.

1.3 The differences between *Krt* and *Aqht* are not only differences of detail, however numerous and significant they may be. The two poems are *generically* different as well. *Krt* has nothing of the tragic in it. In *Krt*, life is orderly and the world 'makes sense': events in *Krt* follow logical courses of cause and effect, reward and punishment for the good and bad respectively. Although not lacking in irony, the message in *Krt* can be read comparatively close to the narrative surface. The opposite is true of *Aqht*: the message must be ferreted out bit by allusive bit. It is not by chance that *Krt* ends on a note of levity (although the king himself is obviously far from amused!). The irony in *Krt* is light, almost humourous; in *Aqht* it is tragic. In *Krt* the sounds of bugles and trumpets drown out the occasional crying and wailing: the king's life is threatened, the world takes a bad turn; but he recovers, as does the world, because the king has all the resources of the world – human as well as divine – at his fingertips and at his disposal. How unlike poor Dan'el, who faces a menacing, ultimately irrational universe all alone, with neither material nor spiritual resources to assist him. In *Aqht* the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer. In *Aqht* one never hears trumperts and bugles; and the occasional clash of cymbals and castanets – at the end of a seven-year mourning period! – is drowned out by the mute scream of human agony and despair.

A. S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess: Anat in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Oslo, 1969): 70–82.

1.1 Author states at the outset (p. 70): "The *Aqht* text is still an enigma, and so far no satisfactory solution of its problems has been found". Had he limited himself to this statement, the net balance of author's contribution would have been more positive than it is in fact.

1.2 K. is unable to decide whether Anat is "just an accidental representative of the gods" in *Aqht*, their "advocate and ... executioner" whose job is "to test the young Aqht, to see if he had learnt his lesson", viz., "that a gift from the gods could also be ordered back"; or, whether Anat is acting independently and on her own initiative, driven by ruthless passion and showing disrespect of the gods and their "moral rules".[1] The author is similarly ambivalent when describing the rôle of Aqht: on the one hand, his fate is seen as "punishment" for having "failed the test", viz., the recognition "that what the gods wanted, they had the right to take".[2] But he is also, presumably, the innocent victim of Anat's ruthlessness and lust for violence. – On the rôle of Dan'el author has nothing to say.

1.3 Ambivalence veers perilously close to contradiction when K. discusses the moral stance of the poet-author towards his subject-matter and the actors involved in the drama. According to K., there is neither "moral condemnation" of Anat. nor "word of reproach" for her; nor is any to be expected.[3] The poet, *apud* K., considers it "quite natural that what the gods wanted they had the right to take".[4] Furthermore: "to preach morally is ... not the object of the *Aqht* text which was more probably used in some kind of fertility cult when aridity and hunger were threatening".

1.4 The implications to be drawn from this analysis are painfully clear: the poet who composed *Aqht* is a poor heathen lacking a critical faculty; and his literary creation is little more than *abracadabra* for dealing with infertility and the like. Good poets are, or should be, pastors!

1.5 Yet almost in the same breath K. will assert with uncharacteristic insight: "If we consider Anat's rôle in the epic of *Aqht*, it is clear that her violence and hasty actions are emphasized by the author ... She does not achieve her ends... [T]here seems to be some kind of moral in the story: a goddess who created misfortune and tragedy around her in this way did not have success ... hers were disappointment and frustration".[5] Elsewhere (p. 71) K. speaks of "the irony of the story that [Anat] nevertheless did not get the bow".

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[1] Pp. 71, 76.

[2] Pp. 70, 71.

[3] Pp. 70 f. It is a measure of K.'s confusion that this verdict is thought to support *both* of the mutually exclusive alternatives described in the previous paragraph.

[4] P. 71.

[5] P. 82.

1.6 It is unfortunately indicative of K.'s innocence in literary analysis that he should fail to recognize in this "moral" the damning criticism of Anat which it so patently is. One is left furthermore to ponder how such a moral squares with the view of Anat as "just an accidental representative of the gods", and the fate of Aqht as justified "punishment".

H. Gese, "Die Religionen Altsyriens", in: C. M. Schröder (ed.), *Die Religionen der Menschheit*, vol. X/2 [1970]: 3 ff.: § IIIe: Das *Aqht*-epos: 87 – 90.

1.1 This short discussion is mostly a summary of the poem's contents. As such it provides an indication as to the general consensus at the end of the sixties.

2.1 D. is described as a 'king of Harnam'. In fact, Gese goes as far as to designate the lad Aqht as 'king', whose death, like the sickness of King *Krt*, "führt zum Zusammenbruch der Ordnung, auch der Naturordnung".[1] Also predicated on the notion of D. as a king is G.'s explanation (p. 92) of his epithet *mt. rpi*: "der König als Spender und Garant der Fruchtbarkeit muß mit [die *rpum*] in Verbindung stehen." In addition to echoing Gaster and Gray, author overlooks the fact that D. is always *mt. rpi* never **mt. rpim*.

2.2 The opening scene in 1.17:I is considered an 'incubation ritual'; and the list of filial duties is described as "ein Gedicht ... fast katechismusartig" which offers insight into the ancestors-cult. The 'wondrous bow' – author does not seem to be aware of its precise nature – is (correctly) understood as intended for Aqht, and the feast in 1.17:VI is similarly viewed (again, correctly) as in Aqht's honour.

2.3 It is in text 1.19 that the summary goes awry. The first 17 lines are virtually ignored. The drought reported by daughter Pughat is presumed to have lasted seven years before eliciting a response from Dan'el, at which time D. is thought to have performed 'a fertility ritual' embracing and kissing the sheaves. At the same time he supposedly expresses the hope that son Aqht – absent now for seven years! – may yet return to gather in the harvest.

2.4 G. has little to say on the subsequent messenger-report of A.'s death; on the retrieval of A.'s remains from the gizzard of the mother-

[1] P. 90.

bird ŞML; on the manner or place of burial; or on D.'s parting words to his son. The aggrieved D. is thought to have cursed three 'cities' in the immediate environs of the crime; but there is no reference to Deut. 21. The seven-year mourning period and its culminating sacrifice are followed by Pughat's mission of revenge to the residence of Yṭpn – a PN understood by G. as related to Ar. *ṭafana* "kill".[2] Again, G. has little to comment on this episode except for drawing the parallel with Judith of the *Apocrypha.*

2.5 G.'s personal contribution is in his brief observations concerning the 'general interpretation'. Although he rejects a 'seasonal interpretation', he is nonetheless partial to Gaster's attempt to connect *Aqht* with the Gr. myth of Orion, noting, however (p. 89), that "die Parallelität ist auf einige grundsätzliche Züge beschränkt." The most original part of this discussion, and one of the more important insights into the nature of the composition, occurs at the very end. In the course of considering, and doubting, whether Aqht was subsequently resurrected, G. speaks of "der tragische Grundton" of the poem, and concludes with the important statement that "[n]irgends wird deutlicher, welche tiefe Kluft in der mythischen Welt der bronzezeitlichen Religion Syriens zwischen Gott und Mensch besteht, als in diesem Epos".[3] The statement is especially cogent if one substitutes for the too-modern 'God' the goddess Anat and her cult.

2.6 The discussion of *Aqht* is followed by a yet briefer one on the *Rephaim* texts (1.20–22). The *rpum* are thought to be "vergöttlichte (Ur-)Ahnen".[4] The connection of these fragmentary texts with *Aqht* is deemed "ganz unsicher".[5]

D. R. Hillers, "The Bow of Aqht: The Meaning of a Mythological Theme", in: H. A. Hoffner, ed., *Orient and Occident* [AOAT 22: 1973], 71–80.

I. Exposition

1.1 This article develops an idea first broached by De Vaux (subsequently retracted) and by Albright in the first decade following the publication of Virolleaud's *editio princeps*, but most devoutly – and

[2] *Seq.* Gaster, unacknowledged.

[3] P. 90. Cf. now also J. C. De Moor, "The Crisis of Polytheism in Late Bronze Ugarit", OTS 24 (1986): 1 ff. (though I do not find all the conclusions acceptable).

[4] P. 91.

[5] P. 90.

almost exclusively – adhered to in the post-war era by Gaster, viz.: that behind the literary trappings of the Ugaritic narrative is a sexual-romantic *leitmotif*, epitomized and symbolically camouflaged in the episode of Anat's coveting the composite bow (1.17:VI). In this reading of the story, the coveting of the bow is but a euphemism for sexual appetite directed at the young hero's *membrum virilis*; and Aqht's murder following his refusal to surrender the bow is seen as an act of emasculation by a violent, misogynist goddess "who turns a man into a woman".[1]

2.1 The 'Introduction' to this article summarizes briefly, and for the most part unexceptionally, all the extant text material with reference to the bow, from 1.17:V to 1.19:I:17. Of this summary we need but note five points:

2.1.1 Dan'el is called "the wise patriarch"; and it is he (rather than Anat or Aqht) who is thought (erroneously) to be the intended recipient of the bow.[2]

2.1.2 After obtaining El's consent to dispose of Aqht, Anat returns and "pretends to make up with him".[3] The formula "thou art my brother and I your sister" is thus not interpreted as an amourous advance by the goddess and cannot, therefore, be used to sustain the general hypothesis.

2.1.3 The relationship of Anat and Yṭpn is viewed as "co-operation" with a "henchman", with no further elaboration.

2.1.4 Anat's intention is to kill Aqht and not to resurrect him thereafter. This conclusion is based on taking the particle L affixed to the verb √*ḥwy* in 1.18 – 1.19:I as 'negative' rather than 'asseverative'.

2.1.5 The entire text of 1.19:I:1 – 17 is considered "frightfully obscure".

2.2 There follows a cursory review of some leading opinions, especially of Albright and Ginsberg. The latter's argument against the former in

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[1] P. 80.

[2] That this latter notion is mistaken ought to be self-evident: (a) Dan'el hands the bow to his son immediately after the guests' departure and wishes him success; (b) it never occurs to Anat to try and obtain the bow from Dan'el; (c) there is no credible pretext why Koshar-Ḫasis should present Dan'el with an unsolicited present; nor have scholars ever suggested one. As a 'coming-of-age' present for Aqht, whose celebration we witness in the following column, the episode makes far better sense.

[3] P. 71.

BASOR [1945] is appraised by Hillers as "convincing ... on the negative side ... [but not] a completely satisfactory exegesis".[4] Hillers concedes that "[the poem of] Aqht ... does not speak of seduction"; but in the comparative materials assembled by De Vaux and Albright there are allegedly "features ... strikingly similar" to what we (supposedly) have in *Aqht*. These features are described and discussed in part III of the article. Here, in the 'Introduction', Hillers is content to observe that Ginsberg's interpretation of Anat's cupidity as merely a reflection of her "bellicose nature" does not adequately explain her rejection of Aqht's offer for a duplicate bow: "If there is one thing clear from the story, it is that she wants Aqhat's bow; she does not just want a bow, nor would she be content with one just like his. Would the goddess of war necessarily take that line?"[5]

2.2.1 The question is well put, and the answer is, as Hillers implies, to be answered in the negative. But it still does not follow, as Hillers believes, that Anat's *real* motive is Aqht's body rather than his bow. The solution must be sought in a more profound understanding of Anat's character, one far more complex than is suggested by the term 'bellicose'.

2.3 Hillers' exposition of his own views follows in §§ I – IV. The first section, entitled 'The Bow of Aqhat", takes up an idea from H. A. Hoffner's study of "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity"[6] where the bow of *Aqht* is referred to (p. 330) as "a masculine symbol". Hillers hails this idea as "an insight of fundamental importance" – a curious exaggeration since it can be read right off the text of *Aqht* in 1.17:VI:39 f.: *qštm.* [*nṯq*]. *mhrm / ht. tṣdn. tinṯt* – but he regrets and rejects Hoffner's conclusion that the episode in which the bow figures in *Aqht* is without any "sexual associations". Hillers sees in this conclusion a deviation from the "promising path struck in the original insight";[7] for he is persuaded that the composite bow of *Aqht* is not merely a symbol of 'masculinity' but also of 'male sexuality'.[8] To this end, he adduces a variety of ANE source-material: Sumerian potency-incantations; NWSemitic treaty-curses; Hittite prayers; up to and including post-biblical Jewish literature (Ecclus. 26:12).

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[4] P. 72.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] JBL 85 (1966): 324 – 34.

[7] P. 73.

[8] The Freudian bias which underlies this failure to distinguish 'masculinity' from 'male sexuality' will be subsequently exposed by H. H. P. Dressler in UF 7:217 – 220. 'Hunting' and 'warfare' are 'masculine' activities without being in any way sexual.

2.3.1 A statement of the author's hypothesis concludes this part of the discussion: "... at a literal level [*Aqht*] tells of a young man who loses his bow and his life at the hands of the goddess of love and war; at a symbolic level, a sexual meaning is present."[9]

2.3.2 It is very important that we note Hillers' distinction between the 'literal' and the 'symbolic'. The former belongs to the domain of 'philology' and is author's *métier*, whereas the latter belongs to the 'metaphilological', in this case, the psychoanalytic. H. does not always seem fully cognizant of the difference between the two levels of interpretation.

2.4 Section II seeks to establish the "mythological theme", understood to mean "a narrative pattern ... abstracted from a number of concrete examples embodying a variety of this pattern".[10] This is but a variation on the myth-ritual patternism of Hooke, Engnell, Gaster, et al., and involves a similar technique of analysis: a selection of ancient stories from sundry times and places – mostly of Greco-Roman origin – are studied for their common literary traits. The resultant 'common denominator' is the 'pattern' (= H.'s 'theme') which then serves as a guide to interpreting a specific literary work – in our case *Aqht* – purportedly shown, but in fact *assumed* to belong to the pattern-forming group. In his description of the method, Hillers does not seem adequately apprised of the methodological weaknesses and pitfalls of this approach, especially its 'reductionism'.

2.4.1 The 'theme' or 'pattern' which H. seeks to identify consists of six main elements:

2.4.1.1 "The confrontation of the male and the female is usually depicted as a *sexual approach*".[11]

2.4.1.2 "The male is *almost always* a young man".[12]

2.4.1.3 "The youth is a hunter in *a significant number* of cases.."

2.4.1.4 "The hero resists ... in one fashion or another".

2.4.1.5 "Emasculation is a feature of *a significant number* of the stories.... It *comes close* to being an essential, constant feature of the theme".

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[9] P. 74.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Emphasis original.

[12] The italics in this and the following quotations are added for emphasis.

2.4.1.6 "Death through the agency of a beast is present in *various* versions".

2.5 Section III, entitled "Meaning of Myth", examines the implications of author's approach for a 'general theory' of mythology. Since it is not directly relevant for the Ugaritic *Aqht*, it need not be further discussed here.

2.6 The final section (IV) is an attempt to extrapolate from the analysis of the bow-episode to the overall "meaning of the Aqhat epic". But author defers for another occasion discussion of the 'macro-' questions, and restricts himself to a few isolated observations on the 'sexuality' and the 'feminine' in *Aqht*. As illustrating the former, H. cites the picture of Dan'el who, as the story opens, is "[in] anguish over his sterility". More persuasively argued is the comparison of Anat and Pughat as a deliberate contrast of the irrational and the violent with the wise and compassionate. The story is thus seen to contain "a nice balance in ... feminine types".[13] Unfortunately, H. stops short of suggesting how this bears on an understanding of the basic literary purpose and ideological 'message' of the poem. It ought to have been author's point of departure rather than the conclusion of the essay.

II. Critique

3.1 The methodological shortcomings inherent in Hillers' approach have long been noted[14] and they need not concern us here. Of more immediate interest are two questions: (a) how valid is Hillers' 'theme' or 'pattern' *per se*? (b) does the 'pattern' fit the text, or is it forced onto it?

3.2 The 'pattern' is really an artificial construct, as author himself recognizes. Not one of the sample stories contains all the constituent elements; and except for the fifth, none can even be considered a *sine qua non* for identifying a representative case. Nor is it clear how many elements must be identified in any given story (outside the initial selection) to qualify it for 'membership'. In fact, H. ultimately is forced to *assume* what he intended to demonstrate, viz., that *Aqht* is a type-case. The 'pattern' emerges as purely 'descriptive', without any 'prescriptive'

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[13] P. 80.

[14] Cf. e.g., H. Frankfort, *The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions* (1951); S. G. F. Brandon, "The Myth and Ritual Position Critically Considered", in: *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (ed. S. H. Hooke, 1958): 261 ff.

force. The alleged 'common denominator' is (at best) common only to the original sample chosen for the purpose of establishing the pattern.[15]

3.3 However, the most serious deficiencies of H.'s analysis arise from an attempt to match the author's constituent 'theme-elements' with the 'literal' data of the text, the main episode of the bow in 1.17:VI no less than the narrative as a whole.

3.3.1 Is the confrontation of Anat and Aqht in 1.17:VI properly described as "a sexual approach [by the goddess]"? The answer must be an emphatic negative. It should be recalled at this point that Albright's reading of this episode as a seduction scene pre-dates Ginsberg's study of the text in BASOR of 1945 and is based on a mistaken rendering of *tṣb. qšt* in 1.17:VI:13. Ginsberg was the first to elucidate TṢB as $\sqrt{ṣby}$ "covet", rather than $\sqrt{nṣb}$ "erect, set up". To my knowledge, Albright never disputed subsequently this obviously correct exegesis. In fact, the entire description of an immobilized Anat which follows – eyes agape like a snake's, the hand losing its grip on the wine-goblet – support no other interpretation but that Anat is transfixed by the sight of Aqht's *bow*, rather than his body. If seduction were on Anat's mind at this moment, her bodily reactions would surely have been differently portrayed.

3.3.2 The ultimate proof is provided, somewhat ironically, by the seduction scene in 1.18:I (much of whose contents were unknown to Hillers). The seduction is neither a challenge for the goddess nor an end in itself. It is part of a broader scheme whose objective is murder, and it serves as a means of allaying the lad's suspicions about Anat's *volte-face* and her bid for reconciliation. By subordinating the seduction as a means to an end, the poet makes it clear that Anat has no intrinsic interest in love or love-making: her attitude towards sex is that of a harlot, if not worse!

3.3.3 Of the six identifying motifs in H.'s pattern, only the second is unquestionably represented in *Aqht*.

(1) The youth Aqht is far from being an experienced hunter; he is a novice whose life is cut short, conceivably, before he has bagged his first game.

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[15] Accordingly, H.'s argument that, since 'resurrection' of the slain hero is not a "universal feature" of the theme, then "it is unwarranted to conclude ... that the incompletely preserved story of Aqhat must originally have ended with his restoration to life" [p. 78] – is itself invalid, unless *Aqht* is assumed *a priori* to belong to the class of stories.

(2) Aqht's resistance, unlike that of Gilgamesh, is not to Anat's sexual overtures. Anat has no difficulty in seducing the all-too-willing lad in 1.18: it costs him nothing (at least for the moment) and is a source of considerable pleasure.

(3) The fifth element, considered by H. as nearly obligatory for the pattern, exists in *Aqht*, at most, on the 'symbolic' level. But in the stories which otherwise make up the pattern, the motif of emasculation is to be found on the 'literal' level as well.

(4) Aqht is not slain by a 'beast' but rather – though this datum was unknown at the time to Hillers – by a Sutean nomad-turned-falcon who is but an extension of Anat herself, her chosen weapon. The report by the tearful messengers to Dan'el of Aqht's death cites Anat as the culprit. If Pughat exacts revenge from the Sutean mercenary Yṭpn, it is because she cannot physically challenge the goddess. Yet Aqht's blood must somehow be 'redeemed' if the curse on Dan'el's land is to be removed (cf. Num. 35:33).

4.1 Ultimately, H.'s analysis fails because it reflects a fundamental misreading of the character of Anat whom the poet has defined with great care and skill. Anat is a creature of passion, though not necessarily sexual passion. She is totally unreceptive to rational argument when emotionally aroused. The moment she sets 'snake-eyes' on Aqht's bow she is 'hooked'. Immature personality that she is – a goddess who never grew up, remaining eternally *btlt. ʿnt*[16] – she is incapable of denying herself the object of her craving, no matter the cost or injustice involved in achieving satisfaction. Like a child who espies a candy-bar, Anat cannot defer requitement of her desire. The powerless child throws a tantrum; the powerful Anat spins evil plots. If we must seek a literary stereotype for Anat, it is not the spurned goddess-of-love but the jealous 'witch' or 'Lilith'.

4.1 The most significant observation in H.'s presentation is the comparison of Pughat, the true heroine of the story, with her polar-opposite, the villain Anat. It is just this contrast that makes *Aqht* such a fascinating tale; for it inverts the 'orthodox' hierarchy of 'virtuous gods' and 'evil man'. To Hillers' credit let it be said that he came closest of all interpreters of *Aqht* to recognizing this 'inversion of values' which makes the Ugaritic tale of *Aqht* the unique literary achievement of ANE civilization which it is.

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[16] Rather than **mṯt. ʿnt*.

A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques*, t. I: *Mythes et Légendes* [LAPO: 1971]. – *Aqht:* collaboration of Caquot-Sznycer, pp. 400 – 58, including 'Introduction' (401 – 15), select bibliography, (416), translation and notes (419 ff.).

I. Exposition

1.1 This translation of *Aqht* is a major landmark in the history of *Aqhtiana*, and must serve as a point-of-departure for any modern discussion. Aside from the merits of the translation, the editors bring to the study of *Aqht* an open mind, unencumbered by *a priori* notions of 'patterns' and 'prototypes'. Their views of general interpretation are based, for the most part, on their understanding of the text proper, in all its philological minutiae; and the translation shows a scrupulous, non-tendentious respect for the canons of comparative philology and Semitic linguistics. Parallels with cognate literatures are generally drawn only after the Ug. text has been elucidated, and for purposes of illumination rather than as 'proof'. Thus, if one wishes to differ with the views of Caquot and Sznycer on *Aqht*, one must first demonstrate that their translation of the texts supporting these views is mistaken. This is as it should be, and it is the very standard which we have set for ourselves in this work.

1.2 In reviewing the history of interpretation, C – S make the following points of interest:

1.2.1 The view of *Aqht* as a variation on the Adonis-Tammuz theme presupposes the *a priori* validity of Frazerian hypotheses, while forcing the actual details of the story to conform to a pre-conceived 'pattern'. This criticism is directed principally at Gaster and Engnell; but the position of Gray, considered "plus nuancée", is also vulnerable on this count.

1.2.2 Barton's study is deemed to have been unsuccessful because it is based on "recherches onomastiques" which the authors consider disputable. At the same time, however, they assert (*contra* Fronzaroli) that there is nothing in the story to connect Dan'el with Ugarit or Ugaritians. To judge by Dan'el's epithet *mt. hrnmy* which – following Albright[1] – authors take to be a reference to Dan'el's home at or near modern Hermel on the lower Orontes, the story of *Aqht* is set in the northern Beqa', in the vicinity of Kadesh.

[1] BASOR 130 (1953): 26 f.

1.3 The author's view of the poem as a whole is neatly summarized towards the end of the Introduction. Negatively:

1.3.1 – "Notre poème n'est pas de l'histoire ou de l'epopée historique".

1.3.2 – "C'est encore moins un mythe, agraire ou social, et

1.3.3 – il est très improbable qu'il ait jamais été recité ou joué lors d'une fête saisonière, nationale, ou exceptionelle".

1.4 To each and all of these statements we give our unqualified assent; less so to the following 'positive' statements.

1.5 The epic of *Aqht* is considered analogous to the Mesopotamian legends of Gilgamesh, Adapa, and Etana: "C'est, au sens précis du terme, un 'classique' d'Ougarit, destiné non seulement à flatter l'imagination ou à éveiller un plaisir esthétique, mais surtout à donner les leçons". Although Dan'el, *apud* C – S, is certainly a 'just king', it is not 'kingship', either in theory or practice, which lies at the center of the poem's concern. Rather: "c'est l'occasion d'enseigner ce que sont les dieux: El souverain et clément, Baal intercesseur, Anat passionée et inquiétante. C'est l'occasion surtout d'enseigner ce que doit être l'attitude de l'homme devant les dieux (condamnation de la démesure) et de donner des leçons de piété et de juste conduite".[2]

II. Critique

2.1 I am in basic agreement with C – S in their criticisms of earlier scholarship, especially the position of the 'myth-ritual' school. I also incline to the definition of *Aqht* as a 'classic' with a didactic motive (especially in its present, presumably priestly recension). Yet one must be careful not to confuse the didaction of the poet-artist with that of the priest or school-teacher. Above all, however, we share the view of C – S that the poem of *Aqht* cannot be reduced to a single and central *Idée* or to a common literary denominator, whether 'royalist' or 'romantic', without sacrificing much of the poem. The story is not mere 'trappings' for an idea or 'theme' (and needless to say, for a ritual). The 'didactic' (on the creative level) is achieved with the aid, not at the expense of the artistic; the 'aesthetic' goes hand-in-hand with the 'moral'; and 'learning' is achieved by stimulating the imagination as well and as much as the mind.

[2] P. 414.

2.2 The ultimate question is: what *is* the message (or messages) that the poem seeks to convey? For C–S, the poet of *Aqht* is something of a pastor or a priest: soft-spoken, benign, straight-forward, serious, and rather conservative in outlook – a defender of the ancestral faith and of its institutional expressions and spokesmen. He teaches platitudes: 'sovereign and merciful El'; 'trustworthy Baal'; 'temperamental Anat'; 'moderation'; 'piety'; 'moral conduct', etc., all well defined in societal norms and religious legislation.

2.2.1 This is not my reading of *Aqht*. I see the author as indignant and critical; subtle and ironic; challenging the orthodox theology and social ethos of his/her day and milieu by means of a cleverly camouflaged story set in 'ancient times' and featuring legendary heroes. The plea is not for a stronger faith in the status quo but for a rejection of the society's normative values and ideals of conduct. It is not, I submit, the spirit of the church-sermon or the Sunday-school classroom which infuses *Aqht* but the spirit of protest and indictment; and ultimately, of rebellion. C–S properly emphasize that *Aqht* shows no special ties to the city-state of Ugarit, which is neither mentioned nor alluded to. If *Aqht* is a 'classic', then it is a classic of LB Canaanite civilization, as much at home in Megiddo and Hazor as in Ugarit, in coastal Tyre and Sidon as in Ashtaroth and Edrei in the Bashan.

2.3 My principal if not only dissent from C–S's general interpretation concerns their view of Dan'el as a royal figure, whether foreign (as they assume) or domestic. It should be understood however that this view of Dan'el is not crucial for their overall interpretation as outlined above; and they do not draw from it any far reaching conclusions.[3]

2.4 In support of their view of Dan'el as 'king', C–S cite – in addition to the term *mlk* in 1.19:III:46 – his fixed epithet *mt. hrnmy* which they equate with the Akk. formula '*awilum* + GN' and which at Mari and

[3] Some years after TO, C–S will go much further in their view of the kingship element in *Aqht*, now unhappily lumped together with *Krt*: "The religious significance of the monarchy as an institution is made clear in ... 'Keret' and 'Daniel and Aqhat'. These heroes [= Krt and Dan'el] ... were ... not kings of Ugarit but of distant cities. They were however kings... *These two legends can ... be regarded as evidence of the Ugaritic ideology of kingship.*" (Emph. added – BM). Complete harmony with the views of Bernhardt and Koch is obviated only by the qualification that "this ideology was no longer in accordance with the institution of the monarchy as it in fact functioned at the end of the Bronze Age". Cf. Th. P. van Baaren, et al. [edd.], *Iconography of Religions*, § XV: Mesopotamaia and the Near East: *Ugaritic Religion* (Leiden, 1980): 18. – In my opinion, whoever speaks of 'an ideology of kingship' in *Aqht*, indicates thereby that he has entirely misread the poem as *Krt*.

Alalakh is allegedly "une manière de désigner le roi d'une cité étrangère". This argument depends for its cogency (over and above the question of the validity of the Mari-Alalakh evidence) on two debatable, even doubtful propositions:

2.4.1 – that *hrnmy* (as distinct from **hrnm*) is a place-name. Aside from the morphological question posed by the *-y* suffix (mostly understood as a 'nisbe' form with gentilic signification), this interpretation seems to founder on 1.19:IV:19, where *hrnmy* appears to be a divine epithet.

2.4.2 – that Dan'el is portrayed in *Aqht* as a foreigner. To the contrary: whatever he may have been to certain ethnic elements of the Ugaritic populace, to the poet of *Aqht* Dan'el is the 'hometown hero' and the anticipated object of empathic identification. The 'foreigner' in *Aqht* is the Sutean mercenary, and villain, Yṭpn. (Admittedly, this latter datum was unknown to C–S when they wrote.)

J. C. L. Gibson, "Myth, Legend and Folklore in the Ugaritic Keret and Aqhat Texts", VTS 28 [Congress Volume]: 1975, 60–68.

1.1 The poem of *Aqht* is treated in the second half of this brief but important essay, originating as a lecture at the IOSOT Congress of summer, 1974, roughly contemporaneous with the appearance of *Textes Ougaritiques* which author can hardly have known.

1.2 The discussion opens with a cursory summary of the main episodes in the narrative. Intended as a basis for discussion, the summary is mostly unexceptional as it steers clear of contentious and controversial issues. It may be read accordingly as reflecting the 'conventional wisdom' of scholarly consensus in the early seventies.[1]

[1] I note in passing some principal points of disagreement with G.'s summary: (1) There is no textual basis for G.'s assertion that Dan'el "orders" a bow from Koshar-Ḫasis; or that (2) the presentation of the bow to Aqht is accompanied by a "warning" to offer the "first fruits of the chase ... in a temple"; or that (*a fortiori*) (3) Aqht's alleged failure to heed this warning proves to be "a contributory cause of [his] disaster" – G. is clearly reading *Krt* into *Aqht*! (4) Dan'el's "tour of inspection round his farm" (p. 67; a most felicitous description) does not entail a "fertility rite upon the few solitary shoots". This notion, a vestige of the thirties, is a figment of scholarly imagination and should be laid to its eternal rest. (5) Taking *bknkn* in 1.19:III:41 (a mistaken reading) to mean "family vault" is isogetic rather than exegetic. (6) Daugher

1.3 The significance of G.'s essay lies in its acute perception of the sociological background which the text *presupposes*, as distinct from what Frazerian theory demands. G.'s is the first outright and well-supported challenge to the prevailing view of Dan'el as a royal figure, and all that this implies for defining the literary purpose and ideological cast of the poem.

1.4 To be sure, G. concedes that Dan'el is "once called a king [1.19:III:46]"; but it is a concession made grudgingly, and with the emphatic qualification of "only once"! Otherwise, asserts G., [pp. 66 f.], "the picture of [Dan'el's] house and activity ... has more in common with the ... portrayal of a village chief ... or with the idyllic atmosphere of the patriarchal narratives in *Genesis* than with the trappings of urban kingship ... that meet us in the *Keret* text. Daniel[2] wants a son not to succeed him on a prestigious throne, but to look after him when he is old...; his daughter Pughat draws water at the well [and] works in the fields ... she lifts him on to an ass's back when he goes on a tour of inspection round his farm ... it is [o]n the threshing floor by the village gate that he sits to judge..." These perfectly obvious facts – to which the present writer will shortly thereafter add the new exegesis of 1.19:III:46, rendering G.'s concession gratuitous – permit no other conclusion but that the assumption of "a Canaanite royal ideology" in *Aqht* is "quite invalid". Dan'el is for G. "a village chief" whose "homely ... manner of life" requires that we see him as "the old Canaanite folk-hero ... mentioned along with Job and Noah in *Ezekiel*".[3]

1.5 G. concludes his discussion of *Aqht* (and the essay) with some rather speculative and less-than-convincing thoughts on what he calls the story's "patently fantastic and supernatural scenes". These include the confrontation of Anat and Aqht in 1.17:VI; Anat's appearance before El (*ibid.*); and the death of Aqht in 1.18, all of which G. considers "secondary [and] supplying only the backcloth against which Dan'el's piety is put to the test". Even the presence of the wondrous composite

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Pughat is disguised not as a "serving girl" but as Anat; and (7) her manner in Yṭpn's tent is more akin to that of the Apochryphal Judith than to the O.T. Jael who feeds milk rather than wine to her intended victim and whose weapon of choice is a handy tent-peg and mallet rather than a sword deliberately concealed.

[2] In so vocalizing, G. follows an oral suggestion of Lipiński (cf. fn. 18) that the Mari texts attest *Da-ni-el* but not *Dan-'el*. But one should compare also O.T. *knyhw* alongside *yknyhw*, in light of *dnil*, variant *ydnil*; and not least the consonantal text in Ez. 14:14, 20 in contrast with that of ch. 28.

[3] P. 67.

bow – without which there really is no story – is taken by the author to be "incidental to the narrative".

1.6 G.'s analysis at this point is not only unsupported and unconvincing; it is transparently tendentious. It is motivated at once by a desire to rid the story of those elements considered – by definition! – inimical to classifying *Aqht* as a 'folk-tale', rather than as 'myth';[4] and, perhaps more importantly, to make Dan'el rather than Aqht the central figure of the poem. For with the poem stripped of the "fantastic and supernatural" – i. e., pagan – elements, and with pious Dan'el as the center of attraction, it becomes more understandable, and theologically more agreeable, that the monotheistic Hebrew Ezekiel should take notice of this story and give it mention in sacred Scripture. In G.'s words: the original poem "concerns a village chief the continuance of whose name is temporarily placed at risk through the death of his only son at the hands of a capricious deity, but who by his piety and faithfulness to clan custom ensures that things turn out alright in the end" [i. e., the resurrection of Aqht].

1.7 Our negative estimate of this reconstruction of the 'Ur-*Aqht*' should not be allowed to detract from our appreciation of, and esteem for G.'s initial and principal thesis, a long overdue correction of a fundamental misconception which has plagued *Aqht*-research from its inception. G.'s essay, I may add on a personal note, was a major stimulus for my own early *Studies* of *Aqht*, authored in 1975, shortly after the appearance of VTS 28.[5] Along with the similarly oriented, and independently conceived discussion by Westermann and Günther a year later, G.'s essay merits recognition as a major turning point in the history of interpretation of *Aqht*.

P. Xella, *Problemi Del Mito Nel Vicino Oriente Antico* (AIONS 7 [1976]).

1.1 This 91-page monograph treats the poem of *Aqht in extenso* along with the Mesopotamian myth of *Adapa*, as part of an experimental investigation into the 'nature of myth' in its ANE facet and expression. It does not propose new interpretations based on philological analysis and 'internal' examination; rather, it offers a new reading of the story

[4] On pp. 62 – 3, author proposes definitions for 'myth', 'legend', and 'folk-tale' respectively, and the pains which he takes in so doing attests the importance he attaches to the question.

[5] Cf. UF 8 (1976) – appeared 1977 – 161 – 88.

more or less as rendered in the 'authoritative' translations and in the light of comparative, and putatively comparable materials. In conception, it recalls a similar effort by Gaster in *Thespis*, to whom the author is in fact very much indebted; and it is, ultimately, vulnerable to many of the same criticisms. The method of analysis is defined by the author as 'structuralist', but utilizing comparative material for the purpose of drawing religio-historical conclusions.

1.2 The author's approach is best illustrated, and evaluated, by considering his treatment of some of the poem's major episodes.

2.1 *Anat's coveting of the bow* [*1.17:VI*]:[1]

2.1.1 The episode is thought to constitute 'the high point of the narrative' and 'the critical point of maximum tension'. While feasting at a banquet, 'the goddess is seized by the desire to obtain this fabulous weapon whose performance capability she *evidently* had previously established', having shared with Aqht "communi esperienze di caccia".[2]

2.1.2 In fact, this analysis is so far from being 'evident' as to be outright contradictory of the plain meaning of the text.

2.1.2.1 Anat's fixated look as described in 1.17:VI:14 – 16 indicates that she had never previously set eyes on this bow. Her reaction is one of total surprise.

2.1.2.2 Try as one may, there is no way that the boy Aqht can be transformed into an experienced huntsman in the image of Orion. Aqht, at best, is a novice huntsman. In 1.18:I he has yet to have his first lesson. His joint hunting venture with Anat may well have been his first as well as his last experience as a huntsman.

2.2 *Anat's complaint to El* [*1.17:VI/1.18:I*]:[3]

2.2.1 The author's partiality to the 'romantic hypothesis' of Gaster and Hillers is very much in evidence in his discussion of this episode. The verb $\sqrt{lšn}$ – 'slander; accuse falsely' – is considered indicative of the "motivo Potiphar". This conclusion is then related to an earlier statement by Aqht in his repartee with Anat: *spsg. ysk. lriš*. Following Goetze (but ignoring Ginsberg, Albright, E. M. Good, and scholars generally), author

[1] P. 69 f.
[2] Emph. added.
[3] P. 70.

connects this phrase with an Akk. idiom of anointment, considered to be 'the central moment of the wedding ceremony'. This leads to yet another, more far-reaching conclusion, viz., that in its earlier phase(s) of development, the story of Aqht was more erotically oriented, with an offer by the goddess of carnal pleasures serving instead of (or alongside) the offer of immortality. In X.'s words: "nella versione mitica originaria il motivo dell'amore rifutato fosse premiente, o almeno coesistesse con l'offerta di immortalità; nella redazione scritta tale motivo e stato fortemento attenuato, se non prioprio soppresso".

2.2.1 In fact, there is nothing in the *spsg* passage (which is basically funerary in character[4]) or in the verb *l/šn* (which denotes 'slander' pure and simple) to suggest amorous intent or activity. The entire reconstruction of the 'Ur-*Aqht*' is based on nothing else than analogy with external data assumed *a priori* comparable and paradigmatic.

2.3 *The 'vendetta' of Pughat* [*1.19:IV:28 ff.*]:[5]

2.3.1 This is the final episode treated by the author (as it is also the final episode of the drama as extant). Author's treatment reveals unwittingly how little the last twenty-odd lines of the poem were understood as late as the mid-seventies.

2.3.2 The episode, believed to culminate (in the extant text) with a reconciled Pughat and Yṭpn feasting at a banquet, is assumed to be a 'narrative appendage', secondarily added and extraneous to the 'logic' of the mythical story. A similar verdict is pronounced on the putative, no-longer-extant conclusion, alleged to have described Aqht's resurrection, viz., 'a secondary elaboration of a more ancient mythic motif', i. e., the 'return' of the 'dying god'.

2.3.3 In fact, the 'logic' of the 'myth' of *Aqht* as understood by Xella is predetermined by the shape of the *a priori* model. For the poem of *Aqht*, in author's analysis, is never really allowed to speak for itself.

3.1 Author's general conclusions may be summarized as follows:

3.1.1 – Dan'el and Aqht are 'mythical ancestors' with D. cast in the rôle of a 'diviner'. This conclusion follows Mueller[6] but finds little

[4] Cf. E. M. Good, JBL 77 [1958]: 72–74; B. Margalit, *Paléorient* IX/2 (1983): 93–98.
[5] Pp. 74 ff.
[6] UF 1 (1969): 79–94.

support in author's own discussion. Why should an alleged 'king' and 'expert hunter' be cast as a diviner?

3.1.2 – The connection of Dan'el with the *rpum* [1.20–22] and, especially, RPU 'underlines the chthonic nature of this personality and his family' and is thought to furnish an important link with Greek tradition in which deceased ancestors provide 'protection' at crucial junctures in life: birth, marriage, and especially harvest-time. Author does not seem to have considered the possibility that such attitudes may antedate the Greeks by centuries in the ANE.

3.1.3 – Anat is the Ugaritic counterpart of Artemis, delighting in the hunt, transforming mortals into animals, and cherishing the bow. Here Xella shows himself very much the disciple of Gaster and, ultimately, of Frazer.

3.1.4 – The narrative as a whole – "almeno il nucleo centrale" – reflects a society in which hunting plays a major rôle. Indicative of this social ethos are:

3.1.4.1 Aqht's alleged (really quite imaginary) 'total dedication' to the hunt;

3.1.4.2 the need to retrieve, 'reassemble' [?], and bury Aqht's remains, seen to reflect "la credenza tipica dei populi cacciatori, per cui le ossa degli animali uccisi ... devono essere conservate e sepolte, perche rinascono...";[7]

3.1.4.3 finally, Anat's homicidal action, conjectured by author as justified by 'Aqht's excessive skill in killing game'.[8]

3.1.5 The final conclusion[9] speaks of *Aqht* as "un tipico mito di caccia".

3.2 It is surely an understatement to say that few of the foregoing conclusions readily command assent. The main difficulty, I believe, is that the 'reading' has been carried out with too little attention to – in certain cases a misunderstanding of – what the text is saying at the 'literal' ground-level. It is compounded by a too slavish, though admittedly 'experimental' adherence to a preconceived 'pattern' or 'model' which tends to distort rather than explain the 'raw' philological data.

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[7] P. 78.
[8] P. 79.
[9] *Ibid.*

C. Westermann and K. Günther, "Die Bedeutung der ugaritischen Texte für die Vätergeschichte", in: C. Westermann, *Die Verheißungen an die Väter:* Studien zur Vätergeschichte [Göttingen: 1976]: 151 – 168.

I

1.1 The jointly authored essay forms a sort of Excursus in this book by the prominent O.T. exegete, Claus Westermann. Like Gibson's slightly earlier essay, it is an important and too-little-noticed contribution to Ugaritic *Religionsgeschichte*, and to a proper interpretation of *Aqht* in particular. It covers much the same ground as does Gibson's essay, and it reaches near-identical conclusions. But it does so in greater depth and with more reasoned argumentation.

1.2 The point-of-departure is K. Koch's discussion in ZA of 1967, claiming – rather inconsistently, as argued above – that *Aqht* (or at least the list of filial duties) reflects an early stage of 'nomadic clan-religion'. The authors differ however with Koch in two respects:

1.2.1 they see this 'clan-religion' reflected far more broadly in Ugaritic poetry, including *Krt*, NK, and SS;

1.2.2 they consider the strictly 'nomadic' elements to have disappeared without a trace in this literature.[1]

1.3 Adopting Eissfeldt's distinction between 'myth' and 'saga', the authors contrast the 'vegetational' and 'political' motifs of the *Baal* 'myth', allegedly reflecting the later period of sedentarization, with the 'sagas' of *Krt* and *Aqht*, whose 'familial motifs' are thought to reflect incipient stages of the sedentarization process. As such, they provide 'fertile comparisons' with the patriarchal narratives of the O.T. which presuppose 'family-structured groups which have just entered the land' for settlement purposes. The O.T. stories are thought to stand closer to the nomadic stage than do the Ugaritic stories: the latter have allegedly evolved into a "Stadtkultur". The family structures still dominate the narratives, but they are overlaid with 'a mythical presentation of events and the features of sacral kingship'.

1.4 Still, beneath this layer of *Stadtkultur* one discerns in the Ug. sagas a "bäuerliches, dörfliches Milieu". Although the authors continue to

[1] Had the authors been aware of the identify of Yṯpn as a Sutean mercenary, they would doubtless have written differently. But this datum was still unknown to scholars in (early) 1976.

speak of *Krt* and *Aqht* in the same breath as if they belonged to to a single literary type, it is very significant, I believe, that all of their illustrations in support of this statement come from *Aqht*. In addition to the list of filial duties, they cite the saddling of the donkey by Pughat, and the reception given the divine guest, Koshar-Ḫasis, by wife Dnty:

1.4.1

> „Beide Szenen sind an einem Königshof undenkbar. Es ist nicht denkbar, daß die Königstochter dem König den Esel sattelt und ihrem Vater auf den Esel hilft; es ist nicht denkbar, daß der König seiner Gemahlin den Auftrag gibt, eine Mahlzeit für den Gast zu bereiten und die Königin dann selbst das Mahl bereitet."[2]

1.5 The authors proceed to note the uncanny parallel with Gen. 18, while observing that in all three scenes there is no evidence of servants who, in any royal household, would be expected to do this type of work. The same holds true for the 'reaping of the corn' in 1.19, an activity which is understandable if Aqht is conceived as a farm-boy but not if he is thought of as a crown-prince.

2.1 Our general agreement with the authors' reading of the 'sagas' of Ugarit is qualified only insofar as – following Koch et al. – they fail to distinguish between *Krt* and *Aqht*. It is only in the former that one can speak of a developed *Stadtkultur* with features of 'sacral kingship'. In *Krt*, the 'family-setting' is dynastic; in *Aqht* it is patriarchal and 'bourgeois'. King Krt's ceremonial sacrifice atop the city-walls – i.e., in full view of the population[3] – is a clear case of 'Großkult'; contrast Dan'el's post-mourning sacrifice in his small and intimate family-circle, seemingly in his 'backyard', with daughter as band and cheerleader. A caste of priests is unknown from either *Krt* or *Aqht*; but only in the latter is the existence of such a group positively excluded (cf. the list of filial duties). In 1.19, Dan'el, like Abraham, has a 'direct line' to the celestial deity. In *Krt*, the high-god communicates only in a dream, with Krt himself rather passive. The king's active communication with the gods is only via sacrifice.

2.2 In sum: all the features considered by the authors as characteristic of what they call early 'clan-religion' are to be found in *Aqht* rather than in *Krt*.

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[2] P. 154.

[3] Yet note the vestigial 'tent (of meeting?)' designated *ḫmt*.

M. D. Coogan, *Stories from Ancient Canaan* (Philadelphia: 1978).

1.1 This pocket-size, paper-back translation of the major Ugaritic poetic texts is intended for a general audience. It is prefaced by an *Introduction* of ca. 20 pages which summarizes and briefly analyzes the major themes and motifs of the individual stories. The discussion of *Aqht* (pp. 27–31) makes several points which merit attention.

1.2 It is assumed that the Ug. Dan'el is identical with the hero-figure cited by the prophet Ezekiel in chs. 14 and 28; but it is conceded that, despite his rôle as 'judge' – construed by author as indicative of his "royal status" – the poem of *Aqht* does not "illustrate [Dan'el's] proverbial wisdom". The author's answer to this quandry is to surmise "that other parts of the cycle, as yet undiscovered, contained episodes similar to [the O.T. descriptions of] Solomon". But one wonders how the character portrayal of a principal *dramatis persona* can vary from one story in a putative 'cycle' to another. Instead, it may be suggested that the *Ezek.* references in chs. 14 and 28 are to different figures respectively: the *Dan'el* of ch. 14, like Noah, is a pious rather than an exceedingly wise type, a characterization corroborated by the Ugaritic *Aqht*, whereas the *Dani'el* of ch. 28 might be a 'wisdom-figure' related to, if not identical with, the O.T. (actually Pseudepigraphic) personality.

1.3 Author is very keen on comparisons, often facile, with other Ugaritic and ANE works. He is especially impressed by the *Aqht-Gilgamesh* connection, in the tradition of Gaster and Hillers (but without their romantic-erotic emphases): the two creations are thought to furnish "a clear example of the interdependence of ancient Near Eastern literatures".

1.3.1 In fact, the similarities between *Aqht* and *Gilgamesh* are only skin-deep. Both stories incorporate a few common, and widespread motifs – *e.g.*, the 'seven-year affliction' motif (cf. 'Joseph-story' of O.T.) – and are in no sense 'interdependent'. Thematically and philosophically, *Aqht* and *Gilgamesh* are worlds apart.[1]

1.3.2 More compelling is the author's comparison of Pughat and the Apochryphal Judith. But he overlooks the deeper similarity which links Pughat with both Judith and O.T. Jael, viz., the *ignominy* of a villain-hero's death at the hands of a woman (cf. Ju. 9:54). The implicit ethos of all ancient 'heroism' (and 'heroic literature') is 'to make a name': cf. Gen. 6:4 and Gen. 11:4. Death at the hands of a woman is the ultimate

[1] Cf. below, Part III, § 1.

disgrace for the hero, and the greatest delight for his nemesis.[2] Author also seems unaware that the 'cosmetics' of Pughat and Judith have entirely different functions: in the former it is a means for disguise, in the latter, for seduction.

1.4 Echoing G. S. Kirk, who holds a very low opinion of Ugaritic literature, author opines that "nearly every [literary] Ug. text ... has to do with fertility in some way, and *Aqht* is no exception. Just as Baal's subjection to Death resulted in drought, so a drought followed Aqht's murder". Despite the qualification that "the emphasis in *Aqht* is not on 'fertility' ", which is "only part [of] a complex saga depicting life as it was in days gone by", the comparison is misguided and the conclusion misconceived. For if *Aqht* is concerned with 'fertility', then so is much of *Genesis* as well as parts of *Judges* and *Samuel*. In *Baal-Mot*, the principal figures (Baal & Mot) are personifications of existential forces: Life and Death. And the battles they wage, or the pacts they conclude, are allegorical expressions of the cyclical growth-and-decay patterns of the organic universe. By contrast, there is nothing of the allegorical in *Aqht* (though there is a great deal of the 'symbolic' and the 'mimetic'). The infertility of the land occasioned by Aqht's death is totally and qualitatively different from that in *Baal-Mot* (or even *Krt*): (a) it is episodic and transitory, limited in duration and restricted in location; (b) it is 'contingent', i.e., it results from human sin and 'pollution' (√*ḫnp*) rather than being part-and-parcel of the permanent World-Order, neither inevitable nor unchangeable.

1.5 Author characterizes Pughat as "an industrious housegirl, rising before dawn ... to fetch the day's water supply". Sensing that this type of activity does not befit or bespeak a princess in a royal household, yet unable to resist the force of the 'conventional wisdom', author informs us that, to our modern sensibility, "this activity might seem unsuited to a king's daughter, but the ancient Semites thought otherwise". This sweeping generalization is supported by references to the 'valiant woman' of Prov. 31 – a royal person? – and to Princess 'Octavia' of *Krt* who draws water in text 1.16.

1.5.1 In fact, the 'ancient Semites' thought more highly of kingship and kings than we moderns, which is why they predicate kingship of their highest gods and practically divinize their earthly counterparts. Dan'el's is no more a royal household than is that of the 'valiant woman' of Prov. 31, whose husband, like the Ug. Dan'el, spends his time acquiring

[2] "For a woman he warred / And great deeds hath he wrought / And behold, by a woman his life and the glory thereof are made nought" (Chorus, end of *Agamemnon*).

a reputation (N|$\sqrt{yd^{c}}$) in the 'council of elders' seated in the city-gateway. Both are 'landed gentry' or 'rural nobility', rather than royalty. Amos of Tekoa would have been very comfortable in their midst before his 'call' to prophecy.

1.5.2 As for 'Octavia', the text makes it clear that she is residing away from home, and more likely living as a *nadītu*-priestess than as a princess.

1.6 In sum: though intended for a general audience rather than specialists, Coogan's brief remarks and observations touch on some very central issues in the study of *Aqht*. And even if we find it necessary to differ with much of his interpretation and many of his conclusions, he has offered a lucid and challenging analysis.

M. Dijkstra, "Some Reflections on the Legend of Aqht", UF 11 (1979): 199–210.

1.1 This article forms a sequel to the philological exposition jointly authored with De Moor four years earlier in UF 7. Much of the present exposition (pp. 199–206) is devoted to the history-of-research in *Aqht* and (especially) in the Dumuzi–Tammuz literature which author considers to be a literary forerunner and prototype of *Aqht*.

1.2 Before proceeding with a critical evaluation of the author's views, it should be remarked that this is the first piece of *Aqhtiana* published after our article in UF 8 whose author can, indeed must, be presumed to have had knowledge of its contents. Not only is our contribution not cited by the author – a pardonable offense – but one of the few original ideas in author's discussion is suspect as plagiarized from it! I refer to the idea of Yṭpn as a nomadic figure in *Aqht* and the 'nomadic motifs' in *Aqht* generally. These ideas were advanced and developed by the present writer in UF 8:181–89, to the best of my knowledge for the first time in the history of *Aqhtiana*. In any case, there is no trace of these ideas in Dijkstra and De Moor's philological commentary published a year earlier in UF 7.[1]

[1] Cf. especially UF 7:192, where, discussing the *ḏd* of El, rendered (*seq.* R. J. Clifford) "tent(-camp)", authors expressly disavow any insinuation of a "nomadic background" into the text. Nor is there any discussion of Yṭpn's *ḏd//ahl*(*m*) in 1.19:IV:50–2 (or, for that matter, in 1.18:IV:15, where *ḏdm* is rendered by Dijkstra–De Moor (erroneously) as "encampment").

1.3 The "first question" considered by author is "whether the tale of *Aqht* may ... have a historical background". Two short sentences later, we are offered the affirmative answer, viz., "the move and settlement of the *Amurru*-nomads in the Old-Babylonian period". All that separates question from answer is the speculation that *Aqht* "may represent an incident from daily life: a raid of nomads on civilized land or more generally the conflict between the civilization of the city and the uncultivated desert." The remarkable thing about this statement is that not only is it unsupported by any reference to the text of *Aqht*, but it lacks even a cross-reference to the jointly authored philological study of UF 7! And with good reason: because the only possible source (or support) for such a statement is to be found in the present writer's detailed analysis of the figure of Yṭpn and his socio-historical background as presented in UF 8.

1.4 Author now proceeds to restate – again, without suitable acknowledgements – some 'romantic' notions about *Aqht* culled from Gaster and Hillers in particular. A hypothetical "oldest layer" of the poem is reconstructed (more or less from whole cloth) as follows: "Chosen by Anat as her lover, prince Aqhat was attacked and murdered by the nomad *Yṭpn*... Thereupon, Anat discovers Aqht's misfortune and sets up a wail.[2] After burial and mourning for the dead youth, his sister Pughat undertakes the blood revenge".

1.5 This facile exercise in traditio-historical reconstruction is a rewriting (and de-naturing) of the *Aqht* story in accordance with a blueprint lifted from the *Baal-Mot* epic. It is motivated not by anything stated or implied in *Aqht* or by comparing (allegedly) variant accounts in a presumed 'pattern', but rather – and solely – by the desire to bring *Aqht* into line with the *Baal* literature, the more easily to fit *Aqht* into the Procrustean myth-ritual fantasy of the 'Ugaritic New Year Festival'.[3]

1.6 Yet no sooner has author presented his reconstruction of the 'Ur-*Aqht*' than he raises a question which itself is sufficient to dismantle the entire construct: if it is Anat who wails and mourns for Aqht, queries Dijkstra, why is it that sister Pughat undertakes the 'redemption of the blood'? Author concedes that the answer to this question "remains obscure". Nevertheless, he tries to salvage the hypothesis with the observation that "it is beyond doubt that Pughat ... has much in common with the goddess as the knowing and whily [sic!] daughter of Dan'el.

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[2] Allegedly supported by 1.19:I:5 ff.

[3] Cf. p. 210.

Perhaps ... she represents ... the mighty goddess...". Any comment is superfluous, it seems, when confronted with such a statement!

1.7 Two ideas presented (though barely argued) by the author nevertheless merit a positive appraisal. The first, originating with Kapelrud, affirms that *Aqht* contains "scarcely veiled criticism of the mendacity of the goddess and her cult" [p. 209]; the second surmises, correctly, that in 1.18:I Anat is extending to Aqht "an invitation to sexual intercourse" [*ibid.*]. However, author qualifies the initial observation in such a way as to imply that the criticism is a momentary aberration: "In spite of his criticism the author had to make it clear that denying a thing to and offending the goddess meant a[n] irrevocable and tragic transgression" [*ibid.*], thus reinstating the poet in the 'orthodox' fold. The same qualification, combining with inadequate documentation and a misconceived context, also compromises the cogency of the second idea (noteworthy nonetheless for its originality). Anat's offer is thought to be part of a "divine intrig(!)ue" intended to teach Aqht a theological lesson in human obedience to divine will. It does not occur to author that the goddess' offer is a treacherous preliminary in her plan to murder Aqht, intended to allay his suspicions and ensure a positive response to her second proposition: *almdk ṣ[d(m)]*.

S. B. Parker, "Interpretation of *Aqht*": SBL Paper presented to the Ugaritic Studies Group, December, 1980, forthcoming in J. Marks (ed.), *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East* (M. Pope *Festschrift*).[1]

1.1 In contrast to the 'atomistic' approach of philological studies, or the selective thematic approach of 'religious' studies, author sets as his goal in this paper "to construct a view of the poem as a whole ... in terms of the form and character in which it presents itself to us ... [viz.] as a piece of literature". By this very assumption, Parker's investigation is set apart from much if not all of previous research in *Aqht*. How successful the author is in implementing this goal is another matter.

[1] The present summary and critique is based on a copy of the manuscript kindly furnished by the author in July, 1981, and authorized for discussion – in view of the uncertain publication date of the aforementioned *Festschrift* – in a letter dated 30 July 1985 (!). In this letter, Professor Parker states: "The material in [the present] piece has [since] been reworked and considerably extended, but I stand by the substance of most of what I wrote [there]." – Added in 'proof': Parker's article has now appeared in the aforesaid *Festschrift* [1987], pp. 71–83.

1.2 Such a literary and 'totalist' approach is conceived by author as requiring "attention to the poem's own structure", or "internal indicators", as well as "comparison with other literary creations that appear to use similar narrative structures". Parker does not however provide any indication as to the relative weight to be accorded each of these pursuits; and in the final count, it seems that the comparative analysis is given priority over the internal analysis.

2.1 The opening scene of the poem, assumed without discussion or even inverted commas to be an incubation scene, is reduced by Parker to a set of four elements thought to constitute a familiar ANE 'genre': (1) the childless hero who (2) appeals to the gods for offspring, (3) is rewarded by revelation of the gods, culminating in (4) the conception and birth of progeny. This genre is thought to occur in its "distilled" form at the beginning of the Egyptian *Tale of the Enchanted Prince*. Other illustrations are the Hurrian tale of *Appu* and the opening chapter of 1 *Sam.* in the Hebrew Bible, with briefer references to be found in Gen. 25:21 and 30:22–23. The purpose of such stories, which Parker does not consider to be interdependent, was "to give hope to the childless by showing that the gods granted offspring to those who turned to them." However, this is supposedly true of the 'distilled' genre. In *Aqht*, as in the Egyptian tale, it is being put to a different use, viz., "to introduce the hero whose birth was already an extraordinary event, the result of divine favour". – The difficulty with this analysis for *Aqht* is that the lad Aqht does not live long enough to become a true 'hero' figure. Had Parker looked more closely at the literary fabric of *Aqht* he might have realized that the divine auspices of Aqht's birth are the dramatic and ironic counterpart of his subsequent death by divine hand!

2.2 The discussion moves on to the gift of the bow in 1.17:V. Here, as elsewhere, one notes with regret several errors of factual detail and misconstrued philological data which seriously compromise the interpretive effort. Thus, Parker entertains the notion that the bow may have been constructed at Dan'el's request; indeed, that he may even have gone personally to collect the materials detailed by Aqht in 1.17:VI:20–23. But do human beings normally have their hunting equipment manufactured by artisan gods? The composite bow, like Aqht's birth, is a gift of the gods; and both the lad and his bow will become forfeit by divine agency.

2.3 The next major scene discussed by Parker is the dialogue between Aqht and Anat. Like many others, Parker is highly impressed by the parallels allegedly furnished by the dialogue of Ištar and Gilgamesh in the VIth tablet of the Sumero-Akkadian epic. "The common structure

of the two passages suggests that both draw on a common genre", although he hastens to add that no direct dependency can or need be assumed. But again one wonders what is gained from the comparison in terms of advancing our understanding of *Aqht*. Parker here, as elsewhere, confuses the 'comparative approach' with the 'literary approach', and seems unaware of the 'bad-blood' which exists between them. At best, Parker's comparisons are interesting; but they are seldom if ever illuminating. They tend to contribute little to a better understanding or appreciation of the poem.

2.4 The author turns his attention to the close literary affinities between parts of *Aqht* – especially 1.17:VI and 1.18:I – and the *Anat-Baal* text of 1.3:IV – V. He sees this relationship as "illustrating the degree to which particular lines and clusters of lines have become formulaic in Ugaritic poetry". He also wonders whether "this language [was] characteristic of Anat and her relationship to El in Ugaritic literature". Yet he fails to note the still more significant connection of these two texts at the end of *Aqht*, where it serves to underscore the fact – unrecognized, or rather denied, by Parker – of Pughat's masquerade as Anat; and, more significantly, the import of this interconnection for the figure of Anat in *Aqht*. It allows us to assume that the poet's conception of Anat in *Aqht* is that found in 1.3, and that Anat's behaviour in *Aqht* is but an extension of her bloodthirsty activity in that narrative. Without this interconnection, we should be much less able to explain the poet's loathing of the goddess!

2.5 The subsequent discussion is of 1.18:IV. As in most if not all of *Aqhtiana*, Parker's analysis founders on the nature and rôle of Yṭpn. Thus the reference by Anat to 'new moon' is thought to contain the idea that "the renewal of the moon is threatened by Aqhat and his bow". Such a statement, pardonable in the fifties, is lamentable in the eighties. Again, the answer to Anat's relationship with Yṭpn is sought in cross-cultural reference: "Anat's use of Yuṭpan [!] in order to dispose of her enemy is comparable with Inaras' use of a mortal to dispose of the dragon in the Hattian story..." Aside from the dubious validity of the comparison, it is so little relevant for understanding Anat's relationship with Yṭpn that Parker will later miss the meaning of the word *agrtn* at the end of the story pointing to Yṭpn as a 'hired sword', a 'Sutean (*šṭ*) hired sword' to be exact.[2]

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[2] In his letter to me of July 1981 (!), Parker indicates his familiarity with my UF 8 publication; but its contents find no echo in his own study. The reader will judge whether or not Parker's investigation would have gained by a more positive attitude to the conclusions of my own studies.

2.6 In the following discussion of "the consequences of Aqhat's death", Parker deals with the bulk of text 1.19 (save for the final 40 lines discussed separately). The discussion is singularly deficient and its conclusions most disappointing. Virtually everything is reduced to ritual or magic: Dan'el's tour-of-inspection in the fields becomes, in line with the conventional wisdom, a means of dispelling the drought. The attempt to recover some of Aqht's remains from the bowels of the birds is similarly considered 'ritualistic' as are Dan'el's subsequent maledictions against the environs of the site of his son's murder, and of course, the seven-year mourning period culminating in sacrifice. Small wonder that Parker concludes that in this portion of the text, "the narratives seems to the modern reader to be practically at a standstill", when in fact, and by any impartial, well-informed standard of evaluation, this text contains one of the finest expressions of literary creativity to be found anywhere in the pre-Classical world, *the Hebrew Bible not excluded*! My initial reaction to this statement by Parker was to wonder whether he and I were talking about the same poem. The answer is that we are and we aren't. For while we acknowledge the same material text, we proceed from totally different philological assumptions as to what that text actually says and doesn't say. Until a consensus is reached on matters of philology, no true dialogue is possible on the level of literary interpretation and appreciation.

2.6.1 One of the few positive statements in Parker's treatment of this material is his realization that the scene described in 1.19:I:28 ff. cannot be interpreted as a mourning scene, since neither Dan'el nor daughter Pughat is as yet aware that Aqht is dead. But this remains a solitary ray of light; in the remainder, one finds little to warm the heart and enlighten the mind.

2.6.2 The final section discussed by Parker is designated "Pughat's Mission of Vengeance". Here too the interpretation is undermined by an insufficient grasp of the 'raw' philological data. The significance of Yṭpn's tent-camp (*ḏd*) residence is passed over in silence, as is the nature of Pughat's dress, which despite the (uncited!) evidence of the Chester Beatty Papyrus VII and the subtle allusions to the *Anat-Baal* text (1.3) Parker refuses to recognize as an Anat-disguise. A direct and necessary consequence of so serious a misreading of the evidence is the groping for the meaning of the crucial word *agrtn* without which one fails to understand the rôle of Yṭpn, as well as the fruitless speculations as to whether or not Pughat recognizes Yṭpn and vice versa. In short: Parker's deliberations at this juncture befit the late forties rather than the early eighties.

2.6.3 Of considerably greater merit is Parker's detailed comparison of the Pughat-Ytpn confrontation with that of Judith and Holofernes. Though not an original comparison, Parker is possibly the first to discuss the comparison in such detail. Unlike his other comparative evidence, this one is both relevant and revealing. It not only eliminates whatever doubt may exist as to the final dénouement, but serves to highlight the theme of 'female superiority' which runs through the entire poem of *Aqht*. However, Parker clearly overshoots the mark when he insists that the O.T. Jael-Sisera story "has nothing in common with *Aqht*". What all three tales have in common is the motif of womanly wile prevailing over masculine brawn as well as the 'anti-heroic' motif of death at the hands of a woman which adds the spice of jovial taunt to the high-tension of the drama. However, such insights are hardly to be found in Parker's discussion. The original 'literary purpose' of the investigation is not realized here any more than it is elsewhere.

2.7 Parker concludes his inquiry with a number of thoughts (and speculations) on the poem as a whole, the most significant – and objectionable – of which is his assertion that "the bow is not of crucial significance for the interpretation of the poem as a whole". This astounding statement is considered to be sufficiently buttressed by the sweeping assertion that the "conferring of divine bows on mortals is part of the mythological baggage the poets were heir to – as indicated by the passing reference to the bow of Pandaros ... (*Iliad*, II, 827)." To be sure, Parker recognizes that the bow of *Aqht* is the revolutionary composite bow, although he does not seem fully cognizant of just how valuable on object it was in the Late-Bronze Age. But one is hard put to explain why the (composite) bow of *Ulysses* is ignored in favour of the "passing reference" to the bow of Pandaros. Is the bow of Ulysses also standard "mythological baggage"? And is the plot of *Aqht* conceivable without the bow? Hillers may well have exaggerated the sexual aspects of the bow, but not its centrality to the plot – and its symbolism as denoting maturity and manhood. By depriving Aqht of his bow, Anat would unwittingly deprive the lad of the most eloquent testimony to his newly attained maturity. The lad's refusal to part with it is thus self-explanatory and implies no affront to the goddess. Again, the bow is a symbol of the societal norms of 'Raphaite' society. Men are sized up according to their proficiency in handling it. Yet the truly wise and truly courageous Pughat has no need of so ostentatious an instrument. She will use a dagger, discretely concealed, to avenge her brother.

2.8 That the goddess Anat should be so fixated on the composite bow is, again, a means of reading the poet's attitude towards this personality who in fact personifies all that is corrupt and objectionable in the

'Raphaite' social order. That it snaps so easily in a mere fall, thus turning to nought five to ten years of workmanship, is yet another indication of the symbolic significance of the bow. The bow is the insignia of the society which creates it and values it so highly: a deadly instrument which breaks apart at impact. May not the poet of *Aqht* be telling us (or rather his intended audience) that the supposed brawn and fortitude of his/her society is but a façade covering an extreme fragility and frailty? The slightest external pressure will shatter it into tiny pieces; for it lacks true substance and strength.

2.8.1 This final statement, regrettably, is also our considered opinion of Professor Parker's analysis.

G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan.* Segun la Tradicion de Ugarit. [Ediciones Cristiandad: Madrid, 1981].

1.1 This monumental work, devoted entirely to the major poems of Ugaritic literature, treats of *Aqht* on pp. 325 – 401, including a 38-page 'Introduction' divided into three parts: 'text'; 'literary analysis'; and 'significance and function'. The remainder is transcription and translation of the text, accompanied by two apparatuses: one epigraphic, the other bibliographic. The book as a whole is a compendium. Its principal virtue is the assimilation and notation of virtually everything ever written on the poetry of Ugarit, especially in the last twenty years. It also strives to present a balanced, consensus viewpoint on most issues (except where the author himself has very definite views on the subject). Accordingly, our differences with DOL are generally differences with the 'established authorities' on whom the author tends to rely quite heavily, and uncritically. Our concern here is with the second and third parts of the 'Introduction': the 'literary analysis' and the 'significance and function'.

1.2 The section of 'literary analysis' divides the narrative into thirty-nine 'scenes' or 'sections' (pp. 332 – 54). Although no explicit criteria for sectionalization are given, the guidelines appear to be a combination of length and contents. Each scene is normally analyzed for its subject-matter, with observations ranging from the 'prosodic' and 'form-critical' to the philosophical-ideological and mythic-ritual. Comparisons with ANE literatures – especially the Hebrew Bible – also figure prominently in the discussions.

1.3 In our summary review, we shall comment on approximately half of these 'scenes', the choice largely determined by the extent to which

the author's own views find characteristic expression and/or provoke dissent.

2.0 *Literary Analysis* [pp. 331 – 54]

2.1 § I: 1.17:I:1 – 15

2.1.1 The scene is described (*seq.* Obermann *et al.*) as a 'rite of incubation'. Author provides an extensive bibliography on the subject of 'incubation' but does not give us a clear definition of what he understands by the term. Like Krt and Abraham, Dan'el is envisaged as a hero who, devoid of male heirs, seeks a divine "palabra" or 'revelation'. The comparisons with Gen. 28, Num. 22, and 1 Sam. 3 suggest that DOL presumes the revelation to Dan'el to have been nocturnal and somnial. He thus overlooks Gen. 25:21, where a childless patriarch proceeds to a shrine to entreat[1] on behalf of his barren wife[!]. The favourable oracle [N of √*ʿtr*] is given to the fully awake suppliant, presumably in daytime. He goes home, and sires a son (actually two). The Ugaritic text makes no reference to nocturnal revelation; and it is just as (if not more) likely that Dan'el received the good news while awake and in daytime, on the seventh day.

2.1.2 The presumed similarities with the opening scene of *Krt* leads author to draw two further conclusions, one positive, the other negative: (1) we are dealing here, in 1.17:I:1 ff., with a 'standard epic style'; (2) it is not likely that any tablet(s) of *Aqht* prior to 1.17 ever existed.

2.1.3 Both conclusions are open to objection: (1) The *fundamental* differences between the beginning of *Krt* and the present text, which may or may not be the actual or 'original' beginning, speak against the idea of 'standardization' in such matters. Traditional epic poetry frequently evidences standard *topoi* and even 'type-scenes'; but they generally vary in terms of placement or 'slotting'. An inner-Ugaritic example is the 'Palace of Baal' episode which in 1.3 seems to be the climax and in 1.4 – 5 – 6 (*Baal-Mot*) is the prologue event. The 'childless-couple' theme occurs in the middle of the 'Abraham-cycle' of tradition (when the patriarch is nearly 100 years old) but at the beginning of the 'Isaac-cycle' (what is left of it). (2) There is thus nothing to preclude a prior tablet of *Aqht* describing (a) Dan'el's place of residence, his household (including an introduction of wife Dnty); (b) the birth of daughter

[1] √*ʿtr*, possibly via sacrifice; cf. Ar. *ʿatara*; HAL, 857a.

Pughat, and (c) the subsequent 'closing' of Dnty's womb; (d) Dan'el's decision to visit El's temple (at Dan?) in the interest of further progeny, a son in particular.

2.2 § II: 1.17:I:15 – 26

2.2.1 The scene is labelled 'theophany', a determination based on the, to my mind, mistaken assumption that prior to addressing El (line 18^{β} ff.) the storm-god 'approaches' ($\sqrt{qrb}$) Dan'el. This action is supposedly indicated by the 2nd person address of line 16: *abynt* (KTU: *abyn. at*). But the immediate switch to El in lines 19 ff. (note 3rd person reference to Dan'el) is much too abrupt for this interpretation to be valid. Rather than 'theophany', the present scene should be labelled 'divine-council meeting' – Heb. *sôd qᵉdošîm* or *ʿadat ʾēl(im)* – to which Dan'el, like Mikayhu b. Imlah and Isaiah b. Amoṣ, *may* be privy. If not, then Dan'el will have first learned of the favourable council decision[2] in the no longer extant conclusion (ca. 10 lines) of col. I (extending into col. II).

2.3 § III: 1.17:I:26 – 33

2.3.1 More a 'section' than a scene, it is described by author as a 'canto' in 'hymnic style'; yet it is assumed to be closely paralleled in O.T. *Wisdom* literature! The parallel is drawn between the 'ideal son' of *Aqht* and the 'ideal wife' of Prov. 31:10 ff.; and it is both an original and suggestive comparison. However, in that case the 'list of filial duties' can hardly be described as 'hymnic', which it assuredly is not. Furthermore, there are clear differences as well as similarities between the two 'lists'. The O.T. text contains 'compliments' as well as 'tasks'. The 'ideal wife' is 'faithful' and 'devoted' to her husband. She is 'well-dressed' and 'optimistic', 'wise' and 'kind', 'vigilant' as well as 'diligent'. By contrast, the Ug. list is 'dry': it stipulates specific duties but knows nothing of 'excellence' in performance or of character. 'Love' and 'devotion' are foreign to it; the motive-force is 'duty'. These and other considerations suggest in fact that, either in whole or in part, the 'list of filial duties' in *Aqht* is a later, secondary accretion to the original poem, betraying a priestly hand.

2.4 § IV: 1.17:II:24 – 46

2.4.1 The label 'banquet scene' is open to question. There are no other guests except for the Kosharot; and they are present to discharge a function rather than to celebrate. Their job is to guarantee that the act

[2] Implied in El's benediction; for the council is not a 'democratic' institution. The council proposes; but it is El who (officially) disposes.

of sexual union results in conception. The missing conclusion of col. II presumably reported their return at the end of the nine/ten-month 'countdown' to supervise the delivery of the baby. The wining-and-dining of the Kosharot is thus to be understood, like the reception accorded Koshar-Ḫasis in col. V (also designated by DOL "banquete") as an expression of traditional Near-Eastern 'hospitality'.

2.4.2 The numerical correspondence of the duration of the visit by the Kosharot with that of Dan'el's sojourn in 1.17:I is cited by DOL as an expression of "una perfecta inclusion literaria". The insight is noteworthy; but the argument would be more compelling:

2.4.2.1 if it did not involve the conventional numeral of totality '7';

2.4.2.2 if the two scenes were more thematically related and structurally symmetrical.

2.5 § V: 1.17:V:1 – 13

2.5.1 Again we must differ with author's nomenclature. DOL speaks of the divine artisan's arrival as 'theophany'. Strictly speaking, this is true, for Koshar-Ḫasis is a god. But like Anat (in contrast with Baal and El) he is a *dramatis persona* in most respects undifferentiated from the strictly human actors with whom he mingles and interacts (actually very little in the limited material extant). He is an 'immanent' rather than a 'transcendant' god. Therefore, his appearance is not marked by any special effects and it occasions no great surprise. It is of a kind with Anat's many appearances, and like them does not merit the label 'theophany'.

In the course of discussion, DOL makes some additional observations with which I find myself in total disagreement:

2.5.1.1 Dan'el is seen as performing in this scene "sus funciones normales de rey", as if kings customarily preside at court in the city gateway.

2.5.1.2 The formula 'He lifts his eyes and beholds', which has here as its object a divine person, is transformed into a form-critical criterion for establishing the human or divine identity respectively of persons so beheld. On this basis alone, DOL will later conclude that the messenger-boys of 1.19:II; 27 ff. are really divine figures; and that daughter Pughat has divine characteristics as well. I submit that this is an illegitimate use of form-critical method.

2.5.1.3 The 'divine arc' presented by Koshar-Ḫasis to Dan'el is understood to mean not only 'of divine manufacture' but also 'endowed with

magical qualities' of which even Anat needs be wary. The idea, which originates with Gaster, is no doubt influenced by the account in 1.2:IV; but the comparison is wholly misconceived. In 1.2:IV the weapons are given 'proper-names' and assigned a specific mission. They are, quite literally, 'brought-to-life'.[3] The bow given to Aqht has nothing of this: neither 'name' nor 'mission'. Nor would it serve any useful purpose as 'magical'. Aqht would find it very inconvenient hunting with a bow which had 'a mind of its own'. It is coveted by both Aqht and Anat precisely for what it is: a composite bow, highly prized under normal circumstances but especially valuable when produced in the workshop of the artisan-god.

2.6 § VI: 1.17:V:13–33

2.6.1 Author avers surprise at the poet's rather cursory treatment of a scene which he considers "un momento funcional determinante", and sees this as illustrating 'a characteristic of Canaanite epic' which emphasizes 'persons' rather than 'situations'. But for all its importance as narrative *event*, there is nothing inherently dramatic in this 'type-scene' of traditional Near-Eastern hospitality[4] and there is no artistic justification for the kind of elaboration and dramatization which the poet appropriately reserves for the next major scene (1.17:VI). In fact, the subdued, low-key description here in 1.17:V contrasts with, and thus enhances, the high-drama of the (true) banquet-scene in the following column.

2.7 § VII: 1.17:VI:4–40

2.7.1 Author correctly views this episode as "el climax de la curva epica, il punto más alto del éxito" [p. 340], though this judgement may be unfairly determined by the limited extent of the material at our disposal. But his assumption that we are dealing with a thanksgiving dinner prepared by Aqht [!] for the gods is hardly convincing. It doesn't explain why Anat alone of the gods seems to be in attendance. Nor is it *a priori* likely that a teenage boy still under parental care should sponsor such an affair. Surely it is more reasonable to suppose that Dan'el and Dnty have arranged this feast in honour of their son's 'coming-of-age',[5] symbolized by his coming to possess the composite bow, an insignia of newly acquired manhood. To this feast have been invited, no doubt, family and friends (including of course the ancestral

[3] Today they would be said to have built-in guidance systems and homing devices.

[4] Cf. Gen. 18:5 ff.; also Ju. 13:15–20.

[5] *Bar-Mitzva*, in Jewish tradition.

rpum). Anat's presence can be explained on two levels: (a) She represents the 'divine council' (*pḫr. ilm*), especially Baal and El, whose intervention was instrumental in Aqht's birth; the 'coming-of-age', in an important sense, is a 'second birth'. (b) Aqht's 'coming-of-age' signals his initiation as *ǵzr* in the 'order' (*qbṣ*?) of warrior-noblemen, living and deceased, known as *rpi. arṣ*, whose patron-deity is Anat, "mistress of Kingship / mistress of Rulership // mistress of the High Heavens" [1.108:6–7]. These are accolades which the epic, and doubtless ancestral, tradition normally reserve for Baal. It is a telling sign of the 'heresy' which our poet(ess) would condemn that such 'compliments' could be paid Anat.[6]

2.7.2 In discussing the 'dialogue' between Anat and Aqht, DOL – echoing the scholarly consensus – faults the lad for his hubris as well as for underestimating the power of divine passion and, not least, for rebuking a goddess. The image of the poet is thus that of a pious cleric. But a pious cleric would surely have chosen a more adult villain as an object lesson if (s)he were siding with Anat in this controversy. Why place words of sinful arrogance in the mouth of a mere boy, flushed with the excitement of his newly-acquired manhood and understandably loath to part with his birthday present? Nor would a pious cleric have allowed the exalted goddess to be so badly outduelled intellectually by a novice *ǵzr*. If Aqht is here the guilty party, then the entire portrayal of Anat in the ensuing narrative makes no literary sense. However, if Aqht is here the Promethean figure which DOL elsewhere[7] suggests he is, and Anat the unscrupulous villain abusing her divine birth and privilege, then the subsequent portrayal of the goddess in the story is consistent in the minutest detail.

2.7.3 Thus the threats uttered by Anat at the conclusion of the scene are neither "un castigo" nor "una venganza injustificada". Rather, they are an emotional outburst by an ill-tempered and immature goddess temporarily out of control, and revealed by the artful poet for her most ardent (LB) worshippers to see as she really is: an ugly goddess enslaved to her violent and selfish nature, a 'dea odiosa' so to speak.

2.8 § VIII: 1.17:VI:46–54

2.8.1 Author observes correctly that Anat's visit to El in order to obtain his consent reflects the latter's supreme position in the divine hierarchy. But he overlooks the fact that this surpremacy is just as certainly a

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[6] Egyptian inscriptions of Ramses II indicate however that this 'heresy' was well entrenched in 13th century Canaan, whence it spread to Egypt.

[7] P. 331 f.

nominal one. For El is here portrayed, even more than in 1.17:I, as a *caricature* of authority. DOL thus fails to sense how, behind the mythological façade, there stands condemned a social order whose leaders have so humiliated the kindly if impotent 'god-of-the-fathers' and replaced his cult – or at least its pre-eminence – with that of his bratling daughter; 'loving-kindness' (*ltpn. dpid*) replaced by 'hate' (*ḫnp. lb*)[8] and 'violent temper' (*qlṣ*).

2.9 § IX: 1.18:I:15 – 19

2.9.1 Whether El's initial response to Anat's demand was, as DOL believes, negative, or – as I maintain – merely trifling, it is clear that El ultimately gives Anat his consent. However, DOL goes on to argue that El not only complies (under threat) but even suggests to Anat a plan-of-action based on deception, supposedly in the manner of King Krt's instructions to son Ilḫu in 1.16:I:24 ff.

2.9.2 Neither the interpretation nor the comparison is convincing. The attribution to El of active complicity in Anat's criminal scheme is not only out of character for El – who in addition to *ltpn. dpid* is also Aqht's 'godfather' – but is based on a restoration of line 17 (*seq.* Dijkstra – De Moor) which is both epigraphically as well as prosodically ill-advised. The same is true for the *Krt* comparison: in commissioning son Ilḫu, King Krt is the initiator of the action and is a figure of unquestioned authority (despite his illness) for his obedient son.[9] The mission to absentee daughter 'Octavia' is furthermore a mission of peace; and the deception in Krt's words is a 'white lie' motivated by a father's wish to spare his devoted daughter undue anxiety. Is this really comparable with the present scene in *Aqht*?

2.10 § IX: 1.18:IV:5 – 15

2.10.1 DOL considers Ytpn a divine being, albeit unknown from any other source, residing in a 'grotto', his translation of the Ug. lexeme *ḎD* which occurs in *Aqht* in seemingly synonymous parallelism with AHL(M) "tent(s)". Divine Ytpn is imagined as seeking to dissuade his colleague, Anat, from her criminal venture. According to author, Anat rejects the idea of direct confrontation with Aqht because she fears his 'magical' bow. DOL further allows that Anat's intention may not have been to kill Aqht but merely to acquire (or steal) his bow.

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[8] Note *lb* = *pid* 'heart'!

[9] It is the first-born Yaṣṣib who is the rebellious son, which is presumably why the mission is entrusted to Ilḫu.

2.10.2 The author's misrepresentation of the Sutean nomad Yṭpn and his failure to acknowledge his rôle as a 'sword-for-hire' (cf. 1.19:IV:51) plays havoc with his reading and understanding of the story at this juncture, just as surely as his Gaster-inspired assumption of Anat's less-than-homicidal intentions contradicts the plain sense of her instructions to Yṭpn.

2.11 § XI: 1.18:IV:38 – 42

2.11.1 Anat's weeping in the wake of Aqht's murder is interpreted by DOL as a sign that Yṭpn went too far in killing Aqht; here too author follows Gaster *et al.* In fact, Anat's weeping is a telling comment by the poet on the goddess' lack of foresight – she really was quite fond of the lad – and, not least, an ironic statement on Anat's distaff nature. For all her attempts, both in dress and deportment, to conceal the fact of her womanhood, Anat is in the final analysis a 'weakling-woman' (√*ʾnṯ*), just as Aqht said!

2.12 § XII: 1.19:I:28 – 35

2.12.1 Designated 'augury scene' by DOL, it provides the occasion for another *Krt-Aqht* 'parallel', viz., Pughat and 'Octavia', whose supposedly similar rôles are seen as evidence for the "limitado catálogo de recursos y temas de que dispone la épica cananea".[10]

2.12.2 Neither the comparison nor the conclusion is justified. There is little to compare in the respective rôles of Pughat and Octavia. The former is, respectively, daughter and sister to two of the three central figures in the story. In word and deed she dominates the dramatic action from the moment she appears in 1.19. Octavia, by contrast (perhaps also by reason of a fragmentarily preserved text) is a secondary character, and essentially passive, her sibling relationship to Ilḥu and Yṣb of no consequence to the story. She is apparently 'daddy's pet';[11] but except for shedding bitter tears, she accomplishes very little. Thus it is *Šʿtqt*, not Octavia, who nurses the dangerously sick king back to health. This is a rôle which the poet of *Aqht* would surely have reserved for Pughat in comparable circumstances.

2.13 § XIII: 1.19:I:36 – 46

2.13.1 Dan'el's alleged reaction of 'stereotyped grief' in this scene, signified by his supposed rending of his garment, is based on the well-nigh universal misunderstanding of the word TMZʿ in line 36 (recurring

[10] P. 346 f.

[11] Cf. *ṣġrthn. abkrn* in 1.15:III:16.

in line 46). DOL compounds this error by assuming, *seq.* Gray *et al.*, that as a royal and sacral figure, Dan'el is personally and corporeally responsible for the fertility in his supposed 'kingdom'. Thus the word YṢLY, which author correctly understands as "plegiara", is metamorphosed in analysis to "conjuro". Instead of a humble suppliant 'asking' for moisture, Dan'el is now the magical conjurer who, in the tradition of Ḥoni-the-Circle-Maker of Rabbinic fame, 'demands' it. When (unlike the case of Ḥoni) Dan'el's supposed conjuration comes to nought, DOL will hypothesize that the 'fatal cause' producing the drought proves too strong. Only when removed – "por arte de magia, naturalmente" – can the conjuration prove effective. But is it not precisely the task of a conjurer to remove such 'obstacles' by conjury?

2.13.2 The 'magical' which infuses much of DOL's interpretation of *Aqht* is in fact quite foreign to the story. The present episode is fully and, I believe, convincingly explained by assuming that a perturbed but still not aggrieved Dan'el' petitions the clouds – Baal's hypostases – only to be informed that a prolonged drought is in store. Shocked, but still ignorant of the cause, Dan'el feigns optimism for the sake of his daughter (herself fighting back tears for the sake of her father!) standing nearby, and orders his riding mule to be harnessed in holiday finery for a grand-tour-of-inspection in the fields.

2.14 § IV: 1.19:II:12–25

2.14.1 DOL perpetuates the myth of Dan'el as performing ritual acts of magic while inspecting his fields. The pathetic embraces of the parched sheaves and sprouts, and the wistful prayer for his son's speedy return home (which is all that is intended by "may the hand of Aqht gather you into the granary") – this moment of superior drama is reduced to a mechanical rite to 'connect the fertility of the land with that of his son', thereby assuring Aqht's "vigor fecundo" when he succeeds to his father's throne.

2.14.2 This dated vestige of Frazerian fantasy is less significant *per se* than for its vivid testimony to DOL's total commitment to the idea of Dan'el as a 'sacral king' in the image of Krt and as conceived by the Myth-Ritual school.

2.15 § XV: 1.19:II:26–44

2.15.1 We have previously commented on the form-critical 'argument' which author uses to deduce the messengers' divine identity. In fact, it is not merely a case of invalid method: the loose hair flying in the wind,

the hands beating furiously on the head, and the tears like ŠQL-pieces rolling down the cheeks of these miserable laddies, are more than sufficient empirical evidence for their *bona fide* membership in the human race.

2.16 § XVI: 1.19:II:44 – 49

2.16.1 The attribution to Dan'el of a 'declaration of vengeance', following his initial shock at the horrifying news, is possible only by a highly conjectural, in my view little convincing, reconstruction of lines 48 – 50, of which only one word is preserved more or less intact. The restoration, originating with Goetze in the early years [1938], takes its inspiration from Dan'el's charge to his daughter in 1.19:IV:39 – 40. But the resultant line 48 is much too short to be correct.

2.17 § XVII: 1.19:II:56 – III:45

2.17.1 Author's 'magical' approach is further in evidence here in the discussion of Dan'el's search for his son's mortal remains in the bowels of the carniverous birds overhead. The approach is no more successful here than elsewhere in *Aqht*. By invoking Baal's name, Dan'el surely indicates that he is *asking*, not coercing or even demanding. Baal's positive and instantaneous response is a sign of his mighty – not, *pace* DOL, 'destructive' – power as well as his grace, no doubt reflecting his commiseration in Dan'el's plight. Basically, there is little or no difference between Dan'el's words and those of Josh. 10:12 – 13 (based though the latter be on an erroneous inner-Biblical exegesis of the quoted poetic text).[12] The words of Dan'el no less than of Joshua are the 'rational' words of prayer rather than of incantation. In both cases the divine response is an act of free, uncoerced will; and the results are 'miracles' as DOL allows when he speaks here of "milagros reversibles"; i. e., they defy 'natural law'. By contrast, magical incantations are used to ward off evil forces thought to be acting within the framework of 'natural law', or to coerce the occasionally recalcitrant gods to do their respective jobs within that same framework.

2.18 § VIII: 1.19:III:45 – IV:7

2.18.1 On the analogy of the preceding 'birds-episode', author assumes that of the three sites cursed by Dan'el – "maledícion de efecto mágico" – the third curse, directed at *Ablm*, 'is the exact one'. But if the analogy

[12] Cf. B. Margalit, "The Ancient Israelite Epic and the Origins of Biblical Eschatology", in: *Ḥēqer vĕïyûn* [Haifa, 1976]: 161 – 176 (Eng. summary, p. xvii).

is valid, then the other two sites are innocent, and their curses deserve to be undone, just as the disembowelled birds of the first and second inspections were restored to their original state. Since there is no evidence of Dan'el undoing the first two curses, the analogy itself must be rejected, no less than the conclusions based thereon.

2.18.2 DOL has quite missed the main point of these 'maledictions', since he disregards our proposed identifications and overall interpretation of this section already advanced in UF [1976]. All three 'sites' are in fact adjacent to each other: the Sea (of Galilee/Kinnereth); the 'tree' of a nearby holy-site and nomadic habitation [= *Ēlôn Bᵉṣaʿana(n)im* ?]; and *Ablm-Bêt-Yeraḥ/Kh. Kērak*. All three are thus aptly described by Dan'el as: *(d)ʿlk. mḫṣ. aqht. ġzr*, i. e., the scene of the crime, which each of these named is presumed to have 'observed' or 'witnessed'. Cp. Deut. 21:1–9 (cited in this connection by DOL), especially v. 7: "And (the elders of the nearby [$\sqrt{qrb}$!] city) shall say: 'Our hands have not shed this blood, *neither have our eyes seen.*"

2.19 § XIX: 1.19:IV:41–62

2.19.1 Pughat's disguise is the subject of yet another misguided comparison with Krt's 'white-lie' deception of Octavia; and her destination is misconceived as 'the abode of the gods', since Yṭpn is, *apud* DOL, a god! Yet the text speaks clearly of Pughat's 'westward' march to the home of Yṭpn known to reside at Ablm, the same site visited by Anat and cursed (!) by Dan'el. Arriving at her destination (now according to DOL's reconstruction) Pughat manages somehow to identify Yṭpn from among the family of gods as her intended victim, whereas the supposedly divine Yṭpn mistakes Pughat for Anat and receives her cordially. DOL is not certain that Pughat in fact succeeded in carrying out her mission. For despite the suggestive O.T. and Apocryphal literary parallels, certainty in this matter is precluded by the unfortunate break in the text at just this point. However, one is in truth hard put to imagine Pughat carrying out her mission of vengeance (or rather, 'blood-redemption') if Yṭpn is a god. If the ancient readers/auditors of *Aqht* were prepared to accept the idea of a mortal slaying a deity, then why pick on poor Yṭpn rather than the real villain of the piece, Anat?

2.19.2 Author's philological as well as interpretive grasp of this entire, admittedly difficult section is singularly deficient and in need of drastic revision. For he has opted for the 'solid' views of 'established authorities', even where these views are patently fumbling and outdated, based as they are on early text editions and/or inadequate philological data.

3.0 *Significance and Function* [pp. 354–64]

3.1.1 Although much of what DOL affirms in this section of the 'Introduction' is either unacceptable or in need of qualification, it needs be said that this 'synthesis' and over-view of the poem is unsurpassed for depth and eloquence. It poses most of the right questions and is justly, if insufficiently, critical or skeptical of many of the 'orthodox' answers.

3.1.2 One of the most important insights into the nature of *Aqht* occurs at the beginning of the 'Literary Analysis' (§ 2): "podría definirse la 'Epopeye de Aqhatu' como la contrapartida cananea del mito de Prometo, por la pretensíon que implica en su héroe y la libertad con que éste y su hermana *Puġato* se mueven frente a los diosos".[13] But neither here nor in the concluding synthesis under review is this insight exploited. Instead, author retreats to a view of *Aqht* which is appropriate for *Krt*, viz., "una total 'orthodoxia' mito-teológica";[14] and "le marco teologal permance 'orthodoxo' ".[15] El is the supreme deity, responding to supplications, announcing the future, and ultimately deciding the fate of man. Baal is the 'practical' head of the gods, the *de facto* 'king'. Hardly by chance, DOL has little to say about Anat, far and away the most significant figure (divine or human) in *Aqht*. Author devotes to her one sentence: "Peculiar es la función de la diosa 'Anatu, cuya actuación proporciona la trama del poema." But Anat's rôle in *Aqht* is not merely 'special'; it is 'unique'. Anat, we should recall, does not make even a single appearance in *Krt*! To understand the rôle of Anat is to understand the essence of the poem of *Aqht*. DOL fails in both because while writing about *Aqht* he is thinking of *Krt*. The summary of *Aqht* is overwhelmingly devoted to comparing, and mostly equating, *Krt* and *Aqht*. This is its principal, if not only weakness.

3.1.3 The supposed differences between the two poems are considered differences of degree.

3.1.3.1 *Aqht* is more 'mythical' than *Krt*, because in the latter divine intervention in human affairs is restricted to 'dialogues of revelation' whereas in *Aqht* it is daily fare.

3.1.3.2 The 'royal ideology' of *Aqht*, while less pronounced, nevertheless complements that of *Krt*. Like Krt, Dan'el is preoccupied with the

[13] P. 331 f.
[14] P. 332.
[15] P. 355.

problem of an 'heir'. Yet DOL fails to remark on the striking fact that the Ugaritic word for 'heir' – $\sqrt{yr\underline{t}}$ – is nowhere attested in *Aqht*, including the list of filial duties. Like Krt, continues DOL, Dan'el performs the judicial functions traditionally ascribed to the 'ideal king'. Like Krt, Dan'el is responsible for the fertility of the land, and, in the face of calamity, undertakes 'magical rites' intended to restore fertility to the land.

3.1.4 Several of DOL's statements command assent the moment '*Aqht*' is replaced by '*Krt*'.

3.1.4.1 The epic of *Aqht* features the exaltation of origins by a clan or by the founders of a city. It is thus comparable with early Greek and Israelite traditions, except for the fact that the Canaanite orientation is 'royal dynastic' whereas the patriarchal traditions of the O.T. are 'desert-nomadic'. Both as 'heroes' and as ancestral shades, these epic figures have a perennial significance for the destiny of the later group.

3.1.4.2 The protagonists are 'hereos' who embody the values of the legendary epic past, and the social and religious ideals of the society which conserved the poetry. *Aqht*, like *Krt*, is a normative reflection of the Ugaritic society in which it was born, a summation and crystallization of the ideological basis of the social order.

3.1.5 DOL is properly skeptical of attempts to discover an historical 'nucleus' in the poem, although he seems to confuse the question of 'historicity' with that of 'geographical background'. A totally fictitious story can have a realistic geographical setting and can reflect authentic socio-historical 'realia' of the author's time if not also of the subject's.

3.1.5.1 Citing Ez. 14, etc., author nevertheless considers it possible that Dan'el was a legendary king, and that the poem has its origins in the glorified memory of his equally legendary son, a skilled huntsman who suffered a tragic and premature death. Equally possible, *apud* DOL, is the hypothesis that both Aqht and Dan'el are fictitious literary characters created to serve a "situation tipica" in a divine-human encounter, in which 'Canaanite-man' stands 'exposed' to the 'caprice' of the gods and their 'amoral actions'. DOL credits 'Canaanite man' with adopting 'a posture of autonomy' vis-à-vis the gods, but 'faults' him with underestimating divine power.

3.1.5.2 This latter observation is perhaps DOL's most significant insight and contribution to the interpretations of *Aqht*, of a piece with his 'Promethean hypothesis'. But he overshoots the mark. No one in *Aqht*

questions the power of Baal or the goodness of El. It is not the 'gods' as such who confront 'Canaanite-man' with 'capricious' and 'amoral' behaviour. For DOL's 'gods' one should substitute 'goddess (Anat)'. It is she, and she alone, who is capricious and amoral. It is *her* power – and treachery – that Dan'el and Aqht, along with the other *ǵzrm* of the 'Raphaite nobility', underestimate, or rather misconceive. She is the 'power of Evil' as surely as her 'brother' Baal is the 'power of Good'. The message of *Aqht, au fond*, is: supplant the Evil with the Good.

4.1 Our detailed criticism of DOL's position on the major issues of the poem have been presented above and need only be briefly summarized here:

4.1.1 The view of Dan'el as a royal figure, and of *Aqht* as exemplifying a 'royal ideology', is totally unfounded and contradicts the explicit as well as the implicit in the poem. More than any single hermeneutic idea, it is responsible for the prevalent misreading of *Aqht*.

4.1.2 *Aqht* and *Krt* are two fundamentally different poetic works, and virtually every comparison between them is a study in contrast rather than similarity. Much of *Aqhtiana* suffers from a reading of *Aqht* as if it were a variant recension of *Krt*.

4.2 Ultimately, many of the shortcomings of DOL's treatment of *Aqht* reflects his (and others') sins of commission and omission on the philological level, especially with regard to text 1.19. An excessive conservatism and exaggerated allegiance to prevailing scholarly consensus and 'established' authorities prevent him from exploiting some new and fruitful insights recently gained in Ugaritic research (some admittedly connected with the work of the present writer). One can but express the hope that the second and revised edition of this *magnum opus* will reveal a more liberated and venturesome spirit of enquiry.

J. C. De Moor, "The Crisis of Polytheism in Late Bronze Ugarit", OTS 24 (1986): 1 – 20.

1.1 This wide-ranging essay devotes a brief discussion (pp. 14 – 16) to a synopsis and theological interpretation of *Aqht*. It does not claim to break new ground at either the literal-philological or interpretive levels. Its interest for us lies in its rôle as a mirror of current thoughts on *Aqht* among scholars dealing with Ugaritic generally and the literary texts in particular.

2.0 *Story summary*

2.1 The story is believed to portray a king "who is inconsolable because he has no son", and who manages to obtain one as a result of "the intercession of his personal patron Ba'lu" with El. The son born to Dan'el and named 'Aqhat' is destined to receive a composite bow from Koshar, "the technician among the gods", in gratitude for the father's hospitality extended to the deity on a chance visit. The bow "arouses the envy of Anatu". In a verbal confrontation between the lad and the goddess, allegedly recalling Gilgamesh's contemptuous response to Ištar's romantic overtures, the lad "dares to defy" the goddess who then proceeds to her father Ilu, from whom "she obtains permission to murder Aqht".

2.1.1 Anat now turns to Aqht where, according to De Moor, she "pretends to make him a final offer (for the bow). She proposes to marry him so that he will automatically become a member of the pantheon." Aqht presumably rejects this third offer as he did the previous ones, yet "he walks into (Anat's) trap and is murdered during the wedding-dinner".

2.2 Meanwhile, the king Dan'el, though noting how "all nature is mourning ... suspects nothing". But very shortly, and "in breathtaking verses", we see "how the terrible truth slowly dawns upon Dan'ilu". This prompts an appeal to "patron Ba'lu"; but "even this great god is unable to bring the son of Dan'ilu back to life. He can only assist him in finding the sorry remains of the body so that Aqhatu gets a more or less decent burial".

2.2.1 This is the furthest that De Moor summarizes *Aqht* proper. The conclusion is sought in the so-called 'Rephaim-texts' (1.20 – 22), where allegedly "we find Dani'ilu busy invoking the spirits of the dead because the hopes to embrace his son once again".

3.0 *Interpretation*

3.1 The dominant themes and ideology of AQHT are considered identical with those of KRT: the royal status of the hero and his family; the defiance of the gods; the emphasis on "death and the impossibility to become the equal of the great gods". But AQHT shows additionally "a scarcely veiled resentment over the caprices of the gods" as well as the theme of 'undeserved punishment' inflicted on righteous mortals by them: "The poet stresses the righteousness of Dan'ilu. He was a king who stood up for the widow and the orphan. Yet he must suffer undeservedly. In the end he has gained nothing." As for the lad Aqht,

victimized by a goddess (but, because of his insolent defiance, presumably justly so...) he is thought to have served possibly "as a model for a younger generation no longer willing to accept that man was no more than a puppet on the strings of the unaccountable and conflicting powers of the world".

4.0 *Critique*

4.1 The foregoing abounds with errors at the literal as well as at the literary levels. Dan'el is not a king, nor is Aqht a prince; thus all inferences and comparisons based on these 'royalist' assumptions are mistaken as well as misleading.

4.1.1 Koshar is more than a mere 'technician'; he is an expert craftsman, a 'Meister', which explains the extraordinary quality and attractiveness of the composite bow that he gives Dan'el. His 'professional tools' do not include a bow, composite or otherwise; he thus cannot be assumed to have had such an object with him by chance on his visit to Dan'el. This consideration, as well as the plain meaning of the text in 1.17:V:2–3, make it clear that Koshar has fashioned the bow intentionally prior to his visit to Dan'el. It is far-fetched to assume that Dan'el's hospitality, no matter how generous and lavish, was worth the price of an expertly crafted composite bow. Koshar visits Dan'el in order to *deliver* the bow!

4.1.2 There is absolutely no basis for assuming that on her return to Aqht in 1.18:I Anat is still hoping to entice Aqht into surrendering his bow in exchange for some present; there is nothing here, in the admittedly fragmentary text, which recalls the intellectual repartee of 1.17:VI. De Moor unwittingly contradicts his own assumption by assuming at the same time that Anat is setting a trap to murder Aqht: a 'business' offer and a homicidal entrapment are different and mutually exclusive 'strategies'. The assumption that Aqht is murdered while partaking of a wedding-dinner is also misconceived: both parents and friends would presumably be present at such a festivity. This would make them privy to Aqht's murder, an assumption entirely precluded by the ensuing narrative, as De Moor concedes.

4.1.3 It is wrong to say that Dan'el "suspects nothing" when the land begins to wither for lack of precipitation. Dan'el receives an oracle in 1.19:I:42–46, after petitioning the clouds, which makes it clear that something terrible has happened. He doesn't know as yet *precisely* what is wrong. Nor is it true to say that "the terrible truth slowly dawns upon Dan'el". The truth, conveyed to him by weeping and disheveled

'messengers' in 1.19:II:41–44, hits him like a sledgehammer and occasions his immediate physical collapse!

4.2 There are, in my opinion, several serious errors of 'reading' or interpretation in De Moor's brief remarks. The Gilgamesh comparison, as noted on occasion above, reflects, despite the scholarly consensus, a very superficial reading of both *Aqht* and *Gilgamesh*: cf. my discussion below (Part III § 1 = SBL *Seminar Papers* (1986): 258 f.).

4.2.1 The 'villain' of *Aqht* is Anat, not Aqht, who may be brash and cocky but not insolent or defiant. Anat *deserves* what she hears from the 'babe' Aqht – and more! The poet(ess) speaks here through Aqht, who speaks the unvarnished *truth*; his adolescence provides the author with the 'safety-net' (s)he needs to speak out against the nefarious ways of the adored goddess.

4.2.2 No god, whether Baal or YHWH, can return the dead to life (though some devotees of the latter clung to such an illusion in their prayers). Job's children are not restored to life; they are *replaced*! Nor is Baal implicated in Anat's villainy: indeed, Baal's silence after the opening scene is one of the salient features of *Aqht*. Baal has the courage to face Mot and Yamm; but because of his kinship relation, he shies away from a confrontation with Anat (though 1.3:III:14 ff. can be read as a scolding as well as a plea!). It is the people, says the poet of *Aqht*, who must fight to destroy, or at least reform, Anat by renouncing their blind devotion to her. Baal cannot assist in what is essentially an act of faith and conscience. No god, regardless of how good or powerful (as Baal is), can *impose* faith on devotees.

4.2.3 Dan'el (and the righteous generally) suffer in *Aqht* not because the gods as a whole, or the universe in general, is capricious, but because he and his Raphaite kinsmen have put their faith in the wrong god. A universe ruled by Anat is indeed evil and capricious; the rejection of Anat in favour of Baal and El will bring in its wake a more just world and redress the balance in terms of just reward and punishment. (Perfect justice, the poet would argue, is precluded because of the constant presence of 'existential evil' in the form of Mot, Yamm, Resheph, etc., who spoil things from time to time for Man and (good) gods alike).

§ 2. Prosodic Analysis

Like all Ugaritic poetry, the poem of *Aqht* is prosodically structured in accordance with conventionalized rules and principles.[1] Basically, it consists of a concatenous arrangement of monostichs, distichs, and tristichs organized in 'paragraphs' or 'strophes' (or 'stanzas') somewhat flexible in structure and variable in size.

The extant text, approximately two-thirds of the preserved tablets, contains ca. 320 verses, of which some 150 are distichic and the remainder more or less evenly divided as monostichs and tristichs. The overwhelming majority of monostichic and tristichic verses functions as strophe-opening or strophe-terminative devices.

The distichic patterns are highly conventionalized, as are the verse structures as a whole. All the distichs can be subsumed under one of the following headings: 4 + 4; 4 + 3; 3 + 3; 3 + 2; 2 + 2. No verse-line exceeds four units; no B-line is found to exceed an A-line in a distichic structure; and in no distich is the differential ever more than 'one' in favour of the A-line. As a result of these constraints, all the distichic verses of *Aqht* can be described by two brief algebraic formulae:

(a) $A - B = 0/1$
(b) $A/B = /<4$

It is further evident that of the five distichic patterns enumerated above, the 'double-three' is far-and-away the most common, and thus presumably the basic pattern. More than 70 distichs are patterned as [3 + 3], compared with some 30 which are structured as [3 + 2] and some 25 as [4 + 3]. The [2 + 2] and [4 + 4] are statistically negligible in distichic formations though more common in tristichic formations as [4 + 4 + 3] and [2 + 2 + 2]. The [2 + 2] also occurs occasionally as a variation of the monostichic '4', which we represent as (2:2)4.

The verses are grouped into ca. 100 strophic units, averaging three or four verses per strophic unit. This average is not merely statistical. Most strophes in fact contain three or four verses (just as most verse-lines contain three or four 'verse/rhythm units'. But the attested range

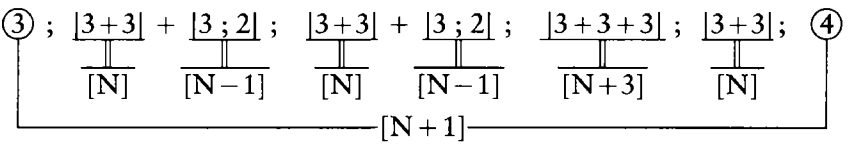
[1] For a convenient summary, cf. B. Margalit, MLD [AOAT 206]: 219–28 (reproduced below in *Appendix*).

of strophic size varies considerably, from the singleton 'verse-strophe', invariably cast as a tristich, to six, seven, very rarely eight verses.[2]

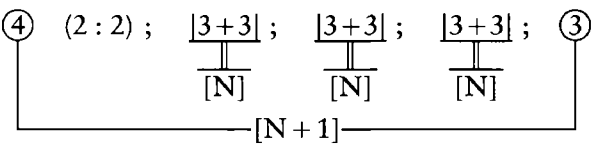
The Ugaritic strophe is marked both at its beginning and its end by one or more formal prosodic feature(s): monostich; tristich; hypercatalectic (in the case of opening) and brachycatalectic (in the case of closing) distich. *Aqht*, though prosodically 'conservative' and not given to virtuoso *tours-de-force*, illustrates all these possibilities most adequately.

I. Monostichic opening + monostichic closing:

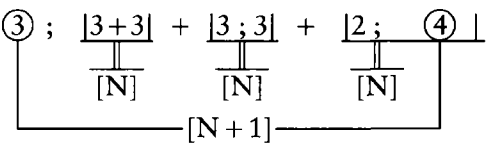
(a) 1.17:I:5^{b} – 15^{a} (*ḥn.ym ... pyln*):



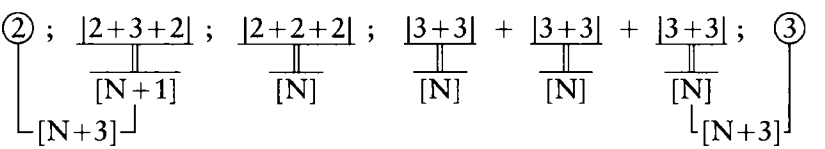
(b) 1.17:V:9^{b} – 15 (*bal*[p] ... *kyṣḥ*):



(c) 1.17:V:16 – 21^{a} (*šm' ... klḥ*):

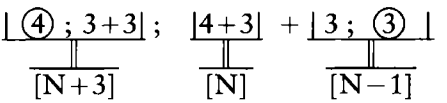


(d) 1.17:VI:33^{b} – 39 (*wy'n ... argm*):

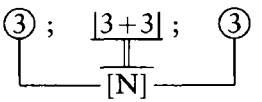


[2] The only *bona fide* eight-verse strophe in *Aqht* is 1.17:I:5^{b} – 15, describing the six-day sacrificial service in the stereotyped numerative format. But it can be plausibly argued that this section is really a well-integrated 'multi-strophic' unit consisting of three or four 'independent' strophes of two verses each. – The case of 1.17:I:36^{b} – 47 ff. is unique. Fully restored it comprises at least ten verses. This feature alone is sufficient reason to consider it a secondary interpolation.

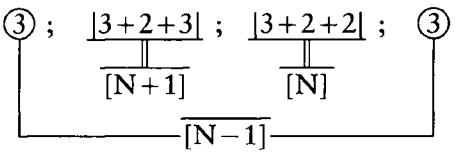
(e) 1.18:I:15 – 19 (*wy'n ... m'qbk*):



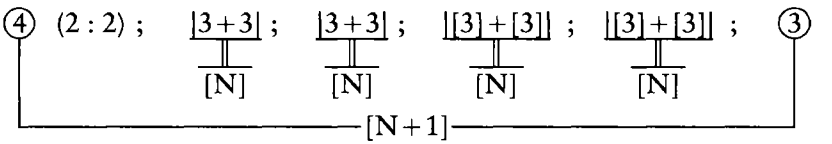
(f) 1.18:IV:5 – 7[a] (tt]*b'* ... *wtṣḥ*):



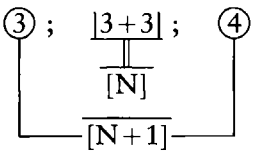
(g) 1.18:IV:12 – 16 (*šm'* ... *'nt*):



(h) 1.19:I:18 – 29 (*pr'* ... *wtphn*):



(i) 1.19:IV:50[b] – 53[a] (*rgm. ... št*):

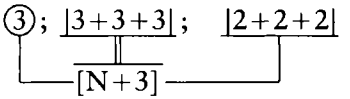


II. Monostichic opening + tristichic closing:

(a) 1.17:V:21[b] – 25[a] (*tšm'* ... *ydm*):

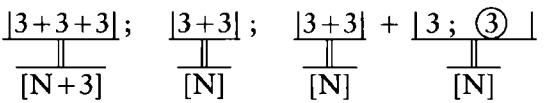
3; 3 + 3 + 3[3]

(b) 1.18:I:6[b] – 10[a] (*wt'n ... ar*[kty]):

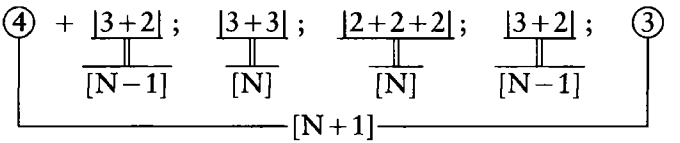


III. Tristichic opening + monostichic closing:

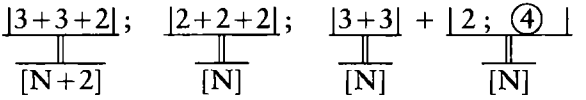
(a) 1.17:VI:20^{b} – 26^{a} (*adr* ... *ʿnt*):



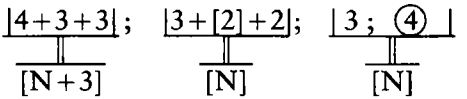
(b) 1.17:VI:26^{b} – 33^{a} (*irš* ... [*ǵz*]*r*):



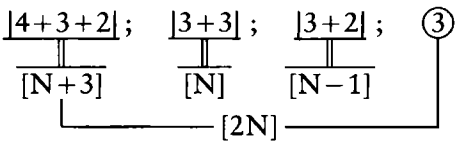
(c) 1.17:VI:46^{b} – 52 (*idk* ... *mt . rpi*):



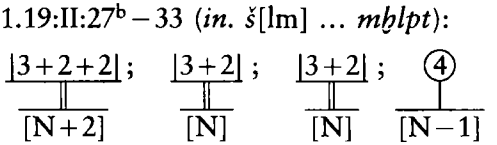
(d) 1.18:IV:7^{b} – 11 (*yṯb* ... [*mhr . št*]):



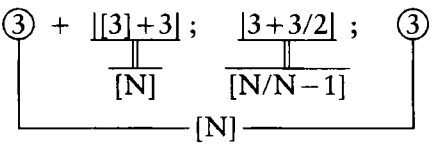
(e) 1.19:II:22^{b} – 27 (*aḫl* ... *wtphn*):



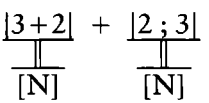
(f) 1.19:II:27^{b} – 33 (*in. š*[lm] ... *mḫlpt*):



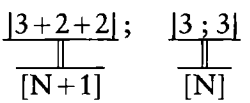
(g) 1.19:II:44^{b} – 48^{a} ([*bdnil*] ... *wyṣḫ*):



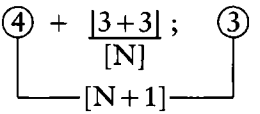
(h) 1.19:III:14^{b} – 16 (= 28^{b} – 30): (*bnši ... wyṣḥ*):[3]



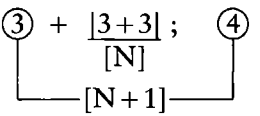
(i) 1.19:III:39^{b} – 41^{a} (*wyqḥ ... wyṣḥ*):



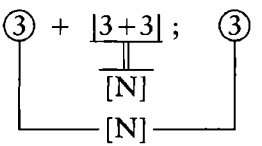
(j) 1.19:III:56^{b} – IV:3^{a} (*ʿdb ... wyṣḥ*):[3]



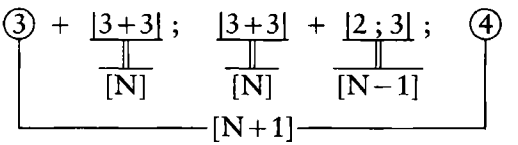
(k) 1.19:IV:11 – 14^{a} (*pzǵm ... lšnt*):



(l) 1.19:IV:17^{b} – 20^{a} ([*m*]*k ... wyṣḥ*):[3]

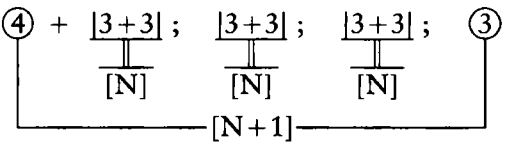


(m) 1.19:IV:22^{b} – 28 (*wyqr*[y] ... *mym*):

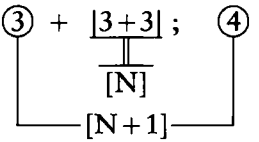


[3] Strophe without 'torso'.

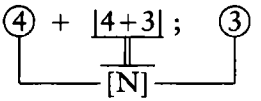
(n) 1.19:IV:29–36[a] (*qrym ... rpi*):



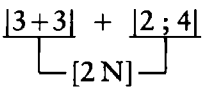
(o) 1.19:IV:44–46[a] (*tlbš ... aṯt*):



(p) 1.19:IV:46[b]–50[a] ([aṯr] ... *lahlm*):

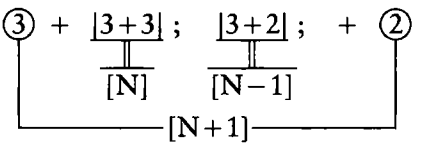


(q) 1.19:IV:54/55–57 (*tqḫ ... št*):

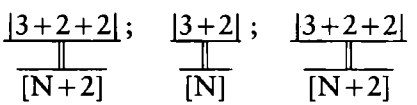


IV. Tristichic opening + tristichic closing:

(a) 1.18:I:10[b]–14 ([amḫš ...] ... [ʿnt]):[3]

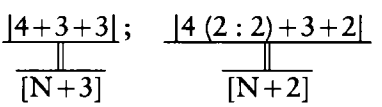


(b) 1.19:I:3[c]–8[a] (*ṯṯbr ... uṣbʿth*):

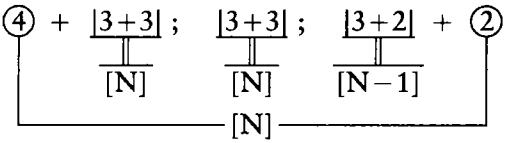


[3] Strophe without 'torso'.

(c) 1.19:II:1 – 5[a] (*šm*[ʿ] ... *nqbny*):[3]

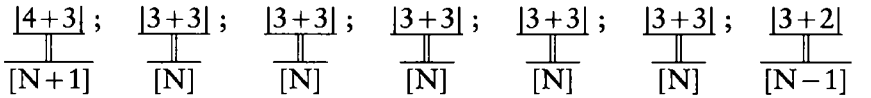


(d) 1.19:II:5[b] – 11 (*tš*[mʿ] ... *pḫl*):

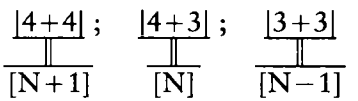


V. Hypercatalectic-distich opening + brachycatalectic-distich closing: ([N+1] ... [N−1]):

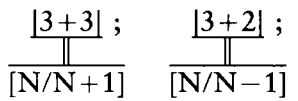
(a) 1.17:I:23 – 32 (*ltbrknn.* ... *bt.il*):



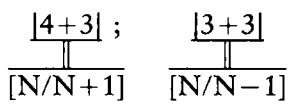
(b) 1.17:II:22[b] – 27[a] (*tḫ* ... *snnt*):



(c) 1.17:V:33[b] – 36[a] (*apnk* ... *kyq*[*m*]):[3]

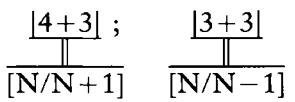


(d) 1.19:III:42[b] – 45 (*knp* ... *my*[*m*]):[3]



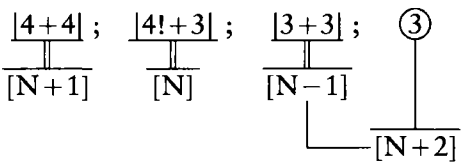
[3] Strophe without 'torso'.

(e) 1.19:IV:57^{b} – 59^{a} (*byn ... ib . št*):[3]

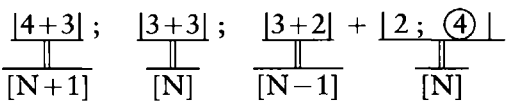


VI. Hypercatalectic-distich opening + monostichic or tristichic closing:

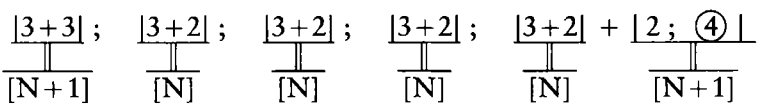
(a) 1.17:II:6^{b} – 12^{a} (*ṯḫ ... wyṣḥ*):



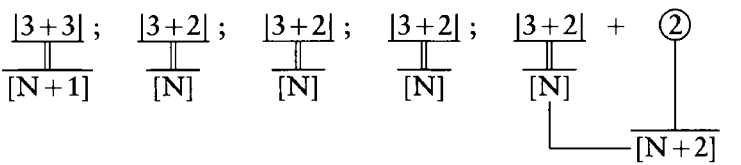
(b) 1.17:V:42 – 46 ([wn .] *ṯb ... arṣ*):



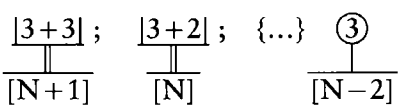
(c) 1.18:IV:19 – 27 (*ʾlḥ. ... laḥwy*):[4]



(d) 1.18:IV:30^{b} – 37 (*ʾlḥ ... b*[*aph*]):



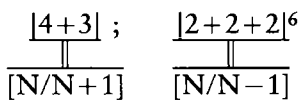
(e) 1.19:I:11^{b} – 17^{b} (*mn ... ṣ*[rḥ]):



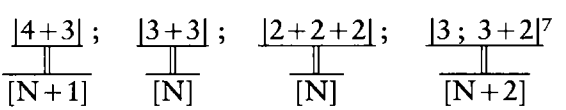
[3] Strophe without 'torso'.

[4] This is a fine example of 'double-closure': a penultimate tristich followed by a concluding monostich.

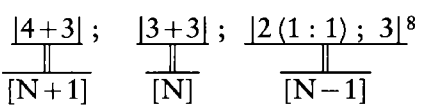
(f) 1.19:I:42^{b} – 46^{a} (*šb*^{c} ... *b*^{c}*l*):[5]



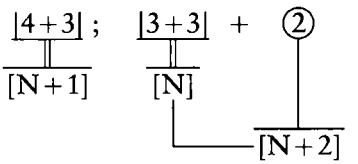
(g) 1.19:III:1^{b} – 7 (= 16^{b} – 22^{a} = 30^{b} – 36^{a}): (*knp* ... *hwt*[h]):



(h) 1.19:III:8 – 12 (*knp* ... *wyṣḥ*):

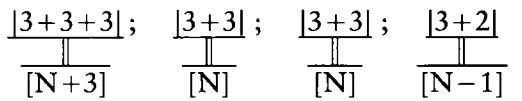


(i) 1.19:III:46 – 48 (*mlk* ... *pdr* . *dr*):

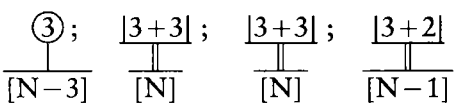


VII. Monostichic or tristichic opening + brachycatalectic-distich closing:

(a) 1.17:II:16 – 22^{a} (*nṣb* ... *bt* . *il*):



(b) 1.17:II:39 – 43 (*mk* ... *yrḫḥ*):



[5] Cf. note 3 above.

[6] This is a brachycatalectic *tristich* closure, combining two principles.

[7] This final [*N + 2] is a variation on a standard [3 + 3 + 2] tristich.

[8] This final [*N – 1] unit is an inversion and severance of a standard [3 + 2] distich: it thus combines the two principles of closure – monostich and brachycatalectic distich.

(c) 1.18:IV:37^{c}–42 ([wt^{c}n] ... *'pmm*):

|4+3+3| ; |4+3| ; |3+3|
[N+3] [N] [N−1]

(d) 1.19:I:29^{b}–39/40 ([š^{c}r?] ... *bḥm*):

|3+2+3| ;[9] |4+3| ; |4+3| ; |3+3|
[N+1] [N] [N] [N−1]

(e) 1.19:III:49–56^{a} (*'db ... dr*):

|4+3+3| ; |3+3| ; |3+3| ; |3+2|
[N+4] [N] [N] [N−1]

(f) 1.19:IV:7–10 (*'db ... bḥẓrḥ*):[10]

|4+3+3| ; ... |3+2|
[N+4] [N−1]

Although the prosody of *Aqht* tends to the conservative, there are nonetheless a number of variations on conventional patterns which are worthy of note.

I. Several variations consist of replacing a hypercatalectic distich opening with a hypercatalectic tristich comprising the same number of verse units. In this way, the poet combines two principles in one structural form: the principle of 'catalexis' (hyper- or brachy-) which belongs to the level of the 'verse-*unit*' count; and the 'tristichic' principle which, along with the monostich, belongs to the level of the 'verse-*line*' count. *E. g.:*

(a) 1.17:VI:16^{b}–18^{a}: this tristichic [3+3+2] is a variation on a hypercatalectic *[4+4] distich which would ordinarily introduce a strophe with a (4+3) 'theme' as here.

[9] This unit is a tristichic variation of a hypercatalectic distich, combining two principles of opening.

[10] Cf. note 3 above.

(b) 1.19:I:29^{b}–31: this [3+2+3] tristich is also a variation on a hypercatalectic *[4+4] distich.

(c) 1.19:III:39^{b}–40: this [3+2+2] tristich is a variation on a hypercatalectic *[4+3] distich which would normally introduce a (3+3)-themed strophe such as we have here.

II. A frequent variation is the use of a [2+2+2] tristich for a standard [3+3]: *e.g.*, 1.17:VI:3–31^{a}; 35^{c}–36^{b}; 48^{b}–49; 1.18:I:9^{b}–10; 1.19:I:44^{b}–46^{a}; III:4^{b}–5; etc. In each and every case we are dealing with a 'free substitution' rather than with a functional device for indicating strophic opening or closing. Accordingly, the [2+2+2] tristich should be seen as *sui generis* in Ugaritic poetry.

III. The poet will frequently combine two strophe-functional elements to indicate strophic opening or closing and/or to signal divisions *within* the strophic unit: *e.g.*, the transition from direct-speech to 3rd pers. narrative.

A typical and illustrative example of 'double-closing' can be found in 1.17:VI:24–26^{a}. Aqht's words conclude with a [3 + 3 + 3] tristich, the same pattern as introduces them. But the strophic unit as a whole concludes with a monostichic '3' in narrative form in the following verse, and it marks the transition to Anat's discourse which is the subject and content of the following strophic unit.[11]

An interesting, if not quite typical illustration of 'double-opening' can be found a few lines later on in the same text: 1.17:VI:33^{b}–35^{b}. The monostichic '2' is a narrative introduction marking the transition from Anat's concluding statement in lines 32–3 to Aqht's speech in lines 34 ff., itself introduced by a [2 + 3 + 2] tristich. The latter is not a typical tristichic pattern in Ug. poetry. It can be explained here only if we assume that the poet has deliberately split the initial '4' of a standard [4 + 3 + 2] tristich to achieve the desired artistic effect. The process may be schematically represented as: [2; 2 + 3 + 2] < [4 + 3 + 2]. Two additional and rather artful examples of 'double-

[11] It may be noted here in passing that the narrative formulae of transition – 'he/she raised his/her voice and called out'; 'he/she raised his/her eyes and beheld'; or, 'Then did PN respond (saying)' – are normally placed at the conclusion rather than at the beginning of a strophe: cp.

- 1.17:II:11^{b}–12^{a}; V:9^{a}; 15^{b}; VI:16^{b}; 20^{a}; 25^{b}–26^{a}
- 1.18:IV:11
- 1.19:I:28^{b}–29^{a}; II:27^{a}; 47^{b}–48^{a}; III:11–12^{a}; 16^{a}; 25^{b}–26^{a}; 30^{a}; 42^{a}; IV:2^{b}–3^{a}; 19^{b}–20^{a}; 29; 35^{b}–36^{a}; 52^{b}–53^{a}; 56^{b}–57^{a}.

The 'exceptions' are: 1.17:VI:33^{b}; 52^{b}–53^{a} (where the monostichic formula has been expanded via parallelism into a tristich); and 1.18:I:15.

closure' are found in 'parallel text' loci: the one in 1.19:III:6 – 7 (//20[b] – 22//34[c] – 36[a]), the other *ibid.*, lines 11 – 12[a] (//25 – 26[a]).

In the first instance, the 'double-closure' – reflecting at once the termination of direct-speech (line 6, etc.) and the conclusion of the narrative unit (line 7, etc.) – is achieved by transforming a basic *[3 + 3 + 2] tristich into a monostichic '3' and a following brachycatalectic [3 + 2] distich, each one typically 'strophe-terminative'. In the second instance, an internally segmented monostichic '2' concludes Dan'el's peroration while a monostichic '3' concludes the entire narrative unit. The two monostichic verses combine to form an 'inverted [3 + 2]' – normally 'impossible' in Ug. prosody – which in its standard, uninverted order is the regular closure for a strophe with the (3 + 3) theme here in evidence.

Also noteworthy in this connection is 1.19:III:39[b] – a partly 'parallel-text' of 1.19:III:11 – 12 (//25 – 6) – where the monostichic '2' at the end of Dan'el's speech is also the termination of the strophic unit. This is incontrovertible proof that in lines 11 – 12 (//25 – 6) we are in fact dealing with 'double-closure'.

IV. In 1.17:II:34 – 38 one encounters a strophic unit with the following verse – sequence:

3 + 2; 4; 2 + 2; 4; 2 + 2; 4

This seemingly irregular sequence is in fact mostly the result of a variation on a strophic pattern with a (4 + 4) theme, the 'double-two's' representing secondarily segmented 4's.

But how are we to understand the opening [3 + 2]? The answer lies in recognizing that classical Ug. prosody – like pre-8th cent. O.T. poetry – does not allow a five-unit line. The upper limit of a verse-line is four verse-units. This means, *i. a.*, that when constructing a strophe based on a (4 + 4) theme, the poet normally must choose between a monostichic '4' and a tristichic '4 + 4 + 4' for his opening. The hypercatalectic *[5 + 4] distich opening (so common in O.T. prophetic verse) simply does not exist as an option for the Ugaritic bard.

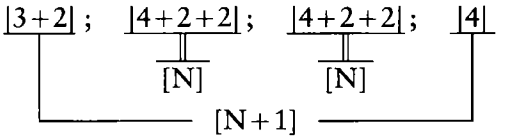
The present text-form is thus an attempt to overcome this problem by utilizing a distichic [3 + 2] for a monostichic '5'. However, a sequence of *3 + 2; 4 + 4; 4 + 4; 4 is prosodically unacceptable as well. Therefore, the poet effects a syntactic 'break-up' of the two double-four's in the above sequence into a sequence of 4; 2 + 2; 4; 2 + 2. The result is three symmetrical 'mini-strophes' inside the larger strophic unit:

Days 1 + 2 = [3 + 2 + 4] = 9 = N + 1
Days 3 + 4 = [2 + 2 + 4] = 8 = N
Days 5 + 6 = [2 + 4 + 4] = 8 = N

It would seem however that, as structured above, our strophe lacks a distinctive formal closure for the sequence N + 1; N; N. In fact, the basis for integrating these mini-strophes into a perfect strophic unit with formal opening and closure is the principle of 'counterpoint' and the technique of *inclusio*, i. e., the verse-patterns in the strophe are established by crossing the semantic/syntactic boundaries of parallelism in the 'mini-strophes':

3 + 2; 4 ⁝ 2 + 2; 4 ⁝ 2 + 2; 4

i. e., three two-verse semantic units, each consisting of a distich and a monostich, are transformed on the prosodic level into:



An equally skillful case of 'mini-strophes' integrated into a unified strophic unit is $1.17{:}I{:}5^{b}-15^{b}$ which, like the one just examined, also involves the stereotyped '7-day-sequence' format. The unit consists of three mini-strophes corresponding to the symmetrical numerical divisions within the larger 7-day – actually 6-day – framework:

(a) Days 1 + 2: [3; 3 + 3 + 3] = 12 = [N + 1]
(b) Days 3 + 4: [2; 3 + 3 + 3] = 11 = N
(c) Days 5 + 6: [2; 3 + 3 + 3] = 11 = N

The brachycatalectic conclusion – viz., [N – 1] – is provided by verbatim repetition of lines 3^{b-5a} (as restored and as reconstructed): [3 + 3] + 4 = 10. This material functions as a refrain: placed before and after the six-day sequence, its contents are to be understood as having transpired at the end of each of the six days. Only on the climactic seventh day does the activity described in this refrain *not* take place, thus permitting the inference that the 'revelation' to Dan'el by the gods occurred during the daytime of the seventh day, while the hero was awake and offering sacrifice.

§ 3. Textual Analysis

1.0 *Introduction*

1.1 The phenomenon of scribal error and textual disturbance in the Ugaritic literary texts has long been recognized.[1] But a systematic treatment of the phenomenon became a reality only in 1958, with S. Segert's "Die Schreibfehler in den ugaritischen literarischen Keilschrifttexten"[2], where the most commonly recognized errors, as well as a few original suggestions, were classified in accordance with the system of F. Delitzch's manual for O.T. text-criticism published in 1920.

1.1.1 The usefulness of Segert's work is somewhat limited today by the fact that, like Gordon's *Grammar* of 1940, it relies heavily, if not exclusively on the text of Virolleaud's *editio princeps*. In addition, Segert's stated objective in his study is more to illustrate text-critical phenomena known from the Hebrew Bible (*apud* Delitzsch) than to provide an exhaustive text-critical analysis of the Ugaritic texts *per se*. As Segert himself puts it:

> " ... die Art der Fehler in den alttestamentlichen Texten mit Hilfe von literarischem Material, das weder zeitlich noch räumlich noch seiner Schreibart nach von der ältesten hebräischen Poesie abweicht, etwas verständlicher und anschaulicher zu machen."[3]

And shortly thereafter:

> "Die Verbesserungsvorschläge in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur ... wurden geprüft, aber nur die äußerlich gut bezeugten, meistens solche durch parallele Stellen unterstützt wurden, aufgenommen. Dabei wurde ... eher ihr [= Aufsatz] illustrativer Wert in bezug auf das AT als ihre Bedeutung für die Konstituierung der ugaritischen Texte berücksichtigt."[4]

1.1.2 Notwithstanding these reservations, it is instructive to compare Segert's analysis and conclusions, insofar as they pertain to *Aqht*, with ours here. In so doing we may achieve two things: (1) determine the 'state-of-the-art' in Ugaritic text-criticism of the fifties generally, and in

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[1] Cf. C. H. Gordon, UT §§ 4.13, 14, 22, basically reproducing UG §§ 3.17, 18, 25.

[2] *Von Ugarit nach Qumran*, BZAW 77 (1958): 193–212.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, 193.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, 195.

Aqhtiana specifically; (2) evaluate the level of achievement as well as the progress made in the interim thirty years as a result of the newer text-editions as well as more detailed philological study of the texts, both in themselves and in the light of texts published subsequent to Segert's study.

1.2 *Critique*

1.2.1 Of the many examples cited by Segert to illustrate the various textual phenomena, some twenty-five are culled from *Aqht*. We propose to discuss each one here in brief.

Under the heading:

1.2.1.1 A. "Fehler infolge der trennungslosen Wort- und Satzschreibung[:] ... falsche Verwendung des Trennungskeiles" (p. 196):

(1) 1.17:II:26, read by Segert (*seq.* Virolleaud and Gordon): *bbt. hgkṯrt.*, emended to *bbth. kṯrt*. But this is a misreading: both CTA and KTU read clearly and without reservation the emended text.

(2) 1.19:IV:8, read by Segert *ym. ǵyn.*, emended to *ym*{ }*ǵyn*. The reading is confirmed by CTA and KTU, and the self-evident emendation is today universally acknowledged.

Under the heading:

1.2.1.2 B. "Irrige Doppelschreibungen" (p. 197):

(3) 1.17:VI:30 f.: *kyḫwy. y*ʿ*šr. ḫwy. y*ʿ*š*^{31}*r.*: Segert follows several earlier scholars in deleting the third and fourth words. This reflects, however, a literary-philological opinion lacking a firm textual basis and far from self-evident philologically. As such, it represents a deviation from Segert's own methodological principles as enunciated above. For further discussion, cf. below, *ad loc.*

The same strictures are valid for the first of several examples cited immediately under the heading:

1.2.1.3 C. "Auslassungen" (pp. 198 ff.):

(4) 1.19:II:12: read by Segert (correctly) *ydnil*, emended (incorrectly) to *ydn*⟨*. dn*⟩*il*. Here too the emendation is based on a philological opinion and yields, as I shall demonstrate below (*ad loc.*), a nonsensical narrative datum in context. By contrast, the reading in line 19: *ydnh*, which Segert (and others) considers *bona fide*, is to be emended! Cf. discussion below, *ad loc.*

(5) 1.19:I:37: read by Segert (correctly), and emended (self-evidently; cf. line 48) to *al*⟨*l*⟩*. ǵzr*, the error explained as "[Auslassung] eines von zwei gleichen, einander unmittelbar folgenden Buchstaben".

(6) 1.19:IV:52: *bat. bhlm.*, correctly read and emended to *bat. b⟨a⟩hlm.* (cf. lines 50, 60), the error – "[Auslassung] eines sonstigen Buchstaben" – thought to be possibly motivated by "phonetische Faktoren (Elision des Aleph)".

(7) 1.19:II:20: *bakt*, correctly read and emended to *bak⟨l⟩t* (cf. lines 19, 23).

(8) 1.18:IV:7(//16): *yṯp*. Segert's reading in both cases is supported by CTA and KTU. But the suggested emendation to *yṯp⟨n⟩* vies with the possibility, noted by Segert, of a hypocoristic abbreviation. For our view on the matter, cf. discussion below, *ad loc.*

(9) 1.19:III:2(//17): *b ʿl. yṯb. b ʿl. yṯbr*: correctly read and emended to *b ʿl. yṯb⟨r⟩* ... etc. (cf. lines 31 and 43).

(10) 1.19:III:3: *tḫ pʿny*: correctly read and emended by Segert to *tḫ⟨t.⟩ pʿny* (cf. lines 18 and 32).

(11) 1.17:I:32: *kšbʿ yn*: correctly read by Segert, but gratuitously emended by him to *kšbʿ⟨t⟩ yn*, on the basis of II:6,20. Segert, in a momentary lapse I presume, overlooked the fact that the 'parallel texts' in col. II require 2 m. sg. and 1 c. sg. forms respectively, whereas the occurrence in I:32 is 3 m. sg. On the other hand, Segert overlooked the need to restore a word-divider after *kšbʿ⟨.⟩*

The next three examples are classified by Segert under the heading:

1.2.1.4 D. "Auslassungen von Worten [und] größere Auslassungen" (p. 200):

(12) 1.18:IV:13: *tmḫṣḥ. qṣʿth*: Following the philological opinions of earlier scholars, Segert waivers between the 'maximal' reconstruction of ⟨tmḫṣḥ. ʿl⟩ following the verb (*tmḫṣḥ*), and the 'minimal' reconstruction of the preposition ⟨ʿl⟩ alone. No attempt is made to evaluate the respective merits of either suggestion by an examination *in situ*. But in this respect at least Segert is true to his word (see above). For such an evaluation, cf. below, *ad loc.*

(13) 1.19:III:33 f.: *hm. iṯ. šmt. iṯ* ^{34}*ʿẓm*: On the basis of the parallel occurrences in line 4 and 9, Segert suggests – apparently for the first time in Ugaritic research – emending to *⟨hm⟩ iṯ* ^{34}*ʿẓm*. Though not acknowledged either by CTA or KTU – cf., however, MLC, 395 – the emendation can be justified on prosodic grounds as well. Cf. our discussion below, *ad loc.*

(14) 1.17:II:17: *ztr. ʿmy. lʿpr*: Following Rosenthal, and citing col. I:27,45 in support, Segert reconstructs three words after *ʿmy*, viz.: *larṣ. mšṯu. qṭry*. The emendation is gratuitous, as is the would-be explanation: "Irrig wurde statt *larṣ* das sachlich ähnliche *lʿpr* gleich nach *ʿmy* geschrieben".[5] Cf. our discussion below, *ad loc.*

[5] *Loc. cit.*, 200.

Two further examples of textual disturbances in *Aqht* are classified under the heading:

1.2.1.5 E. "Umstellungen" of either consonants or words, including in one case, an entire (distichic) verse (p. 201).

(15) 1.17:I:6: *(p)ynl*: correctly read and emended to *(p)yln* (cf. line 16). Less evident is the accompanying explanation: "Durch phonetische Beziehungen von *n* und *l* bedingt".

(16) 1.17:II:5 – 6: Segert notes the fact that in the parallel repetition in lines 19 – 20 the distich, *aḫḍ. ydk. b*[škrn] // *mʿmsk. kšbʿt. yn* occurs one 'rung' higher in the list of duties. He assumes *a priori* that one of these sequences is mistaken, but does not venture to suggest which version is the correct one. However, given that the material involved is a list of more or less discrete items, and recalling the inherent inner-flexibility of strophic structures in Ugaritic prosody, it is by no means certain that one can speak here of 'correct' and 'incorrect', even in theory! The option of 'free variation' under these circumstances is quite as likely as that of 'textual disturbance'. If the list in col. I:44 ff. were complete, one might be better able to decide this question.

Under the heading:

1.2.1.6 F. "Falschschreibung von Buchstaben und Wörtern durch Benachbartes veranlaßt" (p. 202):

(17) 1.19:IV:38: Segert reads (*seq.* Virolleaud) *tṭl*, emended to { }*ṭl*. But as CTA and KTU aver, this is a misreading, with Herdner commenting explicitly (*ad loc*): "La lecture *ṭl* ne fait aucune doute".

Under the heading:

1.2.1.7 G. "Verschreibung der Buchstaben" (pp. 203 ff.):

(18) 1.17:I:20: *wm*: correctly read and emended to *k!m*.

(19) 1.17:VI:42: Segert's reading *ṣy* is supported by CTA (contrast KTU). If correctly read, the emendation *l!y* (KTU: *ly*) is self-evident.

(20) 1.17:VI.47: *mbr. nhrm*: correctly read and emended to *mbk!. nhrm*.

(21) 1.18:IV:26: *mprh*; correctly read but incorrectly emended to *mh!rh*. Cf. our discussion below, *ad loc.*

(22) 1.18:IV.29: *btʿrpt*: misread (cf. CTA and KTU) and gratuitously emended to *btʿrth*, the correct reading.

(23) 1.19:III:5: *abpy*: correctly read and emended to *abk!y* (cf. already UG § 3.17 [= UT § 4.13]).

(24) 1.19:IV:57: *ila*: correctly read, noting (non-committally) the proposed emendation *iln!*. Cf. our discussion below, *ad loc.* and EXCURSUS XVIII § 3.

1.2.2.1 If we attempt to systematize the emendations gratuitously proffered in Segert's article, the results are the following bipartite classification:

– emendations based on incorrect readings by the *ed. pr.* and subsequent editions prior to CTA and KTU;

– emendations based on mistaken philological analysis by the author's predecessors (in one case, by author himself).

1.2.2.2 The number of emendations, of any type and for whatever reason, either noted or suggested by Segert in *Aqht* which may be considered correct:

– with complete certainty: ten
– likely or highly probable: four.

1.2.2.3 By comparing Segert's results with those summarized in the following lists, one gets a fairly good idea of the limitations of Segert's study with respect to *Aqht* (and, presumably, for other literary works as well, since the choice of *Aqht* for purposes of critique is a random one): the examples given are more illustrative than exhaustive; the suggested emendations are often not based on philological verification by the author himself, but rest on the prevailing scholarly consensus; and, finally, the *ed. pr.* of Virolleaud (and the minor modifications in UM) provide the textual basis for the analysis, with little or not attempt at personal verification of problematic readings.

1.2.2.4 The following are examples culled from our first list of generally acknowledged errors and disturbances and not found in Segert's article:

(1) 1.17:I:34 f.: the text reads *...il ʿbdh.*, the result of a major omission due to homoioteleuton. The original text is to be reconstructed as: *...il⟨. BDH. krpn. bm. ymn. brkm. ybrk⟩ ʿBDH.* Cf. discussion and EXCURSUS below, *ad loc.*

(2) 1.17:II:8: text reads *bunil*; emend to *bd!nil.*

(3) 1.17:V:5: text reads *ahn*; emend to *a⟨p⟩hn.* (In 1.17:I:1, rd. *aph⟨n⟩.*)

(4) 1.18:IV:26: text reads *baph. uap...*; emend to read *baph* {...}

(5) 1.19:III:6: text reads *art*; emend to *arṣ*!

(6) 1.19:III:9: text reads *tǵln*; emend to *tq!ln.*

(7) 1.19:III:12: text reads *nšrm. ybn*; emend to read *nšrm. ⟨bʿl.⟩ ybn.*

(8) 1.19:IV:55: text reads *tpḫ*: emend to *tq!ḫ.*

1.2.2.5 Of the errors and textual disturbances not generally known or acknowledged, and based on the present study of *Aqht* (= list # 2), note especially:

(1) 1.17:I:15 – 22; II:3 – 6; 1.19:I:35 – 42: major dislocations of lines.

(2) 1.17:II:24: read *dn. il. ⟨l⟩bth. ymġyn.* Haplography.

(3) 1.17:V:12: text has *hlk. qšt.* Emend to: *hl. kqšt.* Misplaced divider.

(4) 1.18:IV:38: text has *mhrh*; emend to *mp!rh* on the basis of line 26 (and not the reverse as generally thought!). Confusion of *p/h*.

(5) 1.19:I:14 – 17: material which has fallen out of 1.18:IV has found its way (in part) to here. Delete $14^{b} - 17^{a}$ (*imḫṣh...ly*) and read 17^{b} immediately after 14^{a} (*l* ^{14}*ḫṭh.* ^{17}{...}*wbmt*[h]...).

2.0 Lists of Errors and/or Disturbances

2.1 Known and generally acknowledged

Ref.	Text	Attested Reading	Proposed 'original'	Analysis
2.1.1	1.17:I:1	*aph*	*aph⟨n⟩*	simple omission (ext.)
2.1.2	:5	*pynl*	*pyl!n!*	metathesis
2.1.3	:29	*d.ʿšy*	*dʿšy*	misplaced divider
2.1.4	:34 f.	*il ʾbdh*	(1) *il. bdh* (or) (2) *il(.)⟨bdh. krpn bm. ymn. brkm. ybrk.⟩ ʾbdh.*	(1) miswritten divider: (2) complex omission via homoioteleuton
2.1.5	:II:2	*l. ʾpr*[6]	*lʾpr*	misplaced divider
2.1.6	:5	*bt il*	*bt. il*	omitted divider
2.1.7	:7	*b. ym*	*bym*	misplaced divider
2.1.8	:8	*bunil*	*bd!nil*	confusion of *u/d*
2.1.9	:20	*kšbʿt yn*	*kšbʿt. yn*	omitted divider
2.1.10	:34	*rbʿ ym*	*rbʿ. ym*	omitted divider[7]
2.1.11	:V:5	*ahn*	*a⟨p⟩hn*	simple omission (int.)
2.1.12	:VI:23	*bġl il*	*bġl. il*	omitted divider[7]
2.1.13	:29	*bn il*	*bn. il*	omitted divider[7]
2.1.14	:33	*w. yʿn*	*wyʿn*	misplaced divider
2.1.15	:34	*dm lġzr*	*dm. lġzr*	omitted divider[7]
2.1.16	:42	*ṣy*	*l!y*	confusion of *ṣ/l*
2.1.17	:47	*mbr*	*mbk*	confusion of *r/k*
2.1.18	18:IV:13	*tmḫṣh. qṣʿth*	*tmḫṣh.* (*tmḫṣh*) *ʾl. qṣʿth*	complex omission (& haplography)

[6] Thus KTU, *pace* CTA. Cp. Virolleaud, *Dan'el*, Pl. IV; XIV/2, with clearly indicated divider.

[7] Constitute single verse-unit in prosodic scansion.

Ref.	Text	Attested Reading	Proposed 'original'	Analysis
2.1.19	:26	*baph. uap. mprh*	*bap(h) ... mh!rh*	partial dittography confusion of *h/p*[8]
2.1.20	19:I:8	*uṣb'h*	*uṣb'⟨t⟩h*	simple omission (int.)
2.1.21	:II:11	*lysmsm*	*lysmsm⟨t⟩*	simple omission (ext.)
2.1.22	:16	*ynp'*	*yp'*	extraneous sign via dittographic analogy
2.1.23	:19	*ydnh*	(1) *ydn. dnil* (or) (2) *ydni!l*	haplography confusion *h/i* & simple omission (ext.)
2.1.24	:20	*bakt*	*bak⟨l⟩t*	simple omission (int.)
2.1.25	:III:2[9]	*yṯb*	*yṯb⟨r⟩*	simple omission (ext.)
2.1.26	:3	*tḫ*	*tḫ⟨t⟩*	simple omission (ext.)
2.1.27	:5	*abpy*	*abk!y*	confusion of *p/k*
2.1.28	:6	*art*	*arṣ!*	dittographic analogy (bḫRT. ilm. aRT)
2.1.29	:9[10]	*tġln*	*tq!ln*	confusion of *ġ/q*
2.1.30	:12	*nšrm. ybn*	*nšrm. b'l. ybn*	complex omission
2.1.31	:14	*wypn*	*wyp⟨h⟩n*	simple omission (int.)
2.1.32	:17	*yṯb*	*yṯb⟨r⟩*	simple omission
2.1.33	:33	*šmt. iṯ*	*šmt. hm. iṯ*	complex omission
2.1.34	:36	*b'[l] [37]b'l. ṯbr*	*b'l. ṯbr [37]b'l. ṯbr*	complex haplography
2.1.35	:45	*tšḫṯann*	*tšḫṯn!n*	*-nn* > *-ann*[8]
2.1.36	:47	*amd*	*t!md*	confusion of *a/t*[8]
2.1.37	:48	*p'lm . h*	*p'lmh*	misplaced divider
2.1.38	:IV:8	*ym. ġyn*	*ymġyn*	misplaced divider
2.1.39	:52	*bhlm*	*b⟨a⟩hlm*	simple omission(int.)
2.1.40	:55	*tpḫ*	*tq!ḫ*	dittographic analogy (tqḪ. Pġt. ... tPḪ ...)
2.1.41	:57	*ila*	*iln!*	confusion of *a/n*[8]

[8] Mistaken diagnosis. The text is sound.

[9] Lines 2 – 6 contain four errors in sum.

[10] Lines 9 – 17 contain four errors in sum. Lines 2 – 17 accordingly average an error for every second line.

2.2 Unknown or generally unacknowledged

Ref.	Text	Attested Reading	Proposed 'original'	Analysis
2.2.1	1.17:I:4	[*ṣth. y'l*]	[*ṣth.⟨dnil. yd. ṣth⟩ y'l*]	complex haplography
2.2.2	:15 – 22	'15 ... 22'	'15 + 21[b] + 22 + 16... 19[a]{...} + 20 + 21[a]'	dislocation of lines; dittographic repetition
2.2.3	:II:3 – 6	'3 ... 6'	'3 + 5[b] + 6 + 4 + 5[a]'	dislocation of lines
2.2.4	:8[b] – 9	*bunil [9]pnm. tšmḫ w'l. yṣḥl. pit*	*b⟨ris⟩. d!nil. pit. tšmḫ w'l. yṣḥl. pnm*	complex omission + reversal of synonymous elements of word pair
2.2.5	:24	*dn. il. bth ymġyn*	*dn. il ⟨l⟩bth. ymġyn*	haplography
2.2.6	:V:12	*hlk. qšt*	*hl. kqšt*	misplaced divider
2.2.7	:19	*dḫrš yd*	*dḫrš(.) yd⟨m⟩*	simple omission (ext.)
2.2.8	:23	'23[a] ... 23[b]'	'23[b] + 23[a]'	reversal of verse-lines
2.2.9	:VI:19	[*q*]*ṣ'tk. ybmt*	[*q*]*ṣ'tk. ⟨'m.⟩ ybmt*	complex omission[11]
	:24	*yb'l*	*ybl*	extraneous consonant[12]
2.2.10	18:IV:11	*banšt* [...] [11]*qdqdh. wy'n. ytpn. m*[*ḥr. št*]	*banšt*[...] [11]*qdqdh. ⟨aqht. lqrt. ablm. ymġy. yiḫd. qšt. bydh. qṣ't bm. ymnḥ. imḫṣḥ. kd. 'l. qšth. ḥwt. laḥw. ln'mn. ġzr. ap. qšth. lttn. ly.⟩ wy'n. ...* etc.	complex omission, partially preserved on following tablet
2.2.11	:38	*mḥrḥ*	*mp!rḥ*	confusion of *ḥ/p*
2.2.12	19:I:8	*a(b/d)n*	*ad(!)n*	possible confusion of *b/d*
2.2.13	:14 – 17	'14 ... 17'	'14[a] {... 14[b] – 17[a] ...} 17[b]'	extraneous lines originating in 1.18:IV.[13]
2.2.14	:35 – 42	'35 ... 42'	'35 + 36[a] + 40 + 41 + 36[b] + 37 38{...} + 42'	dislocation of lines; dittographic repetition
2.2.15	:IV:60	*ḫ(?)ršm*	*'(!)ršm*	confusion of *ḫ/'* or misreading of damaged sign.[14]

[11] Cf. discussion in JNSL 9:77 f., and below, *ad loc.*
[12] Cf. discussion in UF 15:76 f. and below *ad loc.*
[13] Cf. discussion in UF 8:169 ff.; UF 16:127 f.; and below, *ad loc.*
[14] Cf. discussion in VT 35:485 – 89 and below, *ad loc.*

Part II

§ 1. Text-Layout

ACT I

Scene 1: 1.17:I – Dan'el at (El's) shrine performs devotions; receives promise of son from El.

... (ca. 10 lines)	...			
[apnk.] [1][dnil. mt. r]*p̊i̊*	3	6		
aph⟨n⟩.ǵzr(.) [2][mt. hrnmy]	3			12
uzr. ilm. ylḥm	3	6		
[3][uzr. yšqy.] *bn. qdš*	3			
yd(.) [4][ṣth. ⟨dnil	3	6		
yd. ṣth.⟩ y*ʿ*l]	3			10
wyškb. yd(.) [5][mizrth.] *p̊yl!n!*	4			
ḥn. ym(.) [6][wṯn]	3	6		
[uzr.] *ilm. dnil*	3			12
[7][uzr. ilm]. *ylḥm*	3	6	9	
uzr(.) [8][yšqy. b]*n. qdš*	3			
ṯlṯ. rbʿ(.)*ym*	2			11
[9][uzr. i]*lm. dnil*	3	6		
uzr(.) [10][ilm. y]*lḥm*	3		9	
uzr. yšqy. bn(.) [11][qdš	3			
ḫ]*mš. ṯdṯ. ym*	2			11
uzr(.) [12][il]*m. dnil*	3	6		
uzr. ilm. ylḥm	3		9	
[13][uzr]. *yšqy. bn. qdš*	3			
yd. ṣth(.) [14]*dnil*	3	6		
yd. ṣth. yʿl	3			10
wyškb(.) [15]*yd. mizrt⟨h.⟩ pyln*	4			

mk. bšbʿ. ymm	3		
[21β]*uzrm. ilm. ylḥm*	3	6	12
[22]*uzrm. yšqy. bn. qdš*	3		
[16][w/k]*yqrb. bʿl. bḥnth*	3		

---

abyn. at(.) [17][d]*nil. mt. rpi*	4	7	
anḫ. ǵzr(.) [18]*mt. hrnmy*	3		13
din. bn. lh(.) [19]*km. aḫh* {... 19[b] ...}	3	6	
[20]*bl. iṯ. bn. lh. k!m*(.) *aḫh*	3		
wšrš(.) [21]*km. aryh*	2		

---

[23]*ltbrknn*(.) *lṯr. il*(.) *aby*	4	7	
[24]*tmrnn*(.) *lbny. bnwt*	3		13
[25]*wykn. bnh. bbt*	3	6	
šrš. bqrb(.) [26]*hklh*	3		
nṣb. skn. ilibh	3	6	
bqdš(.) [27]*ztr. ʿmh*	3		12
larṣ. mšṣu. qṭrh	3	6	
[28]*lʿpr. ḏmr. aṯrh*	3		
ṭbq. lḥt(.) [29]*niṣh*	3	6	
grš. d{ }ʿšy. lnh	3		12
[30]*åḫd. ydh. bškrn*	3	6	
mʿmsh(.) [31][*k*]*šbʿ*(.) *yn*	3		
spu. ksmh. bt. bʿl	3	5	
[32][w]*mnth. bt. il*	2		

ṯḫ. ggh. bym(.) [33][ṯi]*ṭ*	4	8	
rḥṣ. npṣh. bym. rṯ	4		
[34][ks.] *yiḫd. il*(.) ⟨*bdh*	4	7	
krpn. bm. ymn⟩	3		
⟨*brkm. ybrk.*⟩ *ʿbdh*	3	6	
ybrk(.) [35][dni]*l. mt. rpi*	3		9
ymr. ǵzr(.) [36][mt. h]*rnmy*	3		

---

npš. yḥ. dnil(.) [37][mt. rp]*i*	4	7	
brlt. ġzr. mt. ḥrnmy	3		13
[38][wyrš]*ḫ̊. ḥw. mḫ. lʿršḥ*	3	6	
yʿl(.) [39][lʿrš. d]*d̊*	3		
bm. nšq. aṯtḥ(.) [40][whr	3	6	
hwt(h)]. *bḥbqḥ ḥmḥmt*	3		12
[41][hw. mḫ. yhr]*r̊n. ylt*	[3]	6	
ḥmḥmt(.) [42][mṯt. mt. r]*pi*	3		
wykn. bnḥ(.) [43][bbt]	3	6	
[šrš]. *bqrb*(.) *ḥklḥ*	3		12
[44][nṣb. skn. i]*libḥ*	3	6	
bqdš(.) [45][ztr. ʿmḥ]	3		
[la]*r̊ṣ. mšṣu*(.) [46][qṭrḥ]	3	6	
[lʿpr. ḏ]*mr. aṯrḥ*	3		12
[47][ṭbq. lḥt. niṣḥ]	3	6	
[gr]*š̊. dʿšy*(.) [48][lnḥ]	3		
(etc.) ..... (ca. 10 lines)	...		

Scene 2: 1.17:II – Dan'el, at home, sires then awaits birth of son.

...	...		
[bqdš] [1]*ẑ*[tr. ʿmk.]	[3]		
[larṣ. mšṣu. qṭrk]	[3]	[6]	
[2]*l*{ }*ʿpr̊. ḏm̊*[r. aṯrk]	3		12
[ṭbq](.) [3]*lḥt. niṣk*	3	6	
gr̊[š. dʿšy. lnk] ...	3		
(5β)*aḫd. ydk* [.] *b*[škrn]	3	6	
[6]*mʿmsk. kšbʿt. yn*	3		11
[4]*spu. ksmk. bt.* [bʿl]	3	5	
[wmntk] (.) [5]*bt*(.) *il*	2		

(6β)*ṯḫ* [7]*ggk. b*{ }*ym. ṯiṯ*	4	8	
rḫṣ.(.) [8]*npṣk. bym. rṯ*	4		

b⟨riš.⟩ d!ni[l] (.) [9]⟨[pit]⟩. *tšmḫ*	4!	7!		
w'l. yṣhl. ⟨[pnm]⟩	3			
[10]*yprq. lṣb. wyṣḥq*	3	6		
[11]*p'n. lhdm. yṯpd*	3			
yšu(.) [12]*gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3			
aṯbn. ank(.) [13]*wanḫn*	3	6		
wtn̊ḫ. birty(.) [14]*npš*	3			11
kyld. bn. ly. km(.) [15]*aḫy*	3	5		
wšrš̊. km. aryy	2			
[16]*nṣb. skn. iliby*	3	6		
bqdš(.) [17]*ztr. 'my*	3		9	
l'pr[.] *ḏmr. aṯr*[y]	3			12
[18]*ṭbq. lḥt. nisy*	3	6		
grš(.) [19]*d'šy. lnḥ*	3			11
[21]*spu. ksmy. bt. b'l*	3	5		
ẇm̊n[t][22]*y. bt. il*	2			
tḫ. ggy. bym. ṯiṯ̊	4	8		
[23]*rḥṣ. npṣy. bym. rṯ*	4			
[24]*dn. il.* ⟨*l*⟩*bth. ymǵyn*	4	7		
[25]*yštql. dnil. lhklh*	3			
[26]*'rb. bbth. kṯrt*	3	6		
bnt(.) [27]*hll. snnt*	3			
apnk. dnil(.) [28]*mt. rpi*	3	6		
ap. ḥn. ǵzr. mt(.) [29]*ḥrnmy*	3			
alp. yṯbḫ. lkṯ̊[30][rt]	3	5		
yšlḫm k̊ṯrt	2		9	
wy[31]*šš̊q. bnt.* [h]*l̊l̊. snnt*		4		
[32]*ḥn. ym. wtn*	3	5		
yšlḫm(.) [33]*kṯrt*	2		9	
wyšš̊q. bnt. hl[l] (.) [34]*snnt*		4		

tlt. rbʿ(.) ym	2		
yšl[35]*ḥm. ktrt*	2	4	
			8
ẇyššq(.) [36]*bnt. hll. snnt*		4	
ḫmš(.) [37]*tdt. ym*	2		
yšlḥm. ktrt	2	4	
			8
[38]*wyššq. bnt. hll. snnt*		4	

---

[39]*mk. bšbʾ. ymm*	3		
			9
tbʿ. bbth(.) [40]*ktrt*	3		
bnt. hll. snnt	3	6	
[41]*mddt. nʿmy. ʿrš*	3		
rʾṯ(.) [42]*ysmsmt. ʿrš*	3	6	
			11
ḫld(?)n(.) [43]*ytb. dnil*	3		
[ys]*pr. yrḫḫ*	2	5	

---

[44]*yrḫ. yrḫ(.) tn(.) y(?)ṯ(?)i(?)*	4		
[45]*tlt. rbʾ(.)* [yrḫm]	3		10
[bʿšr](.) [46]*yrḫm. ymġy*	3		
.....	...		

ACT II

Scene 1: 1.17:V – Visit by Koshar to Dan'el's home.

... [2][- - - -]			
abl. qšt. tmn	3		
[3]*ašrbʿ. qṣʿt*	2		

---

whn. šb[ʿ](.) [4]*bym*	3		
			9
apnk. dnil. mt(.) [5]*rpi*	3		
a⟨p⟩hn. ġzr. mt. hrnm[y]	3	6	
[6]*ytšu. ytb. bap. tġr*	3		
tḥt(.) [7]*adrm. dbgrn*	3	6	

ydn(.) [8]*dn. almnt* 3
yṯpṭ. ṯpṭ. y[tm] 3 6
[9]*bnši. ʿnh. wyphn* 3 9

---

bal[p](.) [10]*šd. rbt. kmn* (2 : 2) 4 10

hlk. kṯr(.) [11]*kyʿn* 3
wyʿn. tdrq. ḫss 3 6
[12]*hl.*(!) *k*{ }*qšt. ybln* 3
hl. yš[13]*rbʿ. qṣʿt* 3 6
apnk. dniʾl (.) [14]*mt. rpi* 3
aphn. ǵzr. mt(.) [15]*ḥrnmy* 3 6
gm. laṯth. kyṣḥ 3 9

---

[16]*šmʿ. mṯt. dnty* 3 6
ʿdb(.) [17]*imr. bpḫd* 3
lnpš. kṯr(.) [18]*wḫss* 3 9
lbrlt. hyn(.) *d*[19]*ḫrš*(-)*yd*⟨*m*⟩ 3 6
šlḫm. ššqy(.) [20]*ilm* 3
sad. kbd. hmt 3 6
bʿl(.) [21]*ḫkpt. il. klḫ* (2 : 2) 4 10

---

tšmʿ(.) [22]*mṯt. dnty* 3 6
tʿdb. imr(.) [23]*bpḫd* 3
lnpš. kṯr. wḫss 3
[24]*lbrlt. hyn. dḫrš*(-)[25]*ydm* 3 6 10

---

aḫr. ymǵy. kṯr(.) [26]*wḫss* 4
bd. dnil. ytnn(.) [27]*qšt* 4
lbrkh. yʿdb(.) [28]*qṣʿt* 3

---

apnk. mṯt. dnty 3
[29]*tšlḫm. tššqy*[.] *ilm* 3 9
[30]*tsad. tkbd. hmt* 3

bʿl(.) [31]*ḫkpt*(.) *il. klh* (2 : 2) 4

---

tbʿ. kṯr(.) [32]*lahlh*	3		
hyn. tbʿ.	2	7	
lmš[33]*knth*	2		
apnk. dnil. m[t] (.) [34]*rpi*	3		
aphn. ġzr. mt(.) [35]*hrnmy*	3	6	
			11
qšt. yqb. [wyš][36]*rk*	3		
ʿl. aqht. kyq[m.]	2	5	
ʿn] (.) [37]*prʿm. ṣdk. ybn̊*	4		
[hln] (.) [38]*prʿm ṣdk*	3	7	
hn̊. p̊[rʿm. t][39]*ṣd*	3		10
bhkl̊h. ... (ca. 11 lines)	...		

Scene 2: 1.17:VI – Aqht's 'coming-of-age' party; the confrontation with Anat.

... (ca. 9 lines) ...	...		
[l]*ḫm.* [blḫm. ay]	[3]		
[wšty(.) [3]bḫmr. yn]. *ay*	[3]	[6]	
			[12]
š̊[lḫm. mrġṯm. ṯd]	[3]		
[4][bḫ]*rb. mlḫ* [t. qṣ(.) [5]mri]	[3]	[6]	
[tšty. krpnm]. *yn*	3		
bks. ḫr[ṣ(.) [6]dm. ʿṣm]	3	[6]	
			10
[dkrt. y]*n. krpn. ʿl. krpn*	(2 : 2) 4		
[7][lšty. ʿnt. lš]*q̊ym*	[3]		
wtʿl. trṯ(.) [8][lrišh.]	[3]	[6]	
			[10]
[lyḫbl]. *yn. ʿšy. lḫbš*[9][h]	[4]		

[aqht. qšt. yn]*ḫtn* [3]
qn. yṣbt(.) [10][wyqb.] [3] [6]
[tṣb. qšt] [2]
[5] [11]
bnši. ʿnh. ẇṯphn [3]

---

[11][ʿnt. kqrḫ. yṣ]*ml. kslh* [4]
kbrq(.) [12][tbrqn. ʿnh] [3] [7]

[ky]*ṁ*(.) *ỷg*ʿ(*ṗ*/*ṫ*). *thmt* [3]
brq[13][m. kyprq. yʿrm] [3] [6]

tṣb. qšt. bntḥ [3]
[14][qṣʿt. bnṣbh] [2] [5]
[8]
ʾnh. km. bṯn. yqr [3]

---

[15][krpnh. tplm.] *larṣ* 3
ksh. tšpkm(.) [16][lʿpr] 3 6
9
[tšu. gh.] *ẇtṣḥ* 3

šmʿ. mʿ(.) [17][laqht. ǵzr] 3
[i]*rš. ksp. watṅk* 3
[18][ḫrṣ. waš]*lḥk* 2 8

wtṅ. qštk. ʾ*ṁ*(.) [19][btlt.] ʾ*ṅ*[t] 4
q̊ṣʿtk. ⟨ʿ*m.*⟩ *ybmt. limm* 3 7
9
[20]*wyʿn. aqht. ǵzr* 2

---

adr. ṯqbm(.) [21]*ḃlbnn* 3
adr. gdm. brůmm 3 9
[22]*adr. qrnt. byʿlm* 3 6

[23β]*adr. bǵl*(.) *il. qnm* 3
[22β]*mtnm*(.) [23α]*bʿqbt. ṯr* 3 6

[24]*tn. lkṯr. wḫss*	3		
yb{ }l. qšt. lʿnt	3	6	
[25]*qṣʿt. lybmt. limm*	3		
wtʿn. btlt(.) [26]*ʿnt*	3	6	

---

irš. ḫym. laqḥt. ǵzr	4		
[27]*irš. ḫym. watnk*	3	7	9
blmt(.) [28]*ẘašlḫk*	2		
ašsprk. ʿm. bʿl(.) [29]*šnt*	3		
ʿm. bn(.) *il. tspr. yrḫm*	3	6	
[30]*kbʿl. kyḫwy*	2		
yʿšr. ḫwy .	2	6	
yʿš[31]*r. wyšqynh*	2		
ybd. wyšr. ʿlh	3		
[32]*nʿm*[y?.y/t]*ʿnynn*	2	5	
			8
ap(.) *ank. aḫwy*(.) [33]*aqḥt.* [ǵz]*r̊*	3		

---

w{ }yʿn. aqḥt. ǵzr	2		9
[34]*al. tšr̊gn. ybtlm*	2		
dm(.) *lǵzr*(.) [35]*šrgk. ḫḫm*	3	7	
mm. uḫryt	2		
mḥ. yqḥ	2		
[36]*mḥ. yqḥ*	2	6	
mt. aṯryt	2		12
spsg. ysk(.) [37][l]*riš*	3		
ḫrṣ. lẓr. qdqdy	3	6	
[38][dk]*mt. kl. amt*	3		
wan. mtm. amt	3	6	9
[39][ap. m]*ṯn. rgmm. argm*	3		

---

qštm(.) [40][nṯq.] *m̊hrm*	3		
ht. tṣdn. tinṯt	3	6	
			11
[41][bpn]*m̊. tṣḥq. ʿnt*	3		
wblb. tqny	2	5	
[42][hln.] *ṯb. l!y. laqht. ǵzr*	4		
ṯb(.) *ly*(.) *wlk*(.) [43][bn. l]*ḫm*	3	7	
laqryk. bntb. pšʿ	3		
[44][(l)alqk]. *bntb. gan*	3	6	
			11
ašqlk. tḫt(.) [45][pʿny]	3		
[lḥ]*tk. nʿmn*	2	5	
ʿmq. nšm	2		
[46][tdʿṣ. pʿ]*nm. wtr. arṣ*	4		

Scene 3: 1.17:VI:46 – 1.18:I:19 – Anat's visit to El.

idk(.) [47][lttn. pn]*m*	3		
ʿm. il. mbk!. nhrm	3	8	
[48][qrb. apq]. *thmtm*	2		
tǵly. ḏd(.) *il*	2		
[49][wtbu. qr]š. *mlk*	2	6	
ab. šnm	2		
[50][lpʿn. il. t]*hbr. wtql*	3		
tštḫ[51][wy. wtkbdn]*ḫ*	3	6	
tlšn(.) *aqht. ǵzr*	2		12
		6	
[52][ltmk. kdd. dn]*îl. mt. rpi*	4		
wtʿn(.) [53][btlt. ʿnt]	3		
[tšu. g]*ḫ. wtṣḥ*	3		
hwt[54][h. wtqr(a/u)]	2		
[aḫl. an.] *aqht. ỷš*[pl]	...		
[55][------ ...]*n. ṣ*[...]	...		
... (ca. 10 lines)			

(18.I)

... (Lines 1 – 6[a] missing or unintelligibly fragmentary) ...

wtʿn. [btlt. ʿnt]	3		

---

[7][bnt. bt]*k. yilm̊*	3	6	9
[bnt. btk] (.) [8]*al. tšmḫ*	3		
al. tš[mḫ. brm (.) [9]hklk]	3		
[al.] *åḫdhm* [.bymny]	2		
[bklat(.) [10]ydy.]	2	6	
[b]*ǧdlt. ar*[kty]	2		

[amḫš(.) [11]qmm. qdq]*dk*	3		
ašhlk[. šbtk. dmm]	3	6	9
[12]*šb*[t. dq]*n̊k. mmʿm*	3		
w[tqra.][13]*aqht. wyplṭk*	3	5	
bn[. dnil](.) [14]*wyʿḏr̊k*	2		
byd. btlt. [ʿnt]	2		

---

[15]*wyʿn. lṭpn. il*(.) *dp*[id]	4	7	10
[16]*ydʿtk. bt*(.) *kanšt*	3		
wi[n. bilht(.)] [17]*qlṣk̊*	3		
tbʿ. bt. ḫnp. lb[k]	4	7	10
[ti][18]*ḫd. diṯ. bkbdk*	3		
tšt. ḏ[iṯ. b][19]*îrtk*	3	6	
dṯ. ydṯ. mʿqbk	3		

Scene 4: 1.18:I:19 – 32 – In Danel's home: the feigned reconciliation with Aqht.

[tbʿ(.) [20]bt]*l̊t. ʿnt*	3		
idk. lttn. [pnm]	3		9
[21][ʿm. a]*qht. ǵzr*	2		
balp. š̊[d]	2	6	
[22][rbt.] *k̊mn*	2		

w⟨*t*?⟩*ṣḥq*. *btlt*. [ʿnt] 3
[23][tšu.] *ǵḥ*. *wtṣḥ* 3 6

šmʿ. *m*[ʿ. laq[24]ht. ǵ]*ẓr* 3
at. *aḫ* 2 5
wan. *å*[ḫtk] 2 7

[25][ahbt]. *šbʿ*. *ṯirk* [3]
ṣ[byn(.) [26]k*ṯ*r(.)il.] *aby* [3] [6]

ndt. *ank̊*. [lk] [3]
[27][ank. lk]*l̊t*. *lk* [3] [6]
tlk. *bṣd*[y. mt] [3] [9]

---

[28][ištmʿ. l]*mt*. *išryt* [3]
[wqǵ(.) [29]udnk. ǵz]*r* [3] [6] [8]
almdk. *ṣ*[dm] [2]

[30][laqryk.] *b̊qrt*. *ablm* [3]
a[blm(.) [31]qrt. zbl.] *ẏ̊rḫ* 3 [6]

dmgdl. [ḍ][md(.) [32]wnhrm. ly]*mn* [4]

ʿrhm[. - - -(-) [33] - - -(-)
... (ll. 33[b]–35) ...

Scene 5: 1.18:IV – The plot to kill Aqht; Aqht's death.

[1][- - - -]*p̊ṡ*[...] ...
[2][- - -]. *yṯbr*[. ...] ...
[3][- - -]

uṯm. *ḏr*[qm. (y/t)mt.] [3]
[lṣmt] [4][btl]*t*. *ʿnt* [3] 9
lkl⟨*y*⟩. [ybmt. limm] [3]

---

[5][tt]*b̊ʿ. btlt. ʿnt*	3			
[idk. lttn. pnm]	3	6		
[6]*m̊. yṯpn. mhr. s̊*[t]	3			
[tšu. gh](.) [7]*wṯṣḫ*	3			
yṯb. yṯpn̊[. mhr. št]	4	7		
[yṯb] (.) [8]*qrt. ablm*	3		10	
ablm. [qrt. zbl. yrḫ]	3			
[9]*ik. al. yḥdṯ. yrḫ*	3			
bn̊[yr. qṣh]	[2]	7		
[10]*bqrn. ymnḥ*	2		10	
banšṯ. [nrt. ap] (.) [11]*qdqdḥ*	3			
⟨aqḥt. lqrt. ablm. ymġy	4		10	
yiḥd. qšt. bydḥ	3	6		
qṣʿt. bm. ymnḥ	3			
[imḫṣh. kd ʿl. qšth	3	6		
imḫṣh. ʿl. qṣʿth. hwt	3			
laḥw.] *lnʿmn. ġzr*	3	6		
[ap. qšth. lttn. ly]⟩	3		10	
wyʿn. yṯpn. m̊[hr. št]	4			
[12]*šmʿ. lbtlt. ʿnt*	3			
at. ʿ[l. qšth] (.) [13]*tmḫṣḥ*	3	6		12
tmḫṣh. ʿl. qṣʿth. hwt	3		9	
lṯḫ[wy] (.) [14]*nʿmn. ġzr*	3			
št. ṯrm. w[brd]	3			
[15]*ištir. bḏdm*	2	7		10
wn(.) *ʿrs*[. byn ?]	2			
[16]*wtʿn. btlt. ʿnt*	3			
ṯb. yṯp⟨n⟩. w[dm] (.) [17]*lk*	4/3		9/10	
aštk(.) *km. nšr. bḫb*[šy]	3	6		
[wn] [18]*km. diy. btʿrty*	3			

aqht. [(w/k)yṯb] (.) [19]*llḥm*	3		
wbn. dnil. lṯrm̊	2	5	

[ʿlh(.)] [20]*nšrm. trḫpn*	3		
ybṣr. [ḥbl. d][21]*iym*	3	6	11
bn. nšrm. arḫp. an[k.]	3		
[ʿ]*l̊* (.) [22]*aqht. ʿdbk*	2	5	
hlmn. ṯnm. qd̊qd	3		
[23]*ṯlṯid. ʿl. udn*	2	5	10
špk. km. šiy(.) [24]*dm*	3		
km(.) *šḫṭ. lbrkh*	2	5	
tṣi. km(.) [25]*rḥ. npšh*	3		
km. iṯl. brlth	2	7	
km(.) [26]*qṭr. baph*	2		11
b![...]⟨*ṣmt*⟩. *mprḥ. ank*(.) [27]*laḥwy*	4		
----------			
tqḥ. yṭpn. mhr. št	4		
[28]*štn. knšr. bḥbšḥ*	3	5	9
km. diy(.) [29]*btʿrth*	2		
aqht. km. yṯb. llḥ[m]	3		
[30]*bn. dnil. lṯrm*	2	5	

ʿlḥ. nšr[m] (.) [31]*trḫpn*	3		
abṣr. ḥbl. diy[m]	3	6	11
[bn] (.) [32]*nšrm. trḫp. ʿnt*	3		
ʿl[. aqht] (.) [33]*tʿdbnh*	2	5	
hlmn. ṯnm[. qdqd]	3		
[34]*ṯlṯid. ʿl. udn*	2	5	10
š[pk. km] (.) [35]*šiy. dmh*	3		
km. šḫ[ṭ. lbrkh]	2	5	
[36]*yṣat. km. rḥ. npš*[h]	3		
[km. iṯl] (.) [37]*brlth*	2	5	
km. qṭr. b̊[aph]	2		7

[wtʿn] (.) [38]ʿ*nt. bṣmt. mp*!*rḥ*	4		
[wtʿn. bmt(.)] [39]*aqht*	3	7	
wtbk. yl̊ [d. ʿl. umt]	3		10

[40]*abn. ank. w'l.* [qštk]	4	7	
[abn. ? w'l] (.) [41]*qṣ'tk*	3		
at. lḥ [wt. aqht]	3	6	
[lqtp](.) [42]*wḫlq. 'pmm*	3		

Scene 6: 1.19:I:1 – 17 – The breakage of the bow; Anat's mortuary treatment of Aqht's cadaver; Aqht's descent to the Netherworld.

(...)	(...)		
tkṙb. [⟨b⟩tlt. 'nt]	3		
lqrḃ [m.] *ṁym*(.) [3]*tql*	3	9	
'[mh. qšt. b]*lb*	3		

---

tṯḃr(.) [4]*qšt*[. aqht]	3	5	7
[kk]*ṅr. yṯḃr*	2		
[5]*ṯmn.* [kṯr]	2		
[hln.] *btlt. 'nt*	3	5	
[6]*ṯṯb.* [linbb]	2		
[t]*ša*(.) [7]*tlm. km*(.) *ṙ*[u]*ṁ*	3	5	
ydḥ. kšr	2		7
[8]*ḳnr. uṣb'⟨t⟩h*	2		

---

p̊ḥrṣ. ad(!)*n*(.) [9]*ph*	3	6	
tiḫd. šnth. p!t!n!kl	3		
bqmm(.) [10]*tšt. ḥrṣ*	3	5	7
klb. ilnm	2		
[11]*ẇṯn. gprm*	2		

---

mn. gprḥ. šṙ(.) [12]*aqht*	3	6	
y'n. kmr. kmrṁ	3		
[13]*kap'. il. bgdrt*	3	5	
klḃ(.) *l*[14]*ḫṭḥ* {...(14$^{\beta}$ – 17$^{\alpha}$)....}	2		8
[(17$^{\beta}$)]*wḃmṫ* [h. y]*ḥmṣ*(.) *ṣṙ*[ḥ]	3		

ACT III

Scene 1: 1.19:I:18 – II:11 – At Dan'el's house: Pughat notices evil omens; doom-oracle of drought pronounced by heavens to Dan'el.

[18]*pr*ʿ. *qz*. *yḥ*. *šblt*(.) [19]*bġlph*	(2 : 2) 4		10
apnḫ. *dnil*(.) [20][m]*ṯ*. *rpi*	3	6	
ap[h]*n*. *ġẓr*(.) [21][mt. hrn]*my*	3		
ytšu(.) [22][yṯb. bap. ṯ]*ġr*	3	6	
[t]*ḥṭ*(.) [23][adrm. dbgrn.]	3		
ydn(.) [24][dn. almnt]	3	6	
[y]*ṯpṭ*(.) [25][ṯpṭ. ytm]	3		9
[pht. bt]*h*(.) [26][pġt.]	[3]		

[pġt. šibt. ʿ]*n*(.) [27][wṯkmt. mym]	(2 : 2) 4		
[ḥspt. [27bis] lšʿr. ṭl]	[3]	[6]	
[wydʿt] [28]*hlk*. [kbkbm]	[3]		
[bn]*ši*(.) [29]ʿ*nh*. *wtphn*	3		

[šʿr](.) [30]*bgrn*. *yḥrb*	3		
[gbʿl] (.) [31]*yġly*	2	8	
yḥsp. *ib*. [išh]	3		
[32]ʿ*l*. *bt*. *abh*. *nšrm*. *trḫ*[p]*n*	4	7	
[33]*ybṣr*. *ḥbl*. *diym*	3		
[34]*tbky*. *pġt*. *bm*. *lb*	4	7	
[35]*tdm*ʿ. *bm*. *kbd*	3		
[36]*tmz*ʿ. *kst*. *dnil*. *mt*(.) [37]*rpi*	4	7	
al⟨*l*⟩. *ġzr*. *mt*. *hrnmy*	3		
[38]*apnk*. *dnil*. *mt*(.) [39]*rpi*	3	6	
yṣly. ʿ*rpt*. *b*[40]*ḥm*	3		

---

un. *yr*	1 }	4	
ʿ*rpt*(.) [41]*tmṯr*. *bqẓ*	3 }		
ṯl. *yṯll*(.) [42]*lġnbm*		3	

šbʿ. šnt(.) [43]*yṣrk. bʿl*	4	7	
ṯmn. rkb(.) [44]*ʿrpt*	3		13
bl. ṭl. bl(.) *rbb̊*	2		
[45]*bl. šrʿ. thmtm*	2	6	
bl(.) [46]*ṭbn. ql. bʿl*	2		

---

ktmzʿ(.) [47]*kst. dnil. mt. rpi*	4	7	
[48]*all. ǵzr. m*[t] *ḥr̊*[nmy]	3		11
[49]*gm. l̊bt̊* [h. dnil. kyṣḥ]	4		

(II)

[1]*šmʿ. pǵt. ṯkmt*[.] *m̊ẙ*	4	7	
[2]*ḫspt. lšʿr. ṭl*	3		10
yd[ʿt] (.) [3]*hlk. kbkbm*	3		
mdl. ʿr(.) [4]*ṣmd. pḫl*	(2 : 2) 4	7	
št. gpny(.) *dt*(.) *kš̊p̊*	3		
[5]*dt. yrq. nqbny*	2		

---

tš[mʿ] (.) [6]*pǵt. ṯkmt. my*	4	7	
ḫspt. l [šʿ]*r̊. ṭl*	3		10
[7]*yd̊ʿt. hlk. kbkbm*	3		
[8]*bkm. tmdln. ʿr*	3	6	
[9]*bkm. tṣmd. pḫl*	3		
bkm(.) [10]*tšu. abh*	3	5	
tštnn. l[b]*mt*(.) *ʿr*	2		7
[11]*lysmsm*⟨*t*⟩*. bmt. pḫl*	2		

Scene 2: 1.19:II:12–54 – The grand-tour-of-inspection in the drought-stricken fields; the arrival of the messengers-of-woe announcing Aqht's death.

[12]*ydnil. ysb. palth*	3		
[13]*bṣql. yph. bpalt*	3	6	
bṣ̊q̊l̊ (.) [14]*yph. byǵlm*	3		

bṣql. yḥbq(.) [15]*wynšq*	3		
aḥl. an. bṣ[ql] (.) [16]*y*{ }*p*ʿ	4	7	9
*bpalt. bṣql. yp*ʿ	3		
byǧlm̊ (.) [17]*ur*	2		
tispk. yd. aqht(.) [18]*ǵzr*	3	6	
tštk. bqrmb. asm	3		
[19]*ydni*!⟨*l*⟩. *ysb. aklth*	3		
yph(.) [20]*šblt. bak*⟨*l*⟩*t*	3	6	
šblt. yp̊h!(.) [21]*bḥmdrt*	3		
šblt. yḥ̊[bq](.) [22]*wynšq*	3		
aḥl. an. š[blt] (.) [23]*tp*ʿ	4	7	9
*baklt. šblt. tp*ʿ	3		
[bḥ]*m̊d̊r̊t̊*(.) [24]*ur*	2		
tispk. yd. aqht. ǵž[r]	3	6	
[25]*štk. b*{ }*qrbm. asm*	3		
[26]*bph. rgm. lyṣa*	3	5	
bšptḥ [. hwth]	2		8
[27]*bnši.* ʿ*nh. wtphn*	3		
in. š[lm] (.) [28]*b̊hlk. ǵlm̊m̊*	3	5	7
bddy. yṣ[ʿdn.]	2		
[29][k]*yṣa. wl. yṣa*	2		
hlm. i̊[nm. [30]q]*dqd*	3	5	
i̊l̊id. ʿ*l. ud*[n]	2		
[31][lta]*sr. pdm. rišh*[m]	3	5	
[yd(m)] [32]ʿ*l. pd*	2		9
asr. m̊[tnm.] *lḫ̊*[sp] (.) [33]*mḫlpt*	(2 : 2) 4		
wl. ytk. ⟨*u*⟩*dmʿi̊t̊*[.]*k̊m*(.) [34]*rb*ʿ*t. tqlm*	4	7/8	
tt̊p̊[n. šptm ?] *bm*(.) [35] *yd*	3/4		
ṣpnhm. tliym [hm. ṣ]*pnhm*(.) [36]*nṣḥy*⟨*m*⟩	(2 : 2) 4		

[40]*tmġyn. tša. ghṁ. iẇ*[tṣḥn]	4	7	
[41]*šmᶜ. ldnil. ṁṫ* [rpi]	3		10
[(36β)]*šrr. m*[ṯbrkm.] *ảy*	3		
[37]*nbšrkm. dnil. ṁḏh*[mt]	3		
[38]*riš. rą̊*[m]*ṫ*	2	7	
ḥṫṁ[.] ᶜ*nṫ* {...l. 39...}	2		
[42]*mt. aqht. ġzr*	2		

[šṣat] (.) [43]*btlt.* ᶜ*nt*	3		
[krḥ. npšh]	2	7	
[44]*kiṯl. brlth*	2		10
[(38*)]*ẏą̊l. l*{ }*tḫ*[wy.] *hwt*	3		

[bdnil. pᶜnm] (.) [45]*tṭṭ*	3	6	
ᶜl[n. pnh. tdᶜ.]	3		9
[bᶜdn] (.) [46]*ksl. yṯ*[br.]	3		
[tġṣ. pnt. kslh]	3		
[47]*anš. ḏ*[t. ẓrh]	3/2	9/8	
[yšu. gh] (.) [48]*wyṣ*[ḥ]	3		

... [49]*mḫṣ*[. ...]	...		
... (5 lines)			

Scene 3: 1.19:II:55 – IV:6 – Dan'el recovers some of Aqht's mortal remains from the bowels of carniverous birds, which he then commits to the Sea of Galilee. Dan'el pronounces curses on the Sea and its immediate environs.

[55]*bnšỉ*[. ᶜnh. wyphn]	3	6	
[yḥd] (.) [56]*ḃᶜrpṫ*[. nšrm]	3		9
(III) [yšu(.) [1]gh.] *ẇyṣḥ*	3		

ḳṅ[p. nšrm](.) [2]*bᶜl. yṯb*⟨*r*⟩	4	7	
bᶜl. yṯbṙ[. diy. hmt]	3		

[3]*tqln. tḫ⟨t.⟩ p̔ny* 3
ibq̔[. kbdthm. w][4]*aḥd* 3 6

hm. iṯ. šmt 2
hm. î[t] (.) [5]*̔ẓm* 2 6
abk!y. waq̊brnḥ 2

[6]*ašt. bḫ̬rt. ilm. arṣ!* 3 6

[7]*bph. rgm. lyṣa* 3
bšpth. hẇt̊[h] 2

---

[8]*knp. nšrm. b̔l. yṯbr* 4
[9]*b̔l. ṯbr. diy.*(.) *hmt* 3 7

tq(!)*ln*(.) [10]*tḫt. p̔nḥ* 3
ybq̔. kbdthm. ẇ[yḥd] 3 6

[11]*in. šmt. in. ̔ẓm* (1 : 1) 2
yšu. gḥ(.) [12]*wyṣḥ* 3 5

---

knp. nšrm̊. ⟨b̔l⟩. ybn 4
[13]*b̔l. ybn. diy. hmt* 3 7
10

nšrm(.) [14]*i̊t̊pr. wdu* 3

---

bnši. ̔nḥ. wyp⟨ḥ⟩n 3
[15]*yḥd. ḥrgb* 2 7
ab. nšrm 2
10

[16]*yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ* 3

---

k̊np. ḥr[g]*b*(.) [17]*b̔l. yṯb⟨r⟩* 4
b̔l. yṯ̊br. diy[.] *ḥẇt̊* 3 7

[18]*wyql. tḫt. p̔ny* 3
îbq̔. kbd[h (.) [19]*waḥd* 3 6

ḥm. iṯ. šmt 2
ḥm. iṯ[. ̔ẓm] 2 6 9
[20]*ab̊k̊y. waqbrn* 2

ašt. bḫrt(.) [21]*i̊l̊m̊* [. arṣ]		3	6	
[bph. rgm. lyṣa]		3		
[bšp][22]*i̊h. hwth*		2		
knp. hrgb. b'l. t̲̊br		4	7	
[23]*b'l. t̲br. diy. hwt*		3		
wyql(.) [24]*tḥt. p'nh*		3	6	
ybq'. kbdh. wyḥd		3		
[25]*i̊n̊. šmt. in. 'ẓm*	(1 : 1)	2	5	
yšu. gḫ(.) [26]*wyṣḥ*		3		
knp. hrgb. b'l. ybn		4	7	
[27]*ḫ'l. ybn. diy. hwt*		3		10
hrgḫ(.) [28]*tpr. wdu*		3		
bnši. 'nh(.) [29]*ẇyphn*		3		
yḥd. ṣml		2	7	
um. nšrm		2		10
[30]*yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ*		3		
knp. ṣml(.) [31]*b'l. yt̲br*		4	7	
b'l. yt̲br. ḏiy(.) [32]*hyt*		3		
tql. tḥt p'ny		3	6	
ibq'(.) [33]*kbdh. waḥd*		3		
hm. it̲. smt		2		
⟨*hm.*⟩ *it̲* (.) [34]*'ẓm*		2	6	
abky. waqbrnh		2		
aštn(.) [35]*bḫrt. ilm. arṣ*		3	6	
bph. rgm. lẏ[ṣ]*a*		3		
[36]*bšpth. hwth*		2		8
knp. ṣml. ḫ'[l] (.) ⟨*t̲br*⟩		4	7	
[37]*b'l. t̲br. diy. hyt*		3		

tql̊. ṫḫṫ(.) [38]*pʿnh*	3		
ybqʿ. kbdh. wyḥd	3	6	
			8
[39]*iṯ. smt. iṯ. ʿzm*	(1 : 1) 2		
wyqḥ. bḥm(.) [40]*aqht*	3		
yb⟨*ky*?⟩ *lẏqẑ*	2	7	
ybky. wyqbr	2		
			10
[41]*yqbr*{ }*nn. bmdgt. bknrt*	3		
		6	
[42]*wyšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3		
knp. nšrm(.) [43]*bʿl. yṯbr*	4		
bʿl. yṯbr. diy(.) [44]*ḥmt*	3	7	
ḥm. tʿpn. ʿl. qbr. bny.	3		
[45]*tšḫ̊ṭann. bšnth qr. my*[m]	3	6	
[46]*mlk. yṣm. ylkm. qr. mym*	4		
dʿ[lk] (.) [47]*mḫṣ. aqht. ǵzr*	3	7	
amd. gr(.) *bt*(.) *il*	3		
[48]*ʿnt. brḥ. pʿlm*{ }*ḥ*	3	6	
ʿnt. pdr. d̊r	2		
[49]*ʿdb. uḫry. mṭ. ydḥ*	4		
[50]*ymǵ. lmrrt. tǵll. bnr*	3	7	
[51]*yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3		10
ylk. mrrt(.) [52]*tǵll. bnr*	3		
dʿlk. mḫṣ. aqht(.) [53]*ǵzr*	3	6	
			12
šršk. barṣ. al(.) [54]*ypʿ*	3		
riš. ǵly. bd. nsʿk	3	6	
[55]*ʿnt. brḥ. pʿlmḥ*	3		
[56]*ʿnt. pdr. dr*	2	5	
ʿdb. uḫry. mṭ(.) *ydḥ*	4		
[1]*ymǵ. lqrt. ablm̊*	3	7	
(IV) *ablm*(.) [2]*qrt. zbl. yrḫ*	3		10
		6	
yšu. gḥ(.) [3]*wyṣḥ*	3		
ylk. qrt. ablm	3		
[4]*dʿlk. mḫṣ. aqht. ǵzr*	3	6	

[5]ʿ*wrt. yštk. bʿl*	3		
lḥt. [6]*wʿlmh*	2	5	
lʿnt. pdr. dr	2		

Scene 4: 1.19:IV:7–40 – The ritual mourning of Aqht in Dan'el's house. Pughat volunteers to average her brother's death.

[7]ʿ*db. uḫry. mṭ. ydḥ*	4		
[8]*dnil.* ⟨*l*⟩*bth. ym*{ }*ġyn*	3	6	10
yšṭ[9]*ql. dnil. lḥklḥ*	3		
ʿ*rb. b*[10]*kyt. bḥklḥ*	3	5	
mšspdt. bḥẓrḥ	2		
[11]*pẓġm. ġr. ybk*	3		9
laqḥt(.) [12]*ġzr. ydmʿ*	3	6	
lkdd. dnil(.) [13]*mt. rpi*	3		
lymm. lyrḫm(.) [14]*lyrḫm. lšnt*	(2 : 2) 4		
ʿ*d*(.) [15]*šbʿt. šnt. ybk*	3		9
laq[16]*ḥt. ġzr. ydmʿ*	3	6	
lkdd(.) [17]*dnil. mt. rp*[i]	3		
[m]*ḳ. bšb*ʿ(.) [18]*šnt*	3		
wyʿṅ[. dnil. m]*ṯ. rpi*	3	6	9
[19]*y*⟨*ṯ*⟩*ṯb. ġzr. ṁ*[t. hrnmy]	3		
[y]*šu*(.) [20]*gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3		
t[bʿ. aṯty. bbt]*ẏ*	3		
[21]*ḫkyt. bḥk*[l]*y*	2	6	9
mšspḏt(.) [22]*bḥẓry*	2		
pẓġm. ġr	2		
wyqrʳ[y] (.) [23]*dbḥ. ilm*	3		9
yšʿly. dġṯḫ(.) [24]*bšmym*	3		
dġṯ(.) *ḥrnmy. ḏ*[*k*][25]*ḫkbm*	3		
ʿ*ḏ*[bt. pġt. tph ?]	3		8
[26]ʾ*lḥ. yd.* ʿ*d*[b]*t*	3		
ḳl [atm.]*ṁṣ*[27]*ltm*	2		

mrḏm. dšn. ỉ[k(lk)m ?]	3		7
[28]*wtʿn. pġt. ṯkmt. mym*	4		

[29]*qrỷm. åb. dbḫ. lilm*	4	7	10
[30]*šʿly. dġṯḥ. ḅšmym*	3		
[31]*dġṯ. ḥrnmy. dkbḳḅm̀*	3		
[32]*ltbrḳn. alḳ. brḳṫ*[m?]	3	6	
[33]*tmrn. alk. nmrṙt*	3		
[34]*imḫṣ. mḫṣ\ aḫy*	3	6	9
aḳỉ [.]*m̀*[35]*kly*[. ʿ]*l. umty*	3		
wyʿn. ḏn̊[36]*iỉ. mt. rṗi*(!)	3		

npš̊. tḫ[.] *ṗġt*(.) [37]*ṯḳm̀ṫ. mym*	4	7	10
ḫspt. lšʿr(.) [38]*ṭl*	3		
ydʿt. hlk. kbkbm	3		
[ḥy ?] [39]*n̊pš̊. ḥy. mḫ*	3?	6?	9?
tmḫṣ. mḫṣ[. aḫk]	3		
[40]*tkl. mḳly. ʿl. umt*[k]	3		

Scene 5: 1.19:IV:41 ff. – Disguised as Anat, Pughat penetrates the abode of the Sutean Ytpn and (presumably) succeeds in 'redeeming' her brother's blood by killing the Sutean.

[td][41]*d. ttql. ḅym*	3		
trtḫ[ṣ. ydm] (.) [42]*ẇ*{.}*ṯḳm*	3		
tid!m. bġlp(.) *ym̀*	3	6	9
[ṣdp ?] (.) [43]*daỉp. šd*	3		
ẓuh. bym. t[šlp(n) ?]	3		

[44]*tlbš. n̊pṣ. ġzr*	3		
tšt. ḫ[lp(n).] *ḅ*[45]*nšgḥ*	3	6	9
ḫrb. tšt. btʿr̊[th]	3		
[46]*wʿl. tlbš. npṣ. aṯt*	4		

[aṯr] (.) [47]*ṣbi. nrt. ilm. špš*	4			
[(p/t)]*ṙ*[(t)pš(t)] (.) [48]*p̊ǵ̊t. minš. šdm*	4	7		
lm˚ṙ[b] (.) [49]*nrt̊. ilm. špš*	3			
mǵẙ[t] (.) [50]*pǵt. lahlm*	3			
rgm. lyṭ[pn. y][51]*bl*	3			
agrtn. bat. bḏdk	3	6		
[˚nt] (.) [52]*bat. b⟨a⟩hlm*	3			
wy˚n. yṭpn. ṁ[hr](.) [53]*št*	4			
qḥn. wtšqyn. yn	3	6		
q̊ḥ̊(.) [54]*ks. bdy*	3		8	
qb˚t. bymny	2			
t̊q̊[55]*ḥ. pǵt. wtšqynh*	3	6		
tq!*ḥ̊*. [ks.] *b̊dh*	3		8	
[56]*qb˚t. bymnh*	2			12
wy˚n. yṭ[p]*n*[. mh]*r*(.) [57]*št*	4			
byn. yšt. ila. il(.) *št̊*[.]	4	7		
il(.) [58]*dyqny. ḏdm*	3			
yd. mḫṣt. aq̊[h]*t̊. ǵ*[59]*zr*	3	6		
tmḫṣ. alpm. ib. št	3			
[y]*št*(.) [60e](!)*ršm. lahlm*	3			
pṁ[la.] *km*(.) [61]*ẏbl. lbḥ*	3	6	9	
km. bṯn. y[mk.] *l̊ah*	3			
ṯnm. tšqy. msk. hwt	4	7?		
tšqy[. m]*s*[k. (m)škr ?]	3?			
...*	...			

* *whndt. yṯb. lmspr*

§ 2. Translation

[Our story opens with Dan'el making food and drink offerings to the gods at a sanctuary some distance from his place of residence. This may or may not be the actual beginning of the story.]

"...

Whereupon Dan'el, the Rapian,
Thereupon the hero, [*devotee of the* 'Rainmaker']:

In loincloth, *he serves food to the gods,*
In loincloth, *he serves drink to the holy-ones.*

[*His*] extended [*garment*] ⟨*Dan'el* (*did mount*)⟩,
[*He mounted* ⟨*his* extended *garment*⟩];

He lay down upon [*his mourning-raiment*] *and went to sleep.*

Behold, a day [*and a second*]:

[In loincloth], *Dan'el* (*serves*) *the gods,*
[In loincloth], *he serves* [the gods] *food,*
In loincloth, [*he serves drink to the ho*]*ly-ones.*

A third, a fourth day:

[In loincloth], *Dan'el* (*serves*) *the gods,*
In loincloth, *he serves* [*the gods*] *food,*
In loincloth, *he serves drink to the holy-ones.*

A fifth, a sixth day:

In loincloth, *Dan'el* (*serves*) *the gods,*
In loincloth, *he serves the gods food,*
[In loincloth], *he serves drink to the holy-ones.*

His extended *garment Dan'el* (*mounted*),
He mounted his extended *garment*;

He lay down upon his mourning-raiment and went to sleep.

Lo! on the seventh day:

In loincloth, *he served the gods food,*
In loincloth, *he served drink to the holy-ones;*

[*Then*] *did Baal come nigh with his plea* (*to El*):

"'*Art thou indifferent to Dan'el, the Rapian?*
(*To*) *the toil of the hero, devotee of the* 'Rainmaker'?

For he hasn't a son like his brethren {...}
He is without a son, unlike his brethren,
Without scion, unlike his kin. {...}

Wilt thou not bless him, O Bull-El, my father?
Wilt thou not pronounce benediction upon him, O Creator-of-Beings?

So that a son may be established in his house,
A scion in his residence.

To set up the tomb of his (*father's*) *ghost,*
(*To set up*) *in the sacred precinct the ZTR of his clan.*[1]

To draw out his (*father's*) *'smoke' from the ground,*
The guardian of his 'place' (*as spirit*) *from the earth.*

To refute the calumnies of his (*father's*) *detractors,*
To drive away those who are cross with him.

To take his (*father's*) *hand when drunk,*
To support him [*when*] *he is sated with wine.*

To consume his portion in the temple of Baal,
[And] *his allotment in the temple of El.*

To plaster his roof after a day of rain,
To wash his garment after a day of dirt.'

El took [*a cup*] ⟨*in his hand*⟩
⟨*A goblet in his right.*⟩

---

[1] Alternatively: "(*To set it up*) *in the sacred precinct, the ZTR of his clan*".

⟨Verily he would bless⟩ his servant,
He would bless [*Dan'*]*el, the Rapian*
Pronounce benediction on the hero, [*devotee of the*] 'Rainmaker'.

'By-my-soul (I swear): Dan'el [*the Rap*]*ian shall live* (*on*),
By-my-vitality, the Hero, devotee of the 'Rainmaker' (*shall endure*).

He, no other [will lea]p *from his* (*own*) *bed,*
He'll mount the [bed of lov]e.[2]

While kissing his wife [he'll impregnate],
[(His) breath] *will become heated as he enfolds her.*

[He, no other, will impregnate] *the child-bearer,*
Passionately, [the Lady of the Ra]*pian.*

Then will a son be established in his house,
A scion in his residence.

To set up the tomb of his (*father's*) *ghost,*
In the sacred precinct, the ZTR of his clan.

To draw out his (*father's*) *'smoke' from the ground,*
The protector of his 'place' (*as spirit*) *from the earth.*

To refute the calumnies of his (*father's*) *detractors,*
To drive away those who are cross with him.

[*To take his father's*] *hand when drunk,*
etc. etc.]".

[Ca. 10 lines of text are missing at the end of column I, continuing the verbatim repetition of the 'filial duties'. Column II has a break at the beginning of roughly the same length in which Baal presumbably reports back to Dan'el El's benediction, including yet another repetition of the filial duties, this time with 2nd m. s. suffixes ("thy"). When the text resumes, we are in the midst of the repetition.]

"……
The protector of thy 'place' (*as spirit*) *from the earth.*

To refute the calumnies of thy detractors,
To drive away (*those*) *who are cross with thee.*

To consume thy portion in the temple of Baal,
And thy allotment in the temple of El.

---

[2] I. e., his wife's bed!

To take thy hand when thou art drunk,
To support thee when thou art sated with wine.

To plaster thy roof after a day of rain,
To wash thy garment after a day of dirt'.

On Dan'el⟨'s head⟩ the ⟨[brow]⟩ did brighten,
Above, his ⟨[countenance]⟩ did shine.

He parted his jaw to laugh,
He stretched his foot to the foot-stool;

He raised his voice and declared:

'I'll sit myself down to rest,
And my soul will be at rest in my breast.

For a son will be born to me like my brethren,
And a scion like my kinfolk.

To set up a tomb for my ghost,
In the sacred precinct, the ZTR of my clan;
(To draw out) from the earth the 'protector' of my 'place'.

To refute the calumnies of my detractors,
To drive away those who are cross with me.

To take my hand when I am drunk,
To support me when I am sated with wine.

To consume my portion in the temple of Baal,
And my allotment in the temple of El.

To plaster my roof after a day of rain,
To wash my garment after a day of dirt.'

Dan'el arrived ⟨at⟩ his house,
Dan'el betook himself to his domicile.

The Kosharot entered his house,
The radiant daughters of the Moon-crescent.

Whereupon Dan'el, the Rapian,
Thereupon the Hero, devotee of the 'Rainmaker';

Did slaughter on ox for the Kosharot,
Did serve up food to the Kosharot;

He served up drink to the radiant daughters of the Moon-crescent.

Behold! a day (goes by) and a second,
He serves up food to the Kosharot;

He serves up drink to the radiant daughters of the Moon-crescent.

A third, a fourth day (go by),
(Still) he serves up food to the Kosharot;

He serves up drink to the radiant daughters of the Moon-crescent.

A fifth, a sixth day (go by),
(Yet) he serves up food to the Kosharot;

He serves up drink to the radiant daughters of the Moon-crescent.

Lo! on the seventh day;

The Kosharot departed from his house,
The radiant daughters of the Moon-crescent (took their leave):

The beloved, lovely (attendants) of the bed,
The companions, beautiful (attendants) of the bed.

Dan'el sat down to bide,
To count the months (of gestation).

A month, (then) two months went by,
Three, (then) four [months];

[In the tenth] *month, it arrived."*

...

[The last (approximately) ten lines of column II, and all of cols. III and IV, are lost. They no doubt described the birth-festivities and the subsequent growth and development of the child Aqht. When the text resumes in column V, after yet another gap of ca. 12 lines, Aqht is a young adolescent. From the sequel, it may be inferred in fact that Aqht's parents have decided to celebrate the lad's coming-of-age with a party, to which have been invited, *inter alia*, the artisan god Koshar-Ḫasis whom we now see, as the 'curtain' rises, at work in his atelier, fashioning a birthday present for the son of Dan'el.]

" '...

I'll fashion a bow of great value,
I'll assemble a (composite) arc.'

Then, on the seventh day:

Whereupon, Dan'el, the Rapian,
Thereupon, the Hero, devotee of the 'Rainmaker';

Took his elevated seat in the foregate,
Alongside the notables (*seated*) *on the threshing-floor.*

(As) he judges the case of the widowed,
(As) he adjudicates the case of the orphaned;

Lifting his gaze, he beheld:

"*At (a distance of) a thousand ŠIDDU, ten-thousand KUMĀNU:*
The walk of Koshar he did perceive,
He perceived the pack of Ḫasis.

Behold! he had fashioned a bow;
Lo! he had assembled an arc.

Whereupon Dan'el, the Rapian,
Thereupon, the Hero, devotee of the 'Rainmaker';

Did call aloud to his wife:

'*Hearken, Lady Dnty:*

Prepare a lambkin from the flock,
For the palette of Koshar-Ḫasis,
For the appetite of Hyn, the artisan.

Serve up food and drink for the god,
Minister to him with honour;

(For) he is the Lord of Memphis,
The god ...(?)...

Lady Dnty hearkened;

She prepared a lambkin from the flock,
For the palette of Koshar-Ḫasis,
For the appetite of Hyn, the artisan.

Thereafter did Koshar-Ḥasis arrive,
In the hand(s) of Dan'el he placed a bow,
On his knees he laid an arc.

Whereupon did Lady Dnty,
Serve up food and drink to the god;
She ministered to him with honour.

(For) he is the Lord of Memphis,
The god ...(?)...

Koshar departed to his tent,
Hyn departed
to his resting-place.

Whereupon Dan'el, the Rapian,
Thereupon, the Hero, devotee of the Rainmaker;

Did bend the bow and did brace (it),
He sto[od] *over Aqht (and said):*

'[Observe], *my son, the beginning of your hunting (career),*
[Behold], *the beginning of your hunting;*

Here! (Take it) and may you hunt well!'

In his residence..."

[A gap of ca. 11 lines concludes col. V. After another gap of ca. 10 lines at the beginning of col. VI, the narrative resumes with party-host Dan'el addressing the assembled guests, including the goddess Anat.]

'*Ea*[*t of the food*, yes indeed];
[*Drink of the foamy-wine*], yes indeed.

S[*erve up suckling of the teat*],
[*With c*]*arving* [*kni*]*fe, bre*[*ast-of-fatling*]'.

They drink wine from goblets,
From cups of gold, the juice of trees;

[(*They drink*) barrels of *wi*]*ne, cup after cup.*

[Verily Anat did drink from the intoxi]*cant(s)*,
And the must went up [to her head];

The wine [verily swelled] *the spleen in* [her] *girdle.*

[Aqht s]*et* [the bow do]*wn* (*on the ground*),[3]
He grasped the (*upright*) '*ear*'[4] [and braced (the bow)];[5]
The [bow was set erect].

When she raised her gaze, she (*Anat*) *beheld it.*

[Anat]'*s muscles* ha[rden like ice],
[Her eyes flash] *like lightning*;

[Like a se]a (*which*) *roils the deeps,*
(*Like*) *lightning-bolts* [which sunder a forest];

She covets the protruding bow,
[*The arc standing erect*];

Her eyes are like (*those of*) *a staring snake.*

Her goblet falls to the ground,
Her cup spills to earth;

She raises her voice and declares:

'*Hearken, O Hero-Aqht*:

Ask for silver, and I will give thee,
Ask for gold, and I will grant thee;

But do give thy bow to Maiden Anat,
Thine arc ⟨*to*⟩ *the* levirate-wife *of* (*DN*) *Lim*'.

(*To which*) *replied Hero-Aqht*:

---

[3] As a first step to bracing, the bow is set down vertically on the ground. The bracer places his foot ($\sqrt{drk}$) at the middle of the bow, and with foot as fulcrum, bends ($\sqrt{qbb}$) the upright ear backwards (towards his person) and strings the bow.

[4] The 'ears' are the 'hooked' ($\sqrt{qny}$) extremities of the bow pointing outwards (away from the grip) when unstrung.

[5] Cf. *supra*, col. V:35.

(Take) the finest TQB(-wood) in the (forests of) Lebanon,
The strongest of sinews from wild oxen,
The toughest horn of an antelope;

(Take) the best reeds from the 'Great River-Valley',[6]
(The toughest) tendons from the heels of a bull;

Give (them all) to Koshar-Ḥasis,
He'll fashion a bow for Anat,
An arc for the levirate-wife *of (DN) Lim.'*

(To which) did reply Maiden Anat:

'Ask for Life, O Hero-Aqht,
Ask for (eternal) Life, and I shall give (it) thee;
Immortality, and I shall bestow (it) on thee.

I'll let thee count (thy) years with Baal,
You'll count months with the divinities.

Whosoever lives as Baal (lives),
Life is served (him),
It is served (him) and he drinks of it.

He is celebrated in poem and chant,
Beautiful (songs) are sung about him;

This kind of life will I give Hero-Aqht.'

(To which) did reply Hero-Aqht:

'Tell me no tales, O Maiden;
For to a Hero your tales are (like) thorns,
A spiked-shaft (in) the posterior.

What taketh one?
What taketh a man as a souvenir (of life)?

A coating will cover (my) head,
Lime-plaster (will deck) the top of my skull.

[For] *I shall die as all (men) die,*
Indeed, I shall like (all) mortals die.

(With your permission) I would speak yet again:

---

[6] = Ḥulā Valley.

The bow is [the weapon] *of soldiers;*
Now, is hunting a pasttime for weakling-womankind?'

[On the out]*side Anat smiled,*
But inside, she was scheming:

'[Now then,] *take your leave of me, O Hero-Aqht,*
Take your leave of me and be gone, f[unny-boy];

I'll meet you on the road of arrogance,
[I'll encounter you] *on the road of pride;*

I'll (then) trample you under [*foot,*
O] *handsome* [sci]*on,*
(O) *wisest of mortals.'*

[*She sprang (her) f*]*eet and shook the ground.*

Thereupon did she set out,
Towards El, in the twin channels of the (Jordan) River,
In the midst of the river-beds of the depths.

She sights the encampment of El,
And she arrives at the domain *of the King (of gods),*
The father of the lofty (gods).

At the feet of El she bends and falls,
She bows and pays him homage;

She slanders Hero-Aqht,
[Verily does she deprecate the beloved] *of Dan'el, the Rapian.*

"Then declared [*the Maiden Anat*],
[*She raised*] *her* [*voice*] *and called out,*
(*She elevated*) *her speech* [and uttered]:

'[I ask that] *Aqht be* br[ought low];
...'

[About 10 lines missing at the end of column, in which Anat presumably explicated Aqht's misconduct. This must have been followed by El's initial, possibly light-hearted, response (cf. 1.18:I:6 ff.), which continued into text 18. When the text resumes in 1.18, col. I (with a gap of ca. 5 lines and another seven fragmentary) Anat is about to deliver her second speech.]

"*Then did Maiden Anat reply*:

'[*In the height of*] *thine* [house, O El],
[*In the height of thine house*] *do not sport*,
[(*Don't sport*) *in the loftiness of the domicile*].

I'll seize it [with my right],
[With both my hands],
[*In*] *the lengthiness of my rea*[*ch*.

[I'll smash the crown] *of thy* [*head*],
I'll make [*thy white-hair*] *run* [*with blood*],
[*The whiteness of*] *thy beard with gore*.

Then [you can call on] *Aqht for help*,
On the son-of-[*Dan'el*] *to succour thee*
From the hand(*s*) *of Maiden* [*Anat*].'

Then replied Ltpn, the benevolent god:

'*I know, my daughter, that you are manly*,
And that none of the goddesses has your temper(*ament*).

(*But*) *let the pollution depart your heart*,
Discard what is in your bowels,
Set aside that which is in your breast;

He who impedes you will be trampled.'

Maiden Anat took her leave.

Thereupon she set out
Towards (*the home of*) *Hero Aqht*,
A thousand ŠIDDU (*away*),
Ten thousand KUMĀNU;

(*Arriving*) *Maiden Anat was smiling*,
She raised her voice and declared:

'*Hearken, O Hero Aqht*:
You are (*now*) *my brother*,
And I [your sis]ter.

[I love] *the fulness of your 'passion'*;
A lu[stiness like that of *Bull-El*] *my father*;

I am a nadītu [unto you],
[I am truly a bri]*de unto you,*
You shall walk at [my] *side* [(O) my man].

[Hearken, O] *you happy man,*
[Bend your ear, O he]*ro;*
I'll teach you (how) to hunt!

[I'll meet you at] *the fortress of ABLM,*
ABLM, the fortress of his-majesty Yariḫ,
Where a tower s[tands, and a river is to the ri]*ght.*'

Their nakedness..."

[The remainder of the column, ca. 20+ lines, is lost. They related Anat's departure from Aqht and a violent incident, apparently on her way to Yṭpn at Ablm/Kh. Kērak, the conclusion of which is related in the fragmentary four lines at the beginning of col. IV. We draw attention to the fact that the labelling of the following column as 'IV' is conventional. It actually forms the direct continuation of col. I! The original tablet consisted apparently of two columns, one on each side of the tablet.]

...

"Groaning *and excreting (feces)* [he/it expires],
[By the crushing] *of* [*Maid*]*en Anat,*
By the ⟨an⟩nihilation [*of the* levirate-wife *of Lim*].

Maiden Anat departed.

Thereupon did she set out,
Towards Yṭpn, the Sutean warrior;

She raised her voice and declared:

'*Abide, Yṭpn,* [*Sutean warrior*],
[Abide at] *the fort of ABLM*
The fort (named) for His Majesty, the Moon-god.

As soon as the moon is new,
When [its tip glo]*ws,*
When its right-corner shines;

When [the light of] *its* '[fore]*head' appears.*

⟨Aqht will come to the fort of ABLM;

He will be holding a bow in his hand,
An arc, in his right(-hand).

[*I would slay him for the sake of his bow,*
I would slay him for his arc;

I would dispossess] *the handsome Hero,*
[*Yea, his bow will be endowed me.*]⟩

Thereupon did declare Yṭpn, the Sutean warrior:

'*Listen, O Maiden Anat*:

You would slay him for his bow,
⟨*You would slay him for* ⟩ *his arc*;
You would dispossess the handsome Hero.'

He prepared a meal and [served],
IŠTIR in a teat,
And barley-grouts [in wine].

Replied Maiden Anat:

'*Sit down, Yṭp*⟨*n*⟩, *and be* [still];

I will put you as a falcon in my girdle,
As a bird in my pouch.

Aqht will sit down to eat,
The son-of-Dan'el to dine.

[*Above him*], *hawks will fly,*
[*A band of b*]*irds will surveille.*

Among the hawks I personally will fly,
Over Aqht will I release you.

Hit him twice on the head,
Thrice on the ear.

Spill (*his*) *blood like water,*
Like a slaughtered (*animal*) *on its knees.*

Let his soul vanish like the wind,
His vitality, like (the) IṮL(-flower),
(Let it vanish) like smoke from his nose.

When his (death-)throes ⟨cease⟩, I shall dispossess him.'

She took Yṭpn, the Sutean warrior,
She put him as a falcon in her girdle,
As a bird in her pouch.

Aqht sat down to eat,
The son-of-Dan'el (sat down) to dine.

Above him hawks did hover,
A band of birds surveilled (him).

[*Among*] *the hawks flew Anat,*
Over Aqht did she place him (*Yṭpn*).

He hit him twice on [*the head*],
Thrice upon the ear.

[*He spil*]*lt his blood like water,*
Like a slaughter[*ed (animal) on its knees*].

[*His*] *soul vanished like the wind,*
His vitality, [*like (the) IṮL*(-flower),
Like smoke from his nose.

Anat looked on as his convulsions ceased,
She looked on as Aqht expired;
She bewept the chi[ld, a mother's suckling].

'Culpable *am I, (all) because of* [*your bow*],
[Culpable, *because of*] *your arc.*

You did not l[ive (enough), O Aqht],
[Wast verily plucked] *and didst perish* like the leaves.'

[After a very brief lacuna, the story continues in text 1.19 with Anat transporting Aqht's corpse, apparently to her home on Mt. Inbb. The tablet heading "Belonging to Aqht" (= line 1) is omitted in translation.]

"[*Maiden Anat*] *did hasten (in flight),*
She fell into the water (below);
[The bow was on her] *chest.*

The bow [of Aqht] *did break,*
[Like a ly]*re did break*
The prize [of Koshar].

[Thus] *did Maiden Anat*
Return [to (Mt.) Inbb].

[She] *climbed the mountain like a wi*[*ld-bu*]*ll,*
Her hands, like a flash (*of lightning*),
Her fingers, like a (*wild-*)*fire.*

Then she incised the gums of his mouth,
She grasped his teeth and extracted (*them*).

She plastered (*his*) *crown with lime,*
In accordance with the wish of the chthonics,
And the instruction of the Nethergods.

From his grave-pit, Aqht beheld,
He perceived the heart of darkness.

Verily a giant viper (*stood*) *by a wall-barrier,*
A dog at his sceptre(*-side*); {...}

And behind there loom[*ed*] *a to*[wer].

[The scene shifts back to Dan'el's residence.]

The first of the summer-fruit blossoms,
The ear is (*still*) *in its husk.*

Whereupon Dan'el, the Rapian,
Thereupon, the Hero, devotee of the 'Rainmaker';

Did rise to take his seat in the foregate,
Along[side the notables *on the threshing-floor*].

He judges [*the case of the widowed*],
He adjudicates [*the case of the orphaned*];
[Now present is] *his* [daughter, Pughat].

[A lass (who) draws (from) the spr]ing [and shoulders water],
[Wrings dew from the wool(-fleece)],
[*Knows*] *the course of* [*the stars*].

Lift[*ing*] *her gaze, she observed:*

The [wool(-fleece)] *on the threshing-floor was dry,*
[The bud] *was drooping,*
The (fruit-)blossom had bowed [its head].

Above her father's house vultures were flying.
A flock of birds surveilled.

Pughat weeps in her heart,
She cries inwardly.

[Again the action is telescoped and we are to understand that Pughat has rushed to inform her father of what she has observed. Dan'el returns.]

The garment of Dan'el, the Rapian, fluttered,
The cloak of the Hero, devotee of the 'Rainmaker' (*shook*).

Whereupon Dan'el, the Rapian
Did entreat the clouds anxiously:

'*Prithee,* 'Rainmaker':
(*When*) *will the clouds shower the summer-fruit,*
The dew distill on the grapes?'

'*Seven years will Baal afflict thee,* (*Dan'el*)
Eight, the Rider-of-the-Clouds.

No dew; *no rain,*
No surfeit of spring waters,
No sweetness of Baal's voice (*in the river-beds*).'

The garment of Dan'el, the Rapian, fluttered
The cloak of the Hero, devotee of the 'Rainmaker';

He called aloud to his daughter:

'*Hearken Pughat, water-carrier,*
Wringer of dew from wool-fleece,
Expert in the course of the stars:

Harness the donkey, saddle-up the ass,
Put on my saddle-seat of silver,
My harness-straps of gold.'

Hearken did Pughat, the water-carrier,
The wringer of dew from wool-fleece,
The expert on the course of the stars.

Silently, she harnessed the donkey,
Silently, she saddled-up the ass.

Silently, she lifted her father,
She placed him on the back of the donkey,
On the prettified back of the ass.

Dan'el tours his cracked fields;

He sights a sprout in the cracked-field,
He sights a sprout (growing) out of the bulbs;
He embraces the sprout and kisses (it):

'I pray that the sprout may grow,
That the sprout may grow in the cracked-field,
(That) siccaniae (may grow) out of the bulbs.

(I pray) that the hand of Hero-Aqht may gather you in,
That he may place you inside the granary'.

Dan'el tours (another of) his dry-fields:

He sights a spike in the dry-field,
He sights a spike in the parched-ground;

He embraces the spike and kisses (it):

'I pray that the spike may grow,
That the spike may grow in the dry-field;
(That) siccaniae (may grow) from the parched-ground.

(I pray) that the hand of Hero-Aqht may gather you in,
That he may place you inside the granary'.

The words had (hardly) left his mouth,
The utterance, his lips;

(When) upon raising her eyes, (Pughat) beheld:

Two-lads approach; but not in pe[ace],
Apart they str[ide],
Pacing back and forth.

Striking twice the(ir) heads,
Thrice (they strike) upon the ear.

Their headbands are unt[ied],
[A hand is] *on (each) temple.*

They are bound [at the wai]st,
(*But their*) *tresses* ha[ng] loose.

And their tears cascade like quarter-sheqel (*pieces*),
They cla[sp the(ir) lips] *with the hand.*

(*The burden of*) *their secret is overwhelming,*
(*The burden of*) *their secret is* [*indeed*] *oppressive.*

They arrive; *they raise their voices and* [*cry out*]:

'*Hearken, Dan'el,* [*the Rapian*]:
Secure indeed is [your misfor]tune!

We bring you sho[cking] *news, Dan'el*:
The heading is: *Calamity,*
The signature: *Anat.* {...}

"*Hero-Aqht is dead*!"

Maiden Anat did extract
His soul like the wind,
His vitality like (*an*) *IṮL*-(flower).

He fell; (*and*) *she dispos*[*sessed*] *him* (*of his bow*).'

[*Dan'el's feet*] *began to shake,*
[*His brow a*]*bove* [*began to sweat*],
His back muscles collapsed.

The corners of his vestment fluttered,
In unison with tho[*se of his back*].

[*He raised his voice*] *and cried out*:

[A gap of ca. 8 lines; two lines on the lateral edge conclude the column. The resumption in col. III is the direct continuation of the narrative in col. II, and begins in mid-sentence.]

(...)

"*Upon raising his eyes, he beheld,*
He saw [*hawks*] *among the clouds,*
[*He raised his voice*] *and cried out*:

'The win[gs of (those) hawks] may Baal break,
May Baal break [their pinions].

May they fall at my feet,
That I may split open [their bowels and] observe:

If there be fat,
If there be [bone],
I'll beweep and inter him;

I'll place (him) in the (earth-)cavities of the [chthonic] gods.'

The words had (hardly) left his mouth,
His utterance, his lips.

Baal did break the wings of the hawks,
Baal broke their pinions.

They fell at his feet,
He split open their bowels and [observed]:

No fat! No bone!

He raised his voice and cried out:

'May Baal mend the wings of (these) hawks,
May Baal mend their pinions'.

(Baal) sewed up the hawks; (and) they flew away.

Upon raising his eyes, he beheld,
He saw HRGB, father of the hawks;

He raised his voice and cried out:

'The wings of HRGB may Baal break,
May Baal break his pinions.

May he fall at my feet,
That I may split open his bowels and observe:

If there be fat,
If there be bone,
I'll beweep and inter him;

I'll place (him) in the (earth-)cavities of the chthonic gods.'

The words had (hardly) left his mouth,
His utterance, [his] lips.

Baal did break the wings of HRGB,
Baal broke his pinions.

He fell at (Dan'el's) feet,
He split open his bowels and observed:

No fat! No bone!

He raised his voice and cried out:

'May Baal mend the wings of HRGB,
May Baal mend his pinions'.'

(Baal) sewed up HRGB; (and) he flew away.

Upon raising his eyes be beheld,
He saw ṢML, mother of the hawks;
He raised his voice and cried out:

'The wings of ṢML may Baal break,
May Baal break her pinions.

May she fall at my feet,
That I may split open her bowels and observe:

If there be fat,
⟨If⟩ there be bone,
I'll beweep and inter him;

I'll place him in the (earth-)cavities of the chthonic gods.'

The words had (hardly) left his mouth,
His utterance, his lips.

Baal ⟨did break⟩ the wings of ṢML,
Baal broke her pinions.

She fell at his feet,
He split open her bowels and observed:

There was fat! There was bone!

He took the remains of Aqht,
He wailed, yea, he thrashed;
He bewept and buried;

He buried him in the 'fishpond', in the Kinnereth.

He raised his voice and cried out:

'May Baal break the wings of hawks,
May Baal break their pinions;

If they fly over the grave of my son,
If they disturb him from his sleep (in) the lake.'

'May your down-course be blocked, cursed lake;
For beside thee was slain Hero-Aqht.

Dwell (Aqht) forever in the House of El,
Through time and eternity,
Now and for (all) generations.'

Stooping, *he picked up his walking-stick;*
He reached (the site of) MRRT-TĠLL-BNR;
He raised his voice and cried out:

'Woe-to-thee, MRRT-TĠLL-BNR,
For beside thee was slain Hero-Aqht.

May thy root(s) not grow in the earth,
Bow (thy) head in the hands of the chopper.

Through time and eternity,
Now and for (all) generations.'

Stooping, *he picked up his walking-stick,*
He reached the fort of ABLM,
ABLM, the fort (named) for His Majesty, the Moon-god.

He raised his voice and cried out:

"Woe-to-thee, fort of ABLM;
For beside thee was slain Hero-Aqht.

May Baal stop-up thy well-spring(s),
Now and forever,
Now and for (all) generations.'

Stooping, *he picked up his walking-stick;*
Dan'el arrived at his home,
He betook himself to his domicile.

Mourning-women entered his domicile,
Ladies-of-lamentation (entered) his courtyard.

Mutilating skin, they weep,
They beweep Hero-Aqht,
The beloved *(child) of Dan'el, the Rapian.*

Lo! after seven years,
Dan'el, the Rapian, spoke up,
The Hero, devotee of the ['Rainmaker'] *did declare:*

He raised his voice and called out:

'De[part, ye women, from] my [house],
(Depart) ye mourners, from my domicile;
Ye ladies-of-lamentation,
(And) ye (who) mutilate skin.'

Then he offered up sacrifice (to) the gods;
He caused its frankincense to rise to the heavens,
Frankincense for the astral 'Rainmaker'.

[Pughat p]ick[ed up her tambourine],
She pl[ay]*ed on it (with) one hand,*
Wi[th t]*wo (she played) the cymbals twain:*

The cl[apping] *pair of ivory castanets.*

Then did Pughat, water-carrier, declare:

'Having offered sacrifice to the gods, father,
Having made its frankincense rise to the heavens,
The frankincense for the astral 'Rainmaker';

Give me your blessing, that I may journey in peace,
Pronounce on me benediction, that I may proceed in strength.

For I would smite the one who smote by brother,
Slay him who slew my mother's suckling.'

Dan'el, the Rapian, replied:

'By-my-soul, may it live, (O) Pughat-water-carrier,
Wringer of dew from the fleece,
Expert in the course of the stars;

[By-the-life] *of my very soul (I swear):*
You'll smite the one who smote [your brother],
You'll slay him who slew [your] *mother's suckling.'*

[She went] forth; she plunged into the sea (of Galilee),

She wash[ed (her) hands] and shoulder(s),
She rouged with (the extract of) sea-mollusk,
[Whelks] *from a thousand ŠIDDU away;*

She [remov]ed *her tunic in the sea.*

She donned the garb of a warrior,
She placed a da[gger] *in her girdle,*
A poniard she placed in her belt;

And on top she donned a woman's dress.

[In the wake] *of the setting sun*
T[rudged] *Pughat, comrade-of-the-fields;*
(She trudged) *towards the western horizon.*

Pughat arrived at the tent-camp.

Word (of her arrival) was brought to Yṭpn:

'She-who-engaged-us has come to your camp,
[Anat] *has come to the tents'.*

Declared Yṭpn, Sutean war[rior] *(to Pughat):*

'Take (the cup) and serve me wine,
Take the cup from my hand,
The goblet from my right (hand).'

Pughat took (the cup) and served him drink,
She took the cup from his hand,
(She took) the goblet from his right (hand).

Then declared Yṭpn, the Sutean warrior:

'From (this) wine shall drink ILA, god of the Suteans,
The god who created tent-camps.

May the hand that smote Hero-Aqht
Smite the enemy of the Suteans by the thousands!'

A double-couch (was) set up inside the tent;
And as his chest fi[lled up] *(with wine) like a rivulet,*
His strength eb[bed level] *with a snake.*

She served him spirits a second time,
She served him [the intoxicating bevera]ge.
....."

(Left edge: scribal note)
"*This is where one resumes the narrative (elsewhere)*".

§ 3. Textual and Epigraphic Notes*

INTRODUCTORY REMARK

1. The accident of discovery to which we are beholden for our knowledge of the Ugaritic texts has pre-determined two 'existential' features, one a boon the other a bane: (a) our texts are free of the accretions and deletions, tendentious or otherwise, which characterize venerable literatures and 'sacred scriptures' handed by 'tradition' of the faithful and the committed; (b) our texts have suffered extensive and often irreparable material damage, and are only fragmentarily preserved.

The disrepair of the tablets places a premium on 'restoration' and 'reconstruction'. The task is facilitated at times – especially in the major literary works – by the stylistic feature of 'repetition', mostly of the 'command-fulfillment' type: PN_1 instructs PN_2 at some length; PN_2 faithfully executes PN_1's instructions to the letter. Much of the first tablet of *Krt* [1.14] has been successfully restored thanks to this phenomenon.

Unfortunately, *Aqht* has considerably less 'repetition' of this sort. It occurs in the 'list of filial duties'; in the 'dinner-instructions' of Dan'el to wife Dnty in 1.17:V; in Anat's 'murder-plot' (1.18:IV); and in the

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* *Sigla:* The use of ° above a transcribed sign means that more than 50% of the sign is missing or damaged, or, that the vestiges preserved are sufficiently ambiguous so that the reading is less than certain on purely epigraphic grounds. (Our ° sign corresponds roughly to CTA's Roman type and KTU's asterisk.) The attachment of a question-mark together with a ° to a sign indicates that the reading is altogether (and not just epigraphically) uncertain. In a translated text as in textual transcription, Roman type indicates uncertainty. As a matter of policy, all (and only) restorations – i.e., text-material enclosed by square brackets – appear in Roman type, regardless of the degree of confidence in the restoration. A highly conjectural restoration will see a question-mark placed within the square brackets, indicative of a lower degree of confidence in the proposal. Text-material (usually word-dividers) in rounded parentheses are 'normalizations' by the writer, reflecting either scribal inconsistency or exigencies of prosodic layout. Conversely, word-dividers which appear on the tablet are regularly omitted when the preceding word occurs in our prosodic layout at the end of a verse-line (stichos). – Parallel bars (//) indicate verse-line division ('caesura'); a double-colon (::) indicates a verse (or strophic) division.

'birds-episode' of 1.19:III. Altogether, these 'parallel passages' account for less than fifty lines of text.

Another type of stylistic 'repetition' which assists restoration is the stereotyped 'enumerated sequence': "Behold a day, two days ...; three, four days ... etc. ... Lo! on the seventh ..." This pattern occurs twice in *Aqht*: in 1.17:I and again in 1.17:II. Together they account for less than twenty lines of text.

There is, finally, a non-stylistic type of repetition which originates in the use of formulaic 'type-scenes', and which involve inter-connections with other Ugaritic compositions. Two or three instances of this phenomenon are found in *Aqht*: (a) the 'love-scene' in 1.17:I:39 f., partly restorable on the basis of 1.23:51; (b) Anat's 'threat-scene' in 1.18:I:6 – 12, partly restorable on the basis of 1.3:V:2 – 3; and (c) Pughat's 'washing-dressing' scene in 1.19:IV:41 – 44 which has formulaic ties to 1.3:III:2 and possibly 1.4:II:6 – 7.

Yet, when all the 'mechanical' restorations are completed, we remain with many irritating lacunae, often at crucial junctures in the narrative. The challenge thus presented has evoked energetic attempts at what is known – sometimes pejoratively – as 'conjectural restoration'. Drawing on their knowledge of Ugaritic (also Hebrew) idiom and guided by the perceived requirements of context and the epigraphic constraints – material traces; length of lacuna – scholars work in detective-like fashion, mixing fact with fancy and reason with intuition, proposing varied and often colourful solutions, but which are generally far from commanding general assent.

The present writer's efforts in this direction, possibly more energetic than most, differ from the above portrait insofar as they are informed by two considerations normally left out of account, viz., 'prosodic structure' (loosely 'metre') and 'alliteration'. Both, I submit (and have argued), are crucially important for dealing with three decisive variables of conjectural restoration:

(a) the number of independent vocables – better: 'verse-units' – which need to be assumed for a lacuna in excess of three/four signs.

(b) the distribution of the missing text-material over one or more verse-lines ('stichometry').

(c) the compatibility of the suggested restoration in terms of 'alliteration'.

2. KTU is probably the best edition of the Ugaritic literary texts, epigraphically appraised. In addition to personal collation, the editors benefitted from: (a) the achievements, as well as mistakes, of CTA; (b) high-quality photographs analysed with an apparatus permitting leisurely observation under high magnification, as well as tracings and measure-

ments of signs and lacunae, all quite impossible in direct reading of the tablet.

If KTU has any inherent weakness, it is the weakness of 'interpretation'. Just as a student's illegible handwriting is more intelligible to someone familiar with the subject-matter of the examination, so too epigraphic results can only be improved upon by a better comprehension of the texts. The definitive text edition will become a possibility only when the *story* recounted in the text is definitively understood.

1.17

Col. I

Line 1: aph⟨n⟩: The text reads *aph*. Virolleaud read *apn*(?), Herdner (CTA) *apn̊*. But in footnote the latter observes: "lire peut-être *aph⟨n⟩*." KTU reads *aph*, emended to *aphn*, with no indication of uncertainty concerning the *h*. KTU's judgement is confirmed by the writer's collation of the tablet (AO 17324) in the Louvre. Our transcription of the preceding word as [r]*pi* (CTA and KTU: [rp]*i*) is similarly the result of collation.[1]

Line 5: p̊yl!n!: An obvious and universally recognized scribal error due to metathesis has resulted in *pynl*. The correct reading occurs in line 15.

Line 11: tdṯ. ym: Virolleaud: *tdṯ*(.) *šbʿ. ym*. CTA (p. 79, n. 4) noted traces of one or two erased signs, apparently the first (two) signs of **šbʿ*. KTU reads the traces as **ym*. But in that case there would have been no need to erase.

Line 15: mizrt⟨h⟩: CTA: *mizrt*, but in note *ad loc.*: "peut-être *mizrth*. Il semble qu'un *h* ait été ajouté après coup entre *t* et *p*." Similarly KTU, 53, n. 7: "Das *h* wurde nachgetragen". But neither autograph (CTA, fig. 54) nor personal collation confirms this surmise. The scribe accidentally omitted the final *h* due to the graphically similar *p* which introduces the following word.

Lines 15 – 16: Elsewhere[2] I have argued that the text at this point is dislocated. The insertion of lines $21^{b} - 22$ between lines 15 and 16 not only removes a prosidic anomaly in the latter, it also resolves a major contextual difficulty. For lines 16 ff. comprise Baal's intercedent speech to El, and lines $21^{b} - 22$ have no place therein.

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[1] I gratefully acknowledge the kindness and co-operation of the Dept. of Antiquities at The Louvre museum, specifically Mme. A. Caubet and Mme. André-Leicknam, during my several extended visits, beginning with the fall of 1981, to study the *Aqht* tablets 1.17 and 1.19.

[2] JNSL 9 [1981]: 77 ff.

Line 16[a]: [w/k]*yqrb*: Either of these restorative options is acceptable epigraphically. Stylistic convention favours [w], but alliterative considerations indicate [k]: ... yšQY. bn. Qdš :: [K]YQrb...

16[b]: abyn. åṯ: Virolleaud: *abynt*; CTA: *abynṯ*[?], the bracketed question-mark suggesting the possibility of additional material. In footnote, Herdner observes that the two final signs are less than certain. As I have argued elsewhere,[3] KTU's reading, here reproduced, is preferable (if not mandatory) for contextual as well as for prosodic reasons.[4]

Line 19[b]: (*wšrš. km. aryh*): The formulaic repetitions in lines 18[b]–21 are stylistically as well as prosodically suspect. The prosodic anomaly is the result of a pair of [3 + 2] couplets following a [4 + 3] – *abyn ... hrnmy* – a situation which is aggravated by the retention of the [3 + 3] couplet in lines 21[b]–22.[5] The deletion of line 19[b] as a dittographic repetition of (or harmonization with) lines 20[b]–21[a] (*wšrš. km. aryh*) still leaves a partially repetitive text, viz., *din. bn. lh. km. aḫh // bl. iṯ. bn. lh. k!m. aḫh*. But this text can be justified as a response – artistically inferior, to be sure – to the prosodic exigency of strophic termination, viz., a tristichic [3 + 3 + 2] conclusion of a [3 + 3] 'theme' and introductory [4 + 3] distich.

Line 20: k!m: The scribe wrote a W (𐎊𐎓𐎓) instead of a K (𐎊𐎓).

Line 29: grš: A personal collation of the tablet indicates, contrary to the evidence of the autograph, that the R sign is written 'defectively', viz., with one instead of two upper horizontals, thus: 𐎗𐎓. The significance of this point lies in the fact that the disputed reading in 1.19:III:41 (KTU: *kn*(*k*/*r*)*t*) presents a similarly 'defective' R.

Line 34: For an extended discussion of this controversial yet obviously defective line, cf. Excursus I, below. The solution opted for here is that of text omissions by the scribe due to homoiteleuton: a presumed original **ks. yiḫd. il. bdh... ʿbdh* (note ...BDH... (ʿ)BDH) results in the present [*ks.*] *yiḫd. il*(.) *ʿbdh*. Cf. D. Pardee, JNES 76 (1977): 53–56. For the by-now widely accepted restoration [ks] at the beginning of the line, cf. H. H. P. Dressler – J. J. Jackson, JAOS 95 [1975]: 99–101; S. E. Loewenstamm, *Bib* 56 (1975): 105.

Line 38: [wyrš]*ḫ̊. hw. mḫ*: Virolleaud made no attempt at restoration, reading [ ]. *hw. mḫ*. CTA's text edition is similarly reserved. But in the course of criticizing Obermann's proposed restoration of

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[3] *Ibid.*, 78 ff.; UF 16:69 f.

[4] Subsequent to the publication of KTU, one of the editors suggested [UF 10:67] that *at* is a scribal error. But he did not retract the epigraphic verdict.

[5] Admittedly, the prosodic problem is alleviated *here* by reading *abynt* in l. 16 and by transposing lines 21[b]–22 (as suggested independently above). But even so the strophe beginning **abynt. dnil...* would lack a proper termination, consisting as it would of a [3 + 3; 3 + 2; 3 + 2] sequence.

[bḥdrh], Herdner observed: "le mot *hw*, comme l'indique la copie, est précédé ... d'un clou oblique qui semble avoir appartenu à un *ṯ* ou à un *ḫ*". Similarly KTU: [----] (*ḫ/ṯ*). Herdner and KTU also agree that five signs (including final ḫ/ṯ) are to be restored. – The various proposals proffered since CTA[6] do not appear to satisfy the requirements either of content or of epigraphy. They are invariably too short, since they tend to share the (mistaken) assumption, based on a mistaken reading originating with Virolleaud, that the present text is a near-verbatim repetition of 1.19:IV:39, allegedly *a*[-]*ḫ. ḥy. mḫ*. But cf. KTU *ad loc.*[7] – The restoration here proposed[8] is favoured by the following considerations:

(1) it terminates in *ḫ*, as required epigraphically, while filling all of the remaining space in the lacuna as estimated by CTA and KTU.

(2) The presumed Ug. cognate of Arab. √*ršḫ* 'leap briskly',[9] admittedly *hap. leg.*, is contextually most appropriate. Dan'el will be filled with sexual desire and will veritably 'leap' from his (own) bed – *lʿršḥ* – into that of his wife, "[the bed of lo]ve" ([lʿrš. d]*ḏ*).[10]

(3) Of paramount importance, methodologically: the proposed restoration is perfectly tailored to the alliterative properties of the preserved remainder of the distich: [wyRŠ]ḥ...lʿRŠh... Since 'alliteration'[11] is so ubiquitous, and very nearly constitutive, in Ugaritic poetry, it follows that any proposed restoration or reconstruction must pass a test of alliterative compatibility if it is to be considered likely.[12]

Line 39: [lʿrš. d]*ḏ*: KTU: [-----]x; CTA: [------]. But the latter observes (p. 80, n. 6): "... la dernière lettre avant *bm* est probablement *b*, *d*, ou *u*." The restoration of [lʿrš] following the verb *yʿl* seems fairly assured: cf. Heb. √*ʿlh* + 'bed, couch' etc. to denote 'reclining', be it for

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[6] Cf. conveniently, MLC, 370.

[7] Cf. my discussion in UF 16:170 f.

[8] Cf. already UF 126:171, n. 373.

[9] Hava, *Al-Faraid*, 252. Other meanings are 'sweat, ooze, leak', which if known to a Ugaritic speaker would provide a *double-entendre* very much in character for the lascivious El.

[10] Cf. the discussion immediately below.

[11] For the broad definition of this term used here, cf. MAARAV 2 (1979/80):69, n. 8; further, A. Preminger *et al.*, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* [1965]: 15 f.; A. Alonso-Schoekel, *Das Alte Testament als literarisches Kunstwerk* (trans. K. Bergner) [1971]: 21 f. One gains perhaps in accuracy by designating the phenomenon in question as 'consonance' [cf. J. Wansbrough, BSOAS 46 (1983):225] but this generally unfamiliar, somewhat pedantic term implies a false distinction with 'alliteration' in the traditional sense. Ugaritic 'alliteration' includes, after all, word-initial repetitions of consonants as well. It differs from *our* experience only in not being restricted to this manner of repetition.

[12] Cf. the writer's studies in UF 11:537 – 57; JNSL 8:57 – 80.

sleep (*e.g.*, Ps. 132:3) or for sexual activity (Gen. 49:6). Note the alliterative patterning of the distich which would seem to preclude the synonymous alternatives of *ʿrš*, such as *mṯ*: ...*Lʿršh // yʿL.* [*Lʿrš*...]. – This leaves two signs to be restored, the second of which is *u*, *b*, or *d*. For prosodic reasons, the restoration must yield an independent, stress-bearing word. Again, the well-attested *dd* (< **d*(*w*)*d*) seems the obvious if not exclusive choice: cf. Prov. 7:18 for the imagery and language.

Line 40: The material in lines $39^{b}-41$ bears a strong literary resemblance to 1.23:51 (//56): *bm. nšq. whr // bḫbq. ḥmḥmt.* The problem is that the seemingly self-evident restoration here, in line 40, of [whr] does not fill the available space, estimated by both CTA and KTU as requiring six signs. – The proposed restoration of [whr. hwt(h)] proceeds from the philological premise that Ug. *hwt*, a common B-word synonym for *rgm* '(spoken) word', denotes basically 'exhaled breath'.[13] As used here (*ex hypothesi*), it combines with *ḥmḥmt* "heated" to connote sexual passion. Noteworthy is the resultant alliteration: ...aṯTH [WHr. HWT(h)] and ...aṯtH [wHr. Hwt(H).] bḫbqH... The reason for the poet's deviation from the formulation in 1.23:51(//56) is not far to seek: it is certainly prosodic in nature. The [3 + 3] 'theme' of the strophe beginning (l. 36) *npš. yḥ...* requires the addition of a 'word' (or 'stress-unit') to the [3 + 2] pattern of the couplet in 1.23:51(//56).

Line 41: The length of the lacuna here is at least as long as that in line 40; indeed, to judge by the slant of the fracture, it is if anything longer. At least six – more likely seven – signs are to be restored.[14] Both CTA and KTU agree that the traces preserved at the end of the lacuna point to K or R. With most scholars, we opt for the latter, assumed to be part of a word whose root is $\sqrt{hr(y)}$ or – as we believe – $\sqrt{hrr}$. But we differ here, as in line 40, in understanding this verb as predicated of the male rather than the female partner, and denoting 'impregnate'. Cf. 1.12:I:39.[15] – Support for the remainder of the proposed restoration derives from considerations of epigraphy – the requisite number of signs – and alliterative compatibility: ... bḪbqh. ḤMḤMt :: hw. MḪ...// ḤMḤMt [Mṯt. Mt...]. Philologically, it is based on a new interpretation of the Ug. idiom HW/HY. MḪ as denoting 'him-/her-/itself'.[16]

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[13] Cf. RB 91 [1984]: 113–15.

[14] Contrast MLC, 370, and the suggestions *ibid.*

[15] Cf. already WUS s. v. 856: "begatten"; and the writer's discussion in RB 91:103 ff. where Ugaritic YR (Heb. *Yoreh*) is derived from the same root and basic meaning.

[16] Cf. UF 16:170 f., and discussion in *Excursus* XVII, § 8, below. The MHeb usage is presaged by the O.T. use of בְּעֶצֶם to mean 'precisely'. Cf. similarly Ar. *mḫ* 'marrow', > 'purest, choicest part'.

Line 42: The obviously correct restoration of [...mt. r]*pi* still leaves three signs unrestored. Accordingly Obermann's [lmt. r]*pi* is too short while Dijkstra – De Moor's [dnil. mt. r]*pi* is almost certainly too long. The proposed restoration of [mṯt. mt. r]*pi*, in addition to satisfying the epigraphic requirements, derives support from the following considerations:

(1) alliteration: the consonants M and T are 'dominant' in this verse; note ...ḥMḥMt. [Mṯt. Mt] and ...ylT // ḥmḥmT. [mṯT. mT]...

(2) the phrase *mṯt. dnty* "Lady Dnty" occurs in col. V as a designation of Dan'el's wife.

(3) MṮT 'woman; female' is a very satisfactory parallel for YLT of the A-line, and as grammatical object for the (implied) verbal predicate [yhr]*rn*.

Col. II

Line 2: l{ }ʿpr̊: The text reads a (misplaced) divider after the preposition. Cf. the autograph (CTA, fig. 54) and KTU (*pace* CTA and MLC).

Lines 4 – 6ᵃ(spu...yn): The suggested re-arrangement of the two distich verses comprised by these lines follows as a conclusion from:

(1) the acknowledged fact that the ordering of the filial duties here deviates from that of the first (I:30 – 32) and fourth (II:19ᵇ – 22ᵃ) lists.[17]

(2) the unacknowledged fact that the arrangement here is prosodically defective, resulting in a meaningless verse-pattern sequence of [... + 3]; [3] + 3; 3 + 2; 3 + 3. The [3 + 2] couplet which terminates the sequence in the first and fourth repetition of the list is clearly a strophe-terminative brachcatalexis [*N – 1]. To be sure, the strophic break falls in *all* cases prior to the mention of the two final – and menial! – duties. But this is another problem entirely, viz., the poet's reason(s) for structuring the material as he did. Whether for poetic-aesthetic reasons – i.e., the desire to avoid an overly long strophic structure – or 'theological' motives (i.e., to separate the 'holy' from the 'profane'), the question does not impinge on the deviation under consideration here.

Line 7: b{}ym: The text reads a (misplaced) divider after the preposition.

Lines 8 – 9: A broad scholarly consensus favours reading *bd!ni*[l] for text's *buni*[l], a scribal error involving the confusions of *u* ( ) and *d* ( ). However, the textual disturbance in these lines is more extensive than generally believed, although a symptomatic grammatical incongruity has long been acknowledged. For prosodic reasons, we must assume

[17] The second list is defective at this point.

that an entire word (or 'stress-unit') has fallen out of line 8[b];[18] and for grammatical reasons we must suppose that in line 9 the (masc.) *pnm*[19] has interchanged with the fem. *pit.*[20] – The proposed reconstruction *b⟨riš⟩* in line 8 remains conjectural, with context and prosody our only guides. The latter determines the extent of the deletion and circumscribes the maximal length of the word (five syllables, including case/modal ending).[21] The lack of epigraphic guidance places a premium on alliteration as a criterion of evaluation: ...Bym. RṮ :: B⟨RiŠ⟩...[22]; b⟨rIš.⟩ dnIl. ⟨[pIt]⟩... Contextually viewed, the reconstructed text gains both in clarity and in balance. At present, the prepositional phrase *w'l* in the B-line lacks a clear frame of reference, since it is formally parallel to *bd!nil*. The emended *b⟨riš⟩* provides a suitable parallel as well as balance for *w'l*, since the word *riš* in Ugaritic (and Semitic generally) is used metaphorically to denote the 'top' of something. – One may wish to proceed a step further in suggesting that the loss of **riš* at some stage in the transmission of the text contributed directly to the eventual transposition of *pnm* and *pit*. The latter bears a natural affinity to *riš*.[23] But with **riš* gone from the A-line, *pit* might easily gravitate to the B-line introduced by *w'l*. For the 'brow' (or 'temples') belongs to the upper skull, whereas the 'face' occupies the central and lower parts. On this analysis, accordingly, the mistaken transposition of *pit* and *pnm* may be seen as a kind of 'hypercorrection' of a faulty text. As for the cause of the original text loss, it is not unlikely to be sought in the phonetic similarity of the adjacent (and alliterating) vocables, *bym. rṯ* :: *b⟨riš⟩*, resulting in the loss of *r(i)š* via haplography.

Line 17: A widely held opinion[24] assumes that considerable material has fallen out of the text at this point; cf. CTA, 81, where the recon-

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[18] The problem lies not in the individual verse-patterns but in the intra-strophic sequence. A strophe-introductory [4 + 4] – *ṯḫ...rṯ* – cannot be followed by a [3 + 3; 3 + 3; 3] sequence.

[19] The masculine gender is inferred from the Hebrew *pānim* (cf. Ezek. 1:6; Dan. 1:10), and Akk. *pānū* (e. g., *pānī banûti* 'kind face' [*apud* AHw, 819[b]]). The other Ugaritic attestations do not allow for gender determination. *Prima facie*, 1.100:61 – *bḥrn. pnm. trġnw* – points to Ug. *pnm* as feminine. But the context there is of very uncertain meaning. Cf. D. Pardee, JANES 10:88 f.

[20] Cf. O.T. (Ps. 104:15) ...*lḥṣḥ(y)l. pn(y)m*, corresponding to Ugaritic **√ṣḥl pnm*.

[21] Cf. UF 7:289 ff.; MLD, 221 ff. (= *Appendix*, below).

[22] The phonemes Ṯ and Š are phonetically close in 'classical' Ugaritic and are destined to coalesce in late-Ugaritic (and Canaanite generally). This circumstance manifests itself literarily in their use together as alliterating 'synophones' and shared alliterative patterns.

[23] In O.T. literature, cf. Lev. 19:27 and Jer. 9:25 (etc.). The word means 'limit, edge' (Akk. *pāṭu*) and in conjunction with 'head' denotes the area of the temples, where the head-hair ends and the facial hair begins.

[24] Originating apparently with F. Rosenthal, *Or* [1939]:223; cf. MLC, 372, *ad loc.*

struction is inserted into the body of the text rather than in footnote (thus KTU, 54, n. 4). To be sure, the list of filial duties deviates at this point from the other repetitions. But is this deviation the result of scribal dereliction or of artistic-poetic intention? – I believe that the latter alternative is the correct one here. For whereas the text as preserved is prosodically sound, the addition of the supposedly missing stichos results in a text which is prosodically deficient, viz., the absence of a well-defined introduction for the strophe beginning in line 16 and concluding in line 22[a] (*nṣb...bt il*). It needs to be recalled that though the lists are *literally* stereotyped, their respective prosodic 'slots' may and do differ. Here alone the list introduces a new strophic unit: 3 + 3 + 3; 3 + 3; 3 + 3; 3 + 2. The omission of *larṣ. mšṣu. qṭry* is the poet's response to this prosodic exigency, and seemingly the one requiring the least effort. An alternative response would have necessitated *rewriting* the initial couplet (*nṣb...ʿmy*) as a [4 + 4] – *N + 1 – couplet, or composing a third, tristich-forming line specially for the occasion.

Line 24: ⟨l⟩bth: The verb *mġy* 'arrive (at)' is normally a verb of motion. Whenever the destination is specified, it occurs with a preposition, on all occasions but one *l* 'to'.[25] Of the many passages illustrating this usage, cf. 1.3:II:17 – *whln. ʿnt. lbth. tmġyn*, evidencing the same idiomatic collocation of PN + √*mġy* + prep. *l* + *bt* that we assume as the original text here. There are only two *bona fide* exceptions,[26] both in *Aqht*: here and in 1.19:IV:8, *dnil. bth. ym{}ġyn*. But these examples will not support the assumption of a dialectical peculiarity characteristic of *Aqht*. For elsewhere in the poem we find:

1.19:III:50 *ymġ. lmrrt. tġll. bnr*

"He (= D.) arrives at (GN) M.-T.-B."

1.19:IV:50 *mġy[t] (.) pġt. lahlm*

"Pughat arrived at the tents (of YṬPN, the Sutean)".[27]

The solution lies in recognizing the unique circumstance common to 1.19:IV:8 and the present text, viz., that in both cases the specified destination is preceded by a word ending in L: *dnil. bth...* One need only assume that both texts are the faulty result of a simple haplography: **dniL: Lbth* > *dnil. bth*.

[25] Cf. Pardee, UF 7:357. The one case of √*mġy* with *ʿm* (1.124:2) involves a 'person', rather than a 'place' as destination. Cf. otherwise 1.3:VI:11; 1.5:VI.5 – 6, 8, 28; 1.14:III:5; IV:34,47.

[26] In 1.6:I:59 – 61, √*mġy* is used in a different sense of 'touch; reach to', while in 1.12:I:36 f. it denotes 'come upon, find' (//*mẓ*'). Used in this way, √*mġy* is not strictly speaking a verb of motion. As for 1.114:9, there is no destination specified; cf. my discussion in MAARAV 2 [1979/80]: 87 – 90.

[27] Note also 1.20:II:6 (*Rephaim*), a text possibly related to *Aqht*: *mġy. rpum. lgrnt*.

Line 41: Our reading of *ṟʿt*[28] is the result of personal collation. Our previous suggestion,[29] **mrʿt*, was based on inferences from context and alliteration, and is herewith superseded (cf. already UF 15:74 f.). Note Ps. 45:14 f. where **rēʿā(h)* denotes a 'bridal attendant'. CTA reads here *ḫ*[- -]*m̓*; KTU has *ḫ(?)ṟ(?)ṯ(?)*.

Line 42: ḫld(?)n: CTA: *ḫ̊l̊l̊n̊* [?], the bracketed question-mark signalling the possibility of additional text material in the continuation. KTU: *ḫ̊l̊*xx, indicating two signs present but illegible. To judge however by Virolleaud's autograph (CTA, fig. 54), the final *n* seems secure, while the preceding sign appears to be very similar to if not identical with the second sign.[30]

Line 43: [ys]*pr*: The restoration of the S is hardly in doubt for reasons of idiom and context.[31] However, the available space requires the restoration of an additional sign. Virolleaud: [ys]*pr*; CTA, tentatively, [ls]*pr*. Considerations of parallelism – the caesura follows the preceding word, *dnil* – and alliteration favour [ys]*pr*. Cf. ...Yṯb...// [Ys]pr. Yrḫ.

Line 44: yrḫ̊: Thus KTU. CTA: *yrš̊*; Vir.: *yks(?)*. – *yṟḫ̊. ṯn*: Thus KTU. CTA: *y*[-----]. – *ỷ(?)ṣ̊(?)i̊(?)*: Thus KTU, with comment: "siehe ... CTA, fig. 54,44". CTA: *ỷ*[–]*ḫ̊*. But cf. already Virolleaud: *wyṣi(?)*, the question-mark with reference to the final sign only. KTU's reading is thus very probable, and one can dispense with the question marks. Cf. Ex. 23:16; Ps. 65:9.

Line 45: [yrḫm]: CTA: [yrḫ...]; KTU: [-----]. The restoration [yrḫm] is presupposed in the translation of Del Olmo Lete (MLC, 373, *seq*. Dressler). – *bʿšr*: The restoration fills all of the available space as estimated by KTU: x[- - -]. CTA assumes ten spaces for the entire lacuna, the first three of which are filled by [yrḫ] and the seventh is read as *ṟ*; this presupposes five (rather than KTU's four) signs to be restored. – Since babies normally 'arrive' – Ug. $\sqrt{mġy}$! – in the tenth month of gestation (= 280 days from conception), our restoration seems at least plausible. Note also the alliterative consequences: ... R*bʿ*. [yRḫm]::[*bʿ*šR].

Col. V

Line 5: a⟨p⟩hn: Text reads *ahn*. Cf. above, col. I:1.

Line 12: hl.! *k{}qšt*: Text has *hlk. qšt*, which I take to be a scribal error – misplaced word-divider – under the influence of *hlk. kṯr* in

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[28] Under magnification, the *ʿayin* and T signs are clear and distinct, whereas the R is damaged but not in doubt: .

[29] JNSL 9:84 f.

[30] For discussion, cf. UF 11:553 f., where *ḫld?n* is related to Ar. *ḫalada* 'rest, remain, abide', synonymous with $\sqrt{n(w)ḥ}$. The choice of the *hap. leg.* $\sqrt{ḫld}$ is motivated by considerations of alliteration: ḫLDN...DNiL.

[31] Cf. Job 3:6; 39:2; *Atraḫasis* (I, 279): *wašbat* ^{d}*nintu imannu arḫi*.

line 10. Cf. JNSL IX:85 f. We should note that whereas *hl* is well attested as an exclamatory (or deictic) particle, there is no independent evidence for *hlk* in this sense and usage.[32]

Line 19: d[19]*ḥrš. yd⟨m⟩*: The reconstruction follows the version of the formula in lines 24–25. There is no apparent justification for a divergence, and the text in lines 24 f. is grammatically superior: "he-who-fashions-by-hand", with adverbial *-m*. Methodologically, the haplographic loss of final *-m* is more easily explained than its mistaken accretion in line 25. Note finally the alliterative gain resulting from the reconstruction: ...dḥrŠ. yd⟨M⟩ :: ŠlḤM. ŠŠqy. The alliteration thus produced is superior to that in line 25, where *ydm* is the attested form. Were the situation reversed, and line 19 read **ydm* as opposed to **yd* in line 25, one should feel less confident in 'harmonizing' the two texts.

Line 35: yqb.: Thus CTA. KTU has *yqbx*[ ], the *x* indicating an illegible sign (but not a divider). Yet the word-divider is plainly visible (though slightly fudged) in Virolleaud's autograph (CTA, fig. 54), and is confirmed by personal collation of the tablet. A reading such as *yqb*[l] or *yqb*[ṣ] is thus materially precluded.[33]

[wyš][36]*rk*: Both CTA and KTU estimate three signs missing at the end of line 35. The restoration [wyd]*rk*, first suggested by Montgomery in the thirties and cited non-committally by CTA in footnote, founders on its position following *yqb*. The 'treading' (√*drk*) of the bow is the second stage of the bracing operation (after √*nḥt*), in turn followed by 'bending' (√*qbb*) and 'tying' (**šrk*). Cf. further below, comment to VI:9 (and correct UF 15:81 f. accordingly).

Line 36: kyq[m]: Three signs are missing at the end of line 36 (so CTA[34] and KTU). But two of the three signs must be reserved for the word (or particle) which introduced Dan'el's speech to his son.[35] This leaves only one sign to complete *kyq*[–]. The proposed restoration takes its inspiration from 1.2:I:21.[36]

Line 37: [hln]: The restoration is largely *ad sensum*: But it accords with the requirements of parallelism, and satisfies the epigraphic conditions as determined by CTA. KTU's estimate of the gap is one sign longer. Dijkstra–De Moor restore [bln].

Lines 38–9: ḥn. p[rʿm. t]*ṣd*: CTA seems to have detected traces of the R, reading *pr*[ʿ--]. Both CTA and KTU agree that two signs are to be restored after the (restored) *ʿayin*.

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[32] Contrast MLC, 541, *et al.*

[33] Cf. *ibid.*, 375, *ad loc.*

[34] Thus, the text proper. But cf. note 4: "il n'y a guère place pour plus de deux signes."

[35] Cf. line 38[b]: *ḥn. p*[rʿm...].

[36] *b'l. qm. 'l.* Cf. already JNSL 9:87 f.

Col. VI

Lines 2–6[a]: Much of the material in these poorly preserved lines is easily restorable on the basis of so-called 'parallel passages' in other compositions. Lines 2–3[a] correspond to 1.23:6,[37] and lines 4[b]–6[a] can be restored[38] on the basis of 1.3:I:7; 1.4:III:42–44; VI:57–59 (themselves partially restored). However, the restoration of lines 3[b]–4[a] has proved elusive due to the traces of a Š sign[39] at the end of line 3, which does not accord with the formulaic language of the parallel type-scenes.[40] – Our suggested *šš*[lḥm], apparently not heretofore proposed, satisfies the epigraphic as well as the literary and contextual requirements: (1) although the lacuna is estimated by both CTA and KTU as four signs long, it should be noted that most of the fairly broad Š-sign needs to be restored at the beginning of the lacuna; the proposed restoration is accordingly the material equivalent of four small-to-medium signs, viz., ½ Š + L + Ḥ + M; (2) the restoration of a verb *√lḥm* is apt with the continuation, the formulaic *mrġṯm. ṯd* (cf. 1.4:III:41–2; VI:56) which several scholars have restored here independently;[41] (3) prosodically: the 'metre' requires that the restored text scan as a [3 + 3] distich; (4) alliteration: cf.

...š[LḤM...]...MLḤ[t...]
...š[lḥM. MrġṮM...]
...š[lḤm...// bḤ]rb. mlḤ[t....]
...[...mrġṮm. Ṯd]...[...MRġṯm...]...[...MRi]

Line 6[b]: [dkrt. y]*n*: The phrase occurs in the banquet scene of 1.4:VI:40–59, part of which contains formulaic parallels to our text: [51]*špq. ilm. kḫṯm. yn* // [52]*špq. ilht. ksat*[.*yn*] :: [53]*špq. ilm. rḥbt. ỷn* // *špq. ilht. dkrt*[. yn]. The choice of *dkrt*[42], rather than *kḫṯm* or *ksat* or *rḥbt*, is motivated by the rich alliterative patterning which *dkrt* alone produces: ...ḫrṢ. *DM. ṢM* :: [*D*krt]...; and [dKRt...]...KRpn...KRpn.

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[37] Cf. R. Clifford, VT XXV [1975]: 300.

[38] KTU's]*šš* at the end of line 4 is difficult to reconcile with the break-line in the tablet.

[39] Thus already Virolleaud, followed by CTA and KTU.

[40] The temptation to restore *Š*[PQ] must be resisted because it would not fill all of the available space at the end of line 3.

[41] Cf. Dijkstra–De Moor, UF 7; MLC, 376.

[42] Philology: Gordon (UT § 19.661) renders 'jars', citing Akk. *dakirū* '(wooden) vessel', and Ar. *zukra'* 'skin vessel for wine', while conceding that the Arabic "complicates the etymology". AHw (s. v.) considers *dakirû* a foreign word in Akk. and on the basis of the lexical equation *da-ki-ru-u* = *i-ṣu* "etwa 'Baum' ". Our rendering 'barrel', *seq.* Caquot-Sznyzer (TO, 214) is essentially *ad sensum*. Cf. however 1.23:76 *wḫbrḥ.mla.yn* "And his vat(?) is full of wine".

Line 7: [lšty. ʿnt. lš]*q̊ym*: The restoration, which fits exactly in the lacuna as estimated by both CTA and KTU, is largely *ad sensum*.[43] The strophic break signalled by [dkrt. y]*n. krpn. ʾl krpn* – i. e., a 4-unit monostich (with internal 2:2 subdivision) following a [3 + 3] couplet – suggests a new theme or focus in the continuation. In addition, the pron. suffix reference to Anat in line 10 (*bnši. ʿnh...*) requires that Anat be explicitly mentioned somewhere between line 7 and line 10[a]. – lš]*q̊ym*: The Q is read as 'damaged but certain' by KTU, while CTA has](*q*/*ẓ*)*ym*. The word *šqym* occurs in 4.246 (= UT 1092), at the end of what is transparently a list of wine rations for the royal court (*mlkt* [l.3]; *adrm* [l.7]), and must denote '(alcoholic) beverage(s)'.[44]

Line 8: [lrišh. lyḥbl]: Again, the restoration (which exactly fills the lacuna as estimated by both CTA and KTU) is proffered *ad sensum*, albeit with an eye for the requirements of the prosodic structure and the alliteration. Prosodically, one word is wanting after *trṯ* to complete the [3 + 3] distich, and another is required to form a strophe-terminative monostichic [4] (although an additional word/stress-unit would also be prosodically acceptable if it resulted in a [3 + 2] distich, with syntactic break after the third unit). – But it is the resultant alliteration that proves decisive in evaluating the cogency of the restoration: [lYḤBL.]... ʿšY. LḤBš[], i. e., a repetition (partly inverted) of a quadrilitteral sequence within the space of fourteen consonants! Note further: [...Lrišh :: LyḥbL] and [LYḥbl]... ʿšY. Lḥbš[]. Cf. the similar use of asseverative L (*allit. cs.*) in 1.2:IV:7–8: *L*rgmt. Lk. LzbL. bʿL // ṯnt. *L*rkb... – Ug. √*ḥbl* "be swollen" (= Ar. *ḥabila*) probably occurs in 1.4:VII.*56* f. (= 1.8:9–10): *mnt. ṣḥrrm. ḥbl*[t] = "my (snake-bitten) limb is swollen with hot-fluid". A biblical text lends further support to the proposed restoration (Prov. 23:31–34): "Do not gaze at wine as it reddens... Your eyes will see strange things... You will feel as one lying (sick) at sea // And like someone with a swollen head".[45]

Lines 9–10: The same considerations of context, prosody, and epigraphy guide and support the extensive restorations in these lines as in the preceding. The strophic signature in line 8 suggests a new theme or focus for lines 9–10. The verb *yṣbt* – cognate with Akk. *ṣabātu* – "grasp"[46] suggests a male subject. The word *qn* – < √*qny* "be

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[43] The presumed LŠTY (with asseverative L; cf. 1.16:VI:43 ff.) is *qtl* rather than *yqtl* because of the strophic transition; cf. my observations in MAARAV 2:106 f., and n. 114 *ibid.*

[44] Cf. UT, p. 273: "monthly wine allocations to royalty and to certain grandees."

[45] Cf. discussion in my MLD, 72 f. In 1.4:VII.*56* f. (= 1.8:9–10) KTU reads *ḥblḥ*? – For MT's *ḥibbēl*, read perhaps *ḥāḇēl* (analogous to *kāḇēd*).

[46] *Hap. leg.* and hitherto unidentified in Ugaritic (although clearly preserved!). It is probably a dialectical variant of √*ṣbṯ* (cf. *mṣbṯm* 'tongs'). Note Heb √*ṣbṯ* alongside

hooked"[47] – is a likely direct object referring to the hooked 'ears' of the composite bow.[48] The restored verb [yn]*ḫtn*[49] is a likely cognate of Heb. $\sqrt{nḥt}$ 'to lower', used in connection with the bow.[50] The restored [wyqb] occurred earlier in col. V:35 where it signified the bracing (lit., 'bending') of the bow. A final consideration is the resultant alliterative patterning:

...[aQht. Qšt...]...Qn...[wyQb]...[Qst]m̊
...[aqhT. qšT. yn]ḫTn
...[...yN]ḫtN. qN....
...[yṣBt. [wyqB. tṣB...]
...yṢBt...[tṢB...]

Epigraphically, our restoration corresponds to the estimate of the lacuna by CTA (= 10 signs). KTU presupposes one sign less. We draw attention to the fact that we take the first sign of the lacuna to be the pron. suff. 3 m. sg. of *lḫbš*[h] of the preceding verse. Such word-splits, though exceptional, are not unknown elsewhere in *Aqht.* – [tṣb. qšt]: The very same expression recurs shortly below (line 13). But there it bears a very different meaning, viz., $\sqrt{ṣby}$ "covet, desire". Here it derives from $\sqrt{nṣb}$ "be erect". There is unquestionably a deliberate word-play involved in the two usages, as we readily see from the (restored) continuation of the reference in line 13: *tṣb. qšt...* [14][qṣʿt. bnṣbh]. Such homonymic punning, typical of Ugaritic poetry generally, is not unknown in O.T. literature: cf. *e.g.*, Gen. 29:10–11: "... Jacob went up and rolled the stone off the mouth of the well, and watered (Heb. *wayyašq*) the flock of Laban... Then Jacob kissed (Heb. (*wayyiššaq*) Rachel..." It may not be irrelevant to note at this point that a nominal derivative of $\sqrt{ṣby}$ "desire" will occur in 1.18:I where it denotes 'sexual desire'. The poet's use of $\sqrt{ṣby}$ to describe Anat's feeling towards the bow is intended to arouse sexual associations. She covets the bow – "in its protrusion//erection"! – as if it were a phallus! Anat's sexual frustration as a *btlt*, the poet seems to be suggesting, is sublimated in her passion for the bow, a typically masculine object and symbol. (This is not however to be confused with

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$\sqrt{ṣbt}$, the latter denoting 'tie (in a bundle)'. In view of the context – bracing of the bow – Ug. $\sqrt{ṣbt}$ may also denote 'grasp-for-tying', i. e., the quasi-technical term (like $\sqrt{drk}$) for 'bracing' the bow.

[47] Cf. already MLD, 82 f., 133, where the phrase *ṯbrn. qn*(*ḥ*) is interpreted as the hooked snake-fang(s) of the ophidic Mot, and the phrase *qn. ḏrʿḥ* as "the slope of his (= El) arm", i. e., the shoulder. The present context would appear to put both of these interpretations beyond any reasonable doubt. Heb. *qēn* 'nest' is from the same root.

[48] Cf. discussion in § *Literary Commentary*, below.

[49] Thus restored already by Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7 [1975]: 185.

[50] Cf. Ps. 18:35 (= 2 Sam. 22:35): ... my arms can brace ($\sqrt{nḥt}$, lit., 'lower') a bow of bronze". Cf. B. Couroyer, RB 88 [1981]: 13–19.

the mistaken notion that the true object of Anat's desire is Aqht's body.) – [ašt]*m̊*: The final *-m*, recorded as damaged but without the accompanying question-mark indicating uncertainty, is given by CTA only. The form – with enclitic *-m* – recurs below (line 39). Its usage in both cases is no doubt motivated by prosodic considerations, since *qšt* (and the virtually certain restoration [*nṯq*] in line 39) are both monosyllabic 'segholates'. In line 10, as in line 9, our restoration presupposes the estimate of the lacuna size by CTA (10 + *m*). KTU supposes ten signs in total.

Line 11: KTU's estimate of the lacuna is nine signs, one less than CTA's. But CTA offers]*m̊l* versus KTU's]*l*. – [yṣ]*m̊l*: the root is √*ṣml* (= Ar. *ṣamala*) "be hard". It recurs in the pseudonym ṢML, the mother-hawk in whose stomach Dan'el retrieves some meagre remains of his murdered son. On purely literary grounds one can infer that ṢML is a camouflaged symbol of the airborne goddess Anat. The use of this root here, *hap. leg.*, is a hint in the same direction, as is the comparison with the snake in line 14 below. There can be no question but that Anat is portrayed in *Aqht* as a villain, the epitome of evil and inhumanity.[51] – [kqrḫ]: The restoration of this *hap. leg.* is *ad sensum* but in accordance with the alliterative patterning: ...[kQRḫ]...// kbRQ [tbRQn...]. This word for 'ice' is attested in O.T. Heb. (Gen. 31:40; Jer. 36:30, etc.), Aramaic, and (as a LW) in Akkadian. The absence of an Arabic cognate makes it difficult to decide the laryngeal of the putative Ugaritic word. But since Ar. *qrḥ* = Heb. √*qrḥ* "be bald", it is likely that the P(NW)S word for 'ice' was **qrḫ*.

Line 12: Again, CTA is more helpful than KTU, reading]*m̊*..., as opposed to KTU's]x... The restoration [...ky]*m̊* is obviously satisfactory *a priori* in a verse line containing the word *thmt*, while the comparative *k* is suggested by the preceding *kbrq*. The restoration at the beginning of the line, where ten signs are wanting, is *ad sensum*, but constrained by the requirements of prosody and alliteration. Two verse-units, neither more nor less,[52] are required to complete the distich. *Alliteration:* [ʿ*n*t... // ...ʿ*n*h], an 'inclusion' containing [...*k*QRḫ]...*k*slh. *k*bRQ. [tbRQn...]. – *ỷǵ*ʿ*p̊*/*ṯ̊*): Vir. (and autograph) indicates a preference for *ḫǵ*ʿ*p*. CTA allows for Ḫ or Y at the beginning, but KTU (and scholars generally) favours Y (albeit with question-mark). The following sign is a clear Ġ. As for the remainder, the autograph is unequivocal: ʿ*p*. But CTA is less sanguine about this reading, and offers several alternatives. No philological sense has been made hitherto of any of the epigraphic possibilities – including the reading proffered here. But the reading *yǵ*ʿ*p* or *yǵ*ʿ*t* is

[51] Cf. below, 'Overview' (Part III, § 1).

[52] A distich introducing a strophe with a [3 + 3] 'theme' is necessarily structured as a [4 + 3] – *[N + 1] – hypercatalexis.

to be preferred on grounds of alliterative compatibility. The phones Ǵ and ʿ tend to 'alliterate' with R, of which there are three in the verse (as restored).[53] Considerations of (restored) context suggest a meaning such as 'roil, agitate' or the like. Eyes which flash like lightning are eyes in turmoil, reflecting the inner agitation of the soul. The Ugaritic bard sees the activity in Anat's breast as mirrored in her eyes.

Line 13[a]: Ten signs are missing here as well. But once the prosodic structure of the strophe (= lines 11 – 14) comes into focus – aided by the fact that *ṯṣb. qšt*, "She covets the bow", indicates the beginning of a new verse – the restoration is a less formidable task than appears at first sight. Furthermore, the nature of the alliterative pattern in the verse is hinted at by the poet's choice of the 'peculiar' (and *hapax*) *yǵʿ-*, a choice almost certainly made *allit. cs.* Since there are no Ǵ/ʿ phones in the preserved portion of the text, and only one R, one may begin with the assumption that the remainder of the distich will contain one or more of these phones in relative abundance. Cp.: ...yǴʿx....//bRq[m. ypRq. yʿRm]. Ug. $\sqrt{prq}$ is well known from the formulaic *yprq. lṣb* "He parts his mouth (to laugh, etc.)".[54] But a usage of this root with more violent connotations is known in several Semitic languages including O.T. Heb. Cp. 1 Kgs. 19:11: "... and a great wind and a strong [earthquake] shattering [*mᵉpārēq*) hills and smashing rocks". For the imagery generally, cf. Ps. 29:5: "The (thunderous) voice of YHWH breaks the cedars // YHWH breaks the cedars of Lebanon", imagery reflecting storm-god theophany, accompanied by thunder and lightning. The reason for preferring the restoration of **yprq* rather than **yṯbr* is alliterative compatibility: *ypRQ* repeats (via inversion) a bilitteral sequence of the adjacent *bRQ*[m], and the P is very likely attested in the A-line verb, resulting in *yǴʿP*...//...[yPRq], the combination of Ǵ and ʿ approximating R phonetically. – [yʿrm]: The word is attested elsewhere in Ugaritic: (1.4:VII:35 f.): *ib. bʿl. tiḫd. yʿrm* "The enemy of Baal seizes (control of) the forest". The imagery in the text at hand is that of a forest conflagration resulting from a bolt of lightning striking one or more trees. Cf. Ps. 83:15 – 16: "Like fire burning a forest ... chase them (Lord) in your tempest // In your storm(-cloud) frighten them (away)."

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[53] Cf. MAARAV 2:88 f.: "... the phones ʿ, ǵ and *r* comprise ... an alliterative 'family'. Cf. e.g. 4:VIII:2 – 6: ...ʿm ĠR. tRĠzz. ʿm ĠR. ṯRmg. ʿm. tlm. ĠṣR. aRṣ." In the present text, cf. ...yǴʿx...// bRq[m. kypRq. yʿRm],. Note further: [KY]M̊...//brq[M. KYprq...] and [kY]m̊. Yǵʿx....//...[kYprq. Yʿrm].

[54] The root $\sqrt{lṣb}$ probably means 'to stick', and refers here to the sticky film of the labial tissues when the mouth is kept closed. Cf. 1.103:50 [ ] *aṯrt. ʿnh. wʿnh. blṣbh* "[*And if*] Asherah [*has afflicted?*] his eye(s), and his eye is (stuck) in its lid". For discussion, cf. UF 15:72 ff.

13[b]: ...bnth: Thus Virolleaud (*Danel*, 206), with no sign of uncertainty. But both CTA and KTU read *bnt* only. A personal collation of the tablet confirms Virolleaud's verdict. The scribe, running out of space in the line, inserted the *h* between the double-ruled lines separating the columns. Cf. the smudge on the autograph (CTA, fig. 56) at the end of the line, almost certainly concealing the *h* sign.

*Line 14[a]: [qṣ*ʿ*t. bnṣbh]:*[55] The restoration may be considered virtually certain. *qṣ*ʿ*t* is the regular B-word parallel of *qšt* in *Aqht*, and means 'arc' (not 'arrows').[56] The restoration of [bnṣbh] is supported by several converging lines of reasoning:

(1) parallelism: *bnth* is an inf. cstr. of $\sqrt{nt}(y)$ with prefixed prep. *b* and suffixed pron. *-h*, and meaning "in its protrusion".

(2) Ug. $\sqrt{nṣb}$ "set up(right)", is well attested in Ugaritic, not least in *Aqht* (cf. 1.17:I–II *passim*). It also recurs in line 10 above (*per* restoration) with specific reference to the bow, "set (erect)" by Aqht after bracing, presumably for all to see.

(3) alliteration: tṢB...[BnṢBh]; ...qšT. BNth...[qṣ*ʿ*T. BNṣbh]. The *prima facie* surprising A–B ordering of the rare $\sqrt{nt}(y)$[57] and the more common $\sqrt{nṣb}$ is also due to the alliterative factor: ...[qṢ*ʿ*t. bnṢbh]. To place $\sqrt{nṣb}$ in the A-slot, the poet would have had to reverse the conventional 'word-pair' *qšt//qṣ*ʿ*t* (A–B) thus: *tṢb. qṢ*ʿ*t. bnṢbh.

(4) general content: The composite bow, approximately 1.20 cm. long tip-to-tip,[58] would have protruded approx. 50 cms. if set up against a table 70 cms. high, enough to catch Anat's eye as she sits carousing, and to kindle her jealousy. The *Aqht* poem itself describes the bow as *ṯmn* "a precious object", the work of no less a craftsman than Koshar-Ḫasis. It was obviously quite extraordinary and appreciated by the connoisseur of such objects that Anat surely was. It has been estimated that such bows in New Kingdom Egypt took from five to ten years to construct![59]

(5) prosody: The requirement is for a two or three unit verse-line. As restored, the [3 + 2] couplet forms a brachycatalectic strophic

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[55] Cf. already JNSL 9:89–91 (with corrections, UF 15:83 f.).

[56] Cf. UF 15:76–79; WUS s. v. 2437 (citing Eth. *qaṣ*ʿ*a* "be curved" and the semantics of German 'Bogen' [// Eng. 'bow'].

[57] But not *hap. leg.* Cf. below, 1.18:I:7 (*bNT//bRM*); cf. UF 15:91 f.

[58] Cf. W. E. McLeod, AJA 62 (1958): 397–401; *idem.*, AJA 66 (1962): 13–19; G. Rausing, *The Bow* [Lund, 1967], esp. 70 ff. The composite bows of the 14th cent. (*adolescent!*) Pharaoh Tutankhamon measure between 1.03 and 1.25 m., reflecting presumably his physical development.

[59] Cf. McLeod, AJA 62:400 f.

signature – *N + 1; N...; N – 1 – combining with the monostichic verse (*ʾnh...yqr*) to form a 'double closure.'[60]

14ᵇ: ʾnh: Thus KTU. CTA [ʿ]*nh*, following the conjecture by Ginsberg. If our restoration of lines 11–14 is correct, it is noteworthy that the 'eyes of Anat' frame the entire strophe: ...*kbrq*(.) [12][tbrqn. ʿnh]... [14]...ʿ*nh. km. bṯn. yqr*. The fondness of the Ugaritic poet for women's eyes – and Anat's in particular – finds expression elsewhere. In *Krt* (1.14:III:41–45), we have a description of the prospective bride's eyes, which the poet compares explicitly with those of Anat.

Line 15: CTA partially restored [*krpnh. t-l.]arṣ*. But KTU, discerning traces of the preposition,[61] reads [----------]*l̊arṣ*. KTU's estimate of the lacuna is one sign more than CTA's, suggesting that a quadriconsonantal verb, parallel to *tšpkm*, is wanted. Both context and alliteration point to the restoration of [...tplm]:[62]

– [kRPnh. tPlm]...// tšPkm. [lʿPR[63]]
– [krpnH. Tplm]...// ksH. Tšpkm
– [...tpLM]Larṣ// ...tšpkM[Lʿpr]

The 'word-pair' *ks//krpn* (var. *qbʿt*) normally finds *ks* in the A-slot, in accordance with the tendency for the 'common' word to precede the arcane.[64] An exception was encountered above (line 5 [restored]), where *krpn* is chosen for its syllabic length to compensate for the monosyllabic *yn*.[65] Here, in line 15, the motive is almost certainly alliteration: [14]...yQR :: [15]KRpnh...; krPnh. tPl. The substitution of *ks* for *krpn* in either case yields inferior alliterative results.[66]

Lines 16–18ᵃ: The restoration in these lines follow CTA and KTU, for the most part anticipated by Ginsberg (BASOR 98 [1945]:17 f.).

Lines 18ᵇ–19:[67] We are indebted for the reading of these lines to KTU which represents a radical departure from all previous attempts, including CTA.[68] We differ with KTU only in assuming – for grammatical reasons – that the preposition *ʾm* must have accidentally been omitted by the scribe in line 19. – The idiomatic combination of $\sqrt{ytn}$

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[60] Cf. UF 7:300 ff.; MLD, 225 ff. (= *Appendix*, below).

[61] A footnote directs the reader's attention to CTA fig. 56, line 13.

[62] Cf. already UF 8:161–63.

[63] So CTA, without reservation! Cf. the parallelism of *arṣ//ʾpr* in 1.3:III:14 f.; 1.10:II; 24 f.; etc. Cf. also KTU, 56, n. 7.

[64] Cf. M. Held, *apud* R. Boling, JSS 5 (1960): 223–34.

[65] To be sure, the poet might have used *bks.ḫrṣ* in the A-line. But the latter is a deliberate 'ballast variant' obviating the need to repeat the verb $\sqrt{šty}$ in the B-line.

[66] For further examples of such 'deviations' *allit. cs.*, cf. UF 11:537 ff.

[67] Cf. discussion already in UF 8:190 f.

[68] Cf. CTA, 83. But in note 8 *ibid.*, Herdner confesses to being less than totally satisfied with the proffered text.

with *ʿm* "give (un)to", rather than the usual *ytn l-*, appears to be *hap. leg.* here (*ytn ʿm* = "set (face) towards" is, of course, ubiquitous). Although the choice of *ʿm* is clearly suitable on alliterative grounds – ʿm...ʿnt // qṣʿtk...; and ʿM...ybMt. liMM (enhanced by reconstructing ⟨ʿM⟩ in the B-line) – one suspects that the motivation here is semantic rather than literary. In the present context, *tn. l-* might be understood by Aqht to mean "Let me have a (closer) look", without implying permanent transfer of possession. Since Anat intends the latter, she uses the less ambiguous *tn ʿm* denoting "give unto (my [permanent] possession)."

Line 21: ḫlbnn: Thus KTU; CTA: *(b/d)blnn*. Virolleaud (and autograph [CTA, fig. 56]): clearly *dlbnn*. Contextually and alliteratively, B enjoys a slight advantage: cf. *adr...Brumm...Byʿlm...Bǵl il...BʿqBt. ṯr* (lines 21–3). However, none of these objects is in the same semantic category as *lbnn*, a difference which may have grammatical or idiomatic consequences. Alliteratively, cp. ... tqBm. BlBnn. However, note also ...Dlbnn. // aDr. gDm... The issue cannot be settled by the data presently at our disposal.

Lines 22^b–23^b: The text in these lines is, in my opinion, dislocated; the distich is simply inverted.[69] We face here a stylistic problem rather than a prosodic one. In elliptical parallelism, the semantic element missing but implied in the B-line is rendered explicit in the A-line: a-b-c//(a-)b'-c' is a common pattern of this type. In the passage at hand, it is clearly Aqht's intention to say that the 'tendons' (*mtnm*) of the bulls must be of the same high quality (*adr*) as the rest of the materials; i. e., the word *adr* is implicit in the verse-line *mtnm. bʿqbt. ṯr*. If this is the case, the latter can only be the B-line of a distich introduced by *adr*, in which the ellipsis of the latter in the B-line is compensated by the 'ballast' expansion of *bʿqbt. ṯr* (contrast: *...blbnn...brumm...byʿlm...bǵl(–)il*).[70] – The proposed reconstruction draws support from the resultant alliterative patterning: ...bʿqbt. ṮR :: tn. lkṮR..., a typical 'verse-linkage' via alliteration.[71] The present alliterative situation is much less impressive: ...bǵl il. qNm :: tN...

Line 24: yb{ }l: The text has *ybʾl* which scholars generally take to be a Ugaritic variant of Phoen.-Heb. *ypʿl* "do, make".[72] However, there

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[69] JNSL 9:91–92.

[70] One might be tempted to suppose that *adr. qrnt. byʿlm* in line 22^a serves as such an A-line. But this is to ignore the prosodic structure of the strophe, which can only be understood as introduced by a tristich [3 + 3 + 3], following the unequivocal monostichic 'closure' in line 20: *wyʿn. aqht. ǵzr.*

[71] Cf. UF 7:310ff.; MLD, 221 (= *Appendix*, below).

[72] Cf. e. g., UT § 19.404; WUS, s. v. 494; CML, 164 (= CML^2, 143), s. v.; TO, 587, s. v.; MLC, 529, s. v. See further: P. Fronzaroli, *Le fonetica ugaritica* (1955): 50f.; E. L. Greenstein, JANES 8 [1976]: 50, 52.

is no certain independent attestation of Ug. $\sqrt{b'l}$ in this sense except for the present alleged case.[73] Nor is there an analogous use of $\sqrt{b'l}$ in any other Semitic language, where $\sqrt{b'l}$ = 'rule, own, master', whence also 'marry, seduce' and the DN Ba'al. A putative Ug. $\sqrt{b'l}$ "do, make" is thus very much of an anomaly.[74] – In my opinion, *yb'l* here is nothing more than a scribal error for **ybl* (< $\sqrt{ybl}$) encountered above (V:2,12) in the very same connection and in synonymous parallelism with Š$\sqrt{rb'}$, and denoting 'bring forth [cf. Heb. *y'ḇul*]; make, produce'.[75] As a scribal error, *yb'l* is easily explained, viz., as due to force of habit in writing DN *b'l*, or (less likely) as a dictation error: **ybl* [= *yibalu*] > *yb'l* [= *yiba'lu*]. A similar error involving a medial *'ayin* is the likeliest explanation for *ṣp'n* (< **ṣpn*) in 1.6:I:16.[76]

Line 32: Both CTA and KTU restore here – with uncharacteristic boldness, in the body of the text! – *n'm*[*n. wt*]*'nynn.*, without informing us as to the basis for the restoration which is far from being self-evident. Thus Dijkstra–De Moor: *n'm*[. dy]*'nn* rendered as "the minstrel who serves him"; Caquot–Sznycer (TO, 432) differ both in the restoration and in the stichometry: *ybd. wyšr. 'lh. n'm* // [wy]*'nynn*, renderd by "No'am [= PN!] improvise et chante en son honneur [et on] lui répond". – The form of our proffered *n'm*[y?] is attested above (II:41) as well as in the formulaic description of the 'Elysian Fields' of the Netherworld (1.5:VI:6, etc.): *n'my. arṣ. dbr.* Here we assume a reference to (a) minstrel(s), probably female, who 'sing' (*'ny*), i.e., entertain in the assembly of the gods, possibly the "merry band of Koshar" mentioned in 1.108.

Line 35: mm: The universal consensus to emend this *hap. leg.* to *mt*! is totally misconceived.[77] The emendation is considered so self-evident as not even to require comment. Indeed, from CTA alone one would have no idea what the text actually reads! – In point of fact, the word MM stands in formal parallelism to *ḫḫm* "thorn(s)", and is probably cognate with Akk. *mummu*, denoting a pointed (wooden) instrument used for removing fungus.[78]

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[73] Some *prima facie* support may be adduced from two administrative texts (4.141 and 4.182) where various types of personnel form respectively the collective grammatical subject of $\sqrt{b'l}$ (cf. 141:III:6,10; 182:56). But there is nothing in these lists which necessitates the assumption of $\sqrt{b'l}$ 'do, make' rather than 'master, own'. The *Aqht* passage remains accordingly the lynch-pin of the entire hypothesis.

[74] Cf. L. L. Grabbe, UF 11:308: "The meaning 'to make, work, do' for $\sqrt{b'l}$ as a general term seems to be unique to Ugaritic."

[75] Cf. UF 15:76 f.

[76] Cf. W. Horwitz, UF 9:124, n. 10.

[77] Cf. already UF 8:163–66.

[78] Cf. AHw, 672, s.v. *mummu*(*m*) II; E. Ebeling, RA 48 (1954): 136 f. Cf. discussion in § *Literary Commentary*, Excursus VII.

Line 38: [dk]*mt*: Both CTA and KTU agree that two signs are wanting at the beginning of this line. The proposed restoration consists of the conjunction (!) *d* "for, because"[79] with comparative *k*. Note the possible use of adverbial *m* in lieu of preposition in *mtm* of the B-line, suggesting that a preposition once stood in the A-line.[80] The restoration is also highly compatible on alliterative grounds: ...qDqDy :: [Dk]mt...; [dK]mt. Kl... Note also the partially alliterating *q*/*k* of which there are four in the sequence *qdqdy...kl*.

Line 39: [ap. m]*ṯn*: The restoration, originating with Ginsberg, is adopted without reservation by both CTA and KTU. Note the extended alliterating series of A and M which results: ...AMt //wAn. MtM. AMt :: [Ap M]ṯn. rgMM. ArgM. Of 25 consonants, no less than 13 are accounted for by A and M.

Line 40: [nṯq]: CTA and KTU: [---]. But cf. Herdner (CTA, 83, n. 19), in reaction to Ginsberg's proposed [qšt]: "nous supposerions plus volontiers ici un mot significant 'arme' ", citing in support the translations of Gordon and van Selms. Actually, the possibility of restoring [nṯq] was first raised by Ginsberg as an alternative, and subsequently adopted in his ANET [1950] translation. Cf. 1.4:VII.39 (*nṯq. dmrn*) and 4.169, a military roster, where *nṯq* occurs in close proximity to *qšt* and *ḫẓm*. Cf. also the O.T. references in Ps. 78:9 and 1 Chron. 12:12. – The alliteration is also very supportive: QŠtm. [nṮQ], bearing in mind the 'alliterative synonymity' of Š and Ṯ; and ...[NṮq]...//...tiNṮt, the unique form of the latter no doubt chosen deliberately for its alliterating properties.

Line 41: [bpn]*m*: CTA and KTU: [---]*m*. But Herdner (CTA, 83, n. 20) comments: "Compléter peut-être avec Ginsberg et Gordon: [bh. g]*m*." The suggestion, however, is less than satisfactory. Syntactically, *bḫ* can only be taken with the preceding verse, where it results in a prosodically unacceptable [3 + 4] distich.[81] Secondly, this would be the only occurrence of *gm* 'aloud' with a verb other than $\sqrt{ṣḫ}(ḫ)$ or the like. Third and last, there is very little alliterative appeal to the restoration. There are no B's in the preceding distich and no G's in the present one.[82] – The restoration here proffered fills all of the available space while avoiding these difficulties. Prosodically, it establishes a neat brachycatalectic, strophe-terminative [3 + 2] distich marking the transition from narrative to (Anat's) direct discourse. Semantically, it bears a double, doubtless deliberately ambiguous, signification: 'outwardly' (lit., 'on the

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[79] Cf. above, line 34 (with enclitic *m*), and below, 1.19:III:46 (//52//IV:4). Some additional examples (not all of them valid!) in WUS s. v. 716.

[80] Cf. UT § 11.6.

[81] Cf. UF 7:298 – 300; MLD, 223 – 25 (= *Appendix*, below).

[82] Cf. my critique in JNSL 9:92 – 94.

face'), contrasting with *blb* 'inwardly' (lit., 'in the heart') is the primary denotation. But **bpnm*, perhaps with slightly different vocalization, can also mean 'inside' (Heb. *bipnîm*), thereby producing an *illusion* of synonymity (*pnm//lb*) – note the synonymous use of *pnm* and *lb* in parallelism and in *hendiadys* in O.T. poetry[83] – corresponding to the grand illusion which the Janus-faced Anat is trying to sell Aqht! – *Alliteration:* [Bpn]m...// wBlB...; and [bpN]m...ʿNt //...tqNy.

Line 42: [hln]: Both CTA and KTU assume three signs missing, thus precluding Ginsberg's [tḥblt].[84] The proposed restoration,[85] in addition to satisfying the epigraphic requirements, contributes significantly to the alliterative patterning of the distich: ...[hLn]...Ly. Laqht...//...Ly. wLk... If the restoration at the end of the distich (= l. 44) is taken into account, the result is a striking *inclusio* achieved by alliteration: [HLN]...//...[bN L]ḪHm. – *l!y*: Virolleaud, the autograph (CTA, fig. 56) and CTA read the text as *ṣy*, emended by Herdner (*seq.* Ginsberg and Gordon) to *l!y*. KTU's straightforward *ly* is probably due to an oversight.

Line 43: [bn. l]*ḫm*: CTA reads [- - -](*ṗ/ḫ*)*m*; KTU has [- - -]*ḫ?m*. The few scholars who have ventured a restoration here have recognized that the missing text belongs – in whole or in part – to the conclusion of the distich which began in line 42. But most of the proposals are not epigraphically feasible if one follows Herdner,[86] while others present prosodic difficulties.[87]. – The proposed restoration posits a Ug. cognate of Ar. √*lhw*, Syr. *mlhwt'*, Heb. (*mt*)*lhlh*, and Eth. *hallay* (with metathesis), all relating to the notion of 'funny, facetious, jesting'.[88] Aqht's

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[83] Cf. Ezek. 2:4 and Ps. 104:15. Note also Prov. 15:13, 27:19, and Eccl. 8:3. From Akkadian sources, cf. *eliš ina šaptēšu itamma ṭubbāti šaplānu libbašu kaṣir nirtu* = "Outwardly with his lips he speaks in a friendly way, but deep down his heart plots murder" (CAD, vol. L, 170[a]; N-2, 177). But for the disparate gender, one might assume that the Akk. author had Anat in mind!

[84] Cf. CTA, 83, n. 21. Ginsberg's proposal is also prosodically unacceptable in that it assumes an additional verse-unit for the preceding [3 + 2] distich. Our own previous proposal – [wn.]; cf. JNSL 9:95 – is also not entirely satisfactory prosodically in that the required four units of the A-line is difficult to achieve with so short a word (bearing in mind that *ṯb ly* – note the absence of word-divider in both occurrences! – is unquestionably a single verse-unit: [ṯūb-liya]).

[85] Cf. 1.3:II:5,17, and the restoration to V:37 above.

[86] Cf. her critique of Gaster's [šl]*m* (83, n. 22), valid also for Driver – Gibson's [arg]*m*.

[87] Thus Dijkstra – De Moor (UF 7), reading]*ḫm* (= Heb. *'m* 'if'), which results in an unacceptable '4-unit' A-line. Also, the sense of the text thus restored leaves much to be desired.

[88] Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 553; Brockelman, *Lex. Syr.*, 359; W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* [1958]:18. The final *-m* would then be enclitic, its use determined *m. cs.*

remarks in lines 39–40 obviously were greeted with laughter and applause by the audience (by now well sotted); so much so as to force a smile even on the ill-tempered Anat's face. The thrust of Anat's remarks here, in lines 42–43[a], is essentially (and in colloquial English): 'Get lost, funny-boy!'. – As regards the alliterative compatibility, cf. note above, and the 'linkage' effected with the following distich: ...wlK. [BN...]... :: laqrK. BNtb...

Line 44: [(l)alqk]: CTA and KTU presume four signs to be restored. I am not aware of any significant proposals in the scholarly literature. The present proposal[89] posits a Ug. cognate of Ar. *laqiya* "encounter", and is morphologically and semantically an exact parallel for *(l)aqryk* (√*qry*) 'encounter, meet, befall'. Again, the high degree of alliterative compatibility provides significant support: LAQryk...// [ALQk]...; and [(l)aLQK]...// ašQLK... The presumed A–B ordering of the (relatively) common √*qry* and the otherwise unattested √*lqy* is in accord with 'Held's Law' regarding the ordering of synonymous word-pairs in synonymous parallelism.[90]

Line 45: The proposed restoration has been discussed in detail elsewhere.[91] The text of CTA reads: [*pʿny.* a]*n̊k*. But in footnote (n. 1) Herdner observes: "la première lettre après la lacune semble être *t* plutôt que *n*." KTU reads an unequivocal *t* after the lacuna, but proceeds immediately (and without comment) to emend to [a]*n*!*k*. The emendation, which originates as a tentative conjecture by Ginsberg, is quite gratuitous, the prevailing scholarly consensus to the contrary notwithstanding. – The resultant alliteration speaks for itself: ...ašq(L)K. TḪt...[(L)Ḫ]TK.[92]

Line 46: [tdʿṣ pʿ]*n̊m*: Thus KTU. CTA: [tdʿṣ. pʿn]*m*. The restoration is assured by parallel formulae in other compositions: cf. 1.3:V:4–5; 1.4:V:20 f. (both with reference to Anat).

Lines 47–51: Restored on the same basis as line 46; cf. (e.g.) 1.6:I:32–38 (with reference to Anat).

Line 52: [ltmk. kdd. dn]*il*: CTA and KTU: [- - - -kdd. dn]*il*, following Ginsberg's conjectural restoration, on the basis of 1.19:IV:12,16 f. The remainder is our suggestion.[93] The restored verb √*m(w)k* or √*mkk* is well attested in Ugaritic.[94] In addition to satisfying the epigraphic re-

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[89] Cf. already, UF 8:166–68.

[90] Cf. R. Boling, JSS 5:223 ff.

[91] RB 90 [1983]: 360–64.

[92] Here, perhaps also in line 44, I believe that CTA and KTU have underestimated the length of the lacuna. There is room for five rather than four signs (in addition to the word-divider).

[93] Cf. already JNSL 9:96 f.

[94] Cf. 1.2:IV:17; 1.4:VII:12 f. As a suggested restoration, also 1.19:VI:61.

quirements, it provides a suitable parallel for *tlšn*, a denominative of *lšn* 'tongue', meaning 'slander, defame' (cf. Prov. 30:10). The form is probably D factitive, with aphaeresis of the geminate third root radical, as in *tmr* (< **tmrr*) "Thou shalt bless" (lit., 'fortify'; cf. above, 1.17:I:24).[95] The restoration also blends well into the alliterative landscape: [ltmK. Kdd...]; ...ǵzR :: [LTMk...dn]iL. MT. Rpi. Note the verse-linkage effected by two quadriconsonantal sequences within the space of fifteen consonants! – Literarily, the restoration of $\sqrt{m(w)k}$ here provides a retrospective allusion to Anat's bone-chilling threats in line 43 ff., including *ašqlk. tḫt. pʿny* "I'll trample you under my feet", the verb $\sqrt{q(w/y)l}$ a more or less exact synonym for $\sqrt{m(w)k}$. It also anticipates the fate in store for Aqht who, quite literally and in short order, will be 'brought low', "like a slaughtered-animal [*šḫṭ*] to its knees" (1.18:IV:24).

Line 53: The restoration of this line, *ad sensum* and on the basis of formulaic idiom, follows Ginsberg, Gordon, CTA and KTU.

Line 53–54[a]: *hwt*[54][h. wtqr(a/u)]: The text at this point is generally left unrestored. – The word *hwt* is the regular B-word synonym of (nominal) *rgm*. Literally, it means 'exhaled breath'.[96] Admittedly, the formula $\sqrt{nš}$ *g*(-) *w* $\sqrt{ṣḫ}$ usually occurs as a monostichic verse without parallelism. But this is so because it frequently serves as a strophic termination of a narrative sequence or as an introduction to a direct discourse. Here, however, it is coupled with another such monostich (*wtʿn. [btlt. ʿnt]*). Now, unless the 'theme' of the ensuing strophe be [3 + 2], such a [3 + 3] distich will not do as a strophic introduction. The word *hwt* must accordingly be taken as introducing the 'C-line' of a strophe-introductory *tristich*, involving the following sets of parallelism: (1) (w)*tʿn*// *tšu. g*(h) // (w)*tqr*(*a/u*); (2) *tšu. g*(h) // *hwt*(h) (w)*tqr*(*a/u*). – Epigraphically: personal collation of the tablet indicates the possibility of additional text material at the end of line 53, similar to what we find in line 13 above. In that case, the restoration is to be represented as ...*hwt*[h. [54]wtqru...].

Line 54[b]: [aḫl. an.?]: CTA/KTU's estimate of the remaining lacuna is [-----]. Cf. below, 1.19:II:15//22 = "I pray/wish (that)...". *Alliteration:* ...[wtqr(A/U). Aḫl. An.]Aqht... – *ỷš*[pl?]: Cf. $\sqrt{špl}$ (1.23); line 52 (restored): $\sqrt{mk(k)}$; and above, *ntb. gan*; *ašqlk*... (ll. 44 f.). Cp. Eng. 'bring low' = 'kill'!

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[95] In view of such geminate forms as *tḫrr* and *tǵll* one must assume either that such aphaeresis is more a tendency than a rule, or, that conjugational 'contamination' of 'hollow' (II-w) and geminate verbs is taking place in Ugaritic as in Hebrew. The modal factor may also be at work occasionally.

[96] Cf. the discussion above, to col. I:40.

*Excursus I: KTU 1.17:I:34f. in Recent Scholarship: A Critique**

1.1 While taking cognizance of earlier publications on this text, this essay has as its main purpose and concern the critical evaluation of the two competing emendatory proposals put forward in recent years[1] as well as – indeed, especially – the critique of these proposals offered subsequently by S. B. Parker.[2] The essay may be justly termed 'a critique of a critique'.

1.2 The issues, briefly stated, are as follows:

1.2.1 The text as read by Virolleaud and corroborated by Horwitz[3] and KTU (*pace* CTA) has [ ]*iḫd. il ʿbdh*. The lacuna can accommodate three medium-sized signs, one of which is certainly Y[4] and the two others presumably *ks*. In fact, the reading [ks. y]*iḫd* is now conceded by all parties to the discussion.

1.2.2 Following the word *il* there is no word-divider visible in the text. The absence of word-dividers in the literary texts is not unknown. It is generally the result either of careless omission or of the exigencies of writing-space on the tablet, especially as the scribe reaches the end of the line. Nevertheless, most scholars today follow Dressler – Jackson in the view that the *ʿayin* sign found immediately after the word *il* is a mistake for – if not merely an abnormal variant of – the missing word-divider.[5] The reason for this consensus is clear enough: in view of the context, a putative statement "El, his servant, grasps a cup" makes no sense. In fact, it is nonsense. Those who would leave the text as it is must leave the lacuna open and unaccounted for.[6]

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* Cf. already, more briefly, JNSL 9 [1982]: 81 – 84.

[1] H. H. P. Dressler and J. J. Jackson, "El and the Cup of Blessing", JAOS 95 [1975]: 99 – 101; D. Pardee, "An Emendation Proposal in the Ugaritic *Aqht* Text", JNES 76 [1977]: 53 – 56. A suggestion identical with that of Dressler and Jackson was made independently and in the same year by S. E. Loewenstamm in *Biblica* 56 [1975]: 105, in a review of RSP I, but without discussion or argumentation.

[2] S. B. Parker, "Methodology in Ugaritic Philology", MAARAV 2 [1979]: 7 – 41. The discussion of the *Aqht* passage occurs on pp. 19 – 22.

[3] W. J. Horwitz, "Discrepancies in an Important Publication of Ugaritic", UF 4 [1972]: 47 – 52.

[4] KTU has]*y***iḫd*, indicating that the editors have discerned material traces which are best if not certainly interpreted as /*y*/.

[5] Thus Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:162, 177; Dietrich – Loretz, UF 10 [1978]: 70 f.; G. Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 370.

[6] Cp. *e. g.* J. C. L. Gibson, CML², 104: "[ ] El took his servant" (where to? – B.M.); M. D. Coogan, *Stories from Ancient Canaan* (1978): 33: "El took care of his servant". Cf. discussion by Pardee, *loc. cit.*, 54.

1.2.3 D. Pardee concurs in the view that the text as preserved for us is faulty, and should be read: ... *il. bdh*. But he differs with Dressler – Jackson who see this as the full extent of the textual disturbance. Instead of a 'mere' confusion of a word-divider and a letter-sign – not especially convincing when the letter involved is an *'ayin*[7] – Pardee assumes that six words have been omitted by the scribe between *il* and *bdh*, the result of homoiteleuton: the graphic similarity of BDH and 'BDH, both of which are presumed to have appeared originally and authentically in the text. The 'Urtext' is reconstructed by Pardee on the basis of *Krt* (1.15:II:16^{b} – 19), the basis incidentally for restoring the lacuna in line 34 of our *Aqht* text. Pardee proposes the reconstruction:[8]

**ks. yiḫd. il. ⟨bdh. // krpn. bm. ymn⟩*
⟨brkm. ybrk.⟩ 'bdh // ybrk... (etc.)

1.2.4 Addressing himself to each of these emendatory proposals, Parker opts for that of Dressler – Jackson; for he considers it doubtful "that two whole [verse] lines have been omitted in [1.17:I:34 f.]". Under the heading of "attention to the context and to comparable [inner-Ugaritic] references", Parker states three reasons for his view:

1.2.4.1 "The insertion ... is not demanded by the structure or sense of the passage";

1.2.4.2 The word *'bdh* in the *Krt* passage used as the basis for reconstruction by Pardee is "a hypothetical restoration [of which] no [material] traces are preserved". Consequently, the expression **brkm. ybrk. 'bdh* remains purely conjectural and without textual support in Ugaritic literature.

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[7] The *'ayin* sign and the word-divider are not easily confused with each other. Parker speaks of a "slightly larger or more crooked [divider] than usual" which was later "mistakenly read as an *'ayin*" (p. 21); but he cites no examples of such confusion elsewhere. In fact, it is the G-sign which is occasionally confused with the divider: cf. UT § 4.13, and see further RS 24.258 [= KTU 1.114]:12. It is also noteworthy that there is no dearth of intentionally or unintentionally omitted word-dividers in *Aqht*: cf. *e.g.* 1.17:I:23 *il*(.) *aby*; *ibid.*, 31 *kšb'*(.)*'yn*; 1.17:VI:23 *bǵl*(.)*il*; *ibid.*, 34: *dm*(.)*lǵzr*; 1.18:I:16 *bt*(.)*kanšt*; 1.18:IV:24 *km*(.)*šḫṭ*; 1.19:I:44 *bl*(.)*rbb*, etc., mostly following short (biconsonantal) words.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, 56. There is a minor discrepancy in Pardee's presentation between his view (p. 53) that the *'ayin* of *'bdh* is "a scribal error for word divider", and his final reconstruction which reads *'bdh* and reconstructs *.bdh*. In point of fact, by adopting Pardee's reconstruction one obviates the need for assuming a confusion of the divider with the *'ayin* sign.

1.2.4.3 The epithet *'bd* "servant" is not used of Dan'el anywhere in *Aqht*, in contrast to King Krt.

1.3 We shall now examine these criticisms in detail, at the same time presenting further arguments in favour of Pardee's reconstruction.

1.3.1 Parker does not define the word 'structure' in his initial argument. I would surmise that when he says "[Pardee's reconstruction] is not demanded by the structure ... of the passage" he means that the requirements of (semantic) parallelism are met without it, implicitly conceding however that the reconstruction does not violate parallelism. Admittedly, a superfluous reconstruction is sufficient grounds for rejecting it. But is Pardee's reconstruction in fact superfluous?

1.3.1.1 A consideration of 'structure' – i. e., poetic structure – cannot and should not be restricted to questions of 'parallelism', semantic or otherwise. The concept of 'parallelism' in its many varieties is insufficient to comprehend the complexities of Ugaritic poetic structure. A test of structural compatability or the absence thereof, must consider the text-material in its wider 'prosodic' context, viz., (1) the strophic unit, and its patterned sequence of verses; (2) the alliterative coloration of the verses involved in the analysis.

1.3.1.2 It so happens that Parker's diagnosis is correct: tested for prosodic structure, *both* text-versions prove to be satisfactory.[9] But since Parker's observations on 1.17:I:34 f. are part of a broader discussion on method in Ugaritic philology, the point is worth making here.

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[9] The text in question is part of a strophic unit introduced by the two final, rainy-day duties incumbent on the 'ideal son'; and it culminates with the narrative statement which marks the transition to El's direct-speech in line 36[a]. In the Dressler – Jackson version, the pattern is: [4 + 4]; [4 + 3 + 3] *i. e.*, a hypercatalectic distich (= [N + 1]), followed by a strophe-terminative tristich (incorporating the theme-determining *4 + 3 distich). This configuration belongs to the well-attested class of 'torso-less' strophes. – In the Pardee version, the hypercatalectic [4 + 4] distich – *ṯḫ. ggḥ. bym. ṯiṯ // rḥṣ. npṣḥ. bym. rṯ* – is followed by a theme-determinant [4 + 3] distich (*ks. yiḫd. il* (.) ⟨*bdh // krpn. bm. ymn*⟩) and a strophe-terminative [3 + 3 + 3] tristich (incorporating a brachycatalectic [3 + 3] distich): ⟨*brkm. ybrk.*⟩ *'bdh // ybrk.... rpi // ymr....hrnmy.* – The alliterative patterning is also satisfactory in either alternative, though decidedly enriched by the text additions of Pardee's reconstruction. Note especially the alliterating B's: ...⟨Bdh....Bm....Brkm. yBrk⟩ 'Bdh / yBrk.... The effectiveness of alliteration as an acid-test is hampered here by the fact that the Dressler – Jackson version merely deletes a single consonant (*'ayin*) which, moreover, does not figure in the alliterative patterning of the verse in either version.

1.4.1 Parker is at pains to emphasize the paramount importance of literary context, specifically, "the most careful observation of all particular [literary] structures".[10] Yet he himself omits from the discussion of the *Aqht* passage an important structural datum, viz., the formulaic variations on our text elsewhere in Ugaritic literature, including *Aqht*.

1.4.1.1 At the end of text 1.19, the Sutean Yṯpn turns to Dan'el's daughter Pughat (disguised as Anat) and says to her (IV:53^{b}–54): *qḥ. ks. bdy // qbʿt. bymny* = "Take the cup from my hand / the goblet from my right". This 'command' has its 'fulfillment' in the immediate continuation, described in identical formulaic language: *tqḥ. ks. bdh // qbʿt. bymnh.*

1.4.1.2 In the *Baal* text of 1.3.I:10 f., the servant PDRMN, waiting on Baal who is seated at table, hands the storm-god a drinking vessel: *ytn. ks. bdh // krpn. bklat. ydh* = "He places a cup in his hand/ a bowl in both his hands".

1.4.1.3 The constant elements in all three contexts – 1.3.I:10 f.; 1.15:II:16 f. [*Krt*]; and 1.19:IV:53 ff. [*Aqht*] – are (a) a distichic verse-structure headed by a verb (√*ytn*; √*aḫd*; √*lqḥ*); (b) an elliptical *a-b-c // bʾ-cʾ* parallelism involving the 'word-pairs' *ks // krpn* (var. *qbʿt*[11]) and *yd // ymn* (var. **klat ydm*) in formulaically fixed order of appearance.

1.4.1.4 Seen in this light, it can hardly be denied that Pardee's reconstruction, based on the parallelisms of *ks // krpn* and *yd // ymn* in distichic verse-form, enjoys a distinct advantage over the emendation proposal of Dressler – Jackson.

1.4.2 To be sure, it is empirically demonstrable that the Ugaritic poet occasionally deviates from sterotyped formulae in response to compositional exigency, specifically, those of 'rhythm-structure' ('metre') and 'alliteration'.[12] The text assumed by Dressler – Jackson as 'original' and undisturbed, despite its anomalous reduction of the formula to the status of monostich, is acceptable if it can be shown that the poet confronted at this juncture a compositional demand which could be met only – or best – by deviating from the formulaic norm.

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[10] *Loc. cit.*, p. 14.

[11] The choice of *qbʿt* rather than the common *krpn* as a B-word synonym for *ks* is probably due to alliteration: Qḥ.....Qbʿt....wtšQynh....tQḥ.....Qbʿt.... Contrast 1.3:I:10: ytN. Ks.... / KrpN. bKlat....

[12] I have discussed such deviations elsewhere; cf. UF 11 [1979]: 537–57; JNSL VIII [1980]: 58–79; and my AOAT monograph, MLD, *passim*.

1.4.2.1 The negative answer to this question is unwittingly supplied by Parker himself when he states – correctly as we have seen – that Pardee's normative reconstruction is 'possible' albeit superfluous from his point of view. In other words, since Pardee's reconstruction does not violate poetic structure, the formulaic anomaly of the text as reconstructed by Dressler – Jackson remains unexplained.

1.5 We may now consider the remaining challenges by Parker to Pardee's reconstruction.

1.5.1 It is undeniable that the word *'bdh* is a restoration in 1.15:II:19. But despite the reserve indicated typographically in CTA – and subsequently reflected in the editor's admirable translation in TO (p. 539) – as well as some difference of opinion among scholars of late,[13] the restoration which originates apparently with Ginsberg (LKK) is hardly open to doubt, either materially or literarily. However, the reading *'bdh* in 1.17:I:34, though supported by the restoration in *Krt*, does not depend on it. It is, after all, the optimal, indeed the only possible reading of the text as we have it. It is the proposed *emendation* to *.!bdh* which is 'hypothetical' and in need of justification.

1.5.2 Of seemingly greater weight and substance is Parker's argument that nowhere else in *Aqht* is Dan'el designated *'bd*. True, the exegetical history of Dan'el's alleged (and *hapax*) epithet *mlk* in 1.19:III:46 (= CTA: 152) warrants caution in treating as epithets words which occur *hapax leg*. However, unlike the title 'king', which could easily have been substituted for any one of the sixteen or so mentions of *mt. rpi* and which contradicts the portrait of Dan'el throughout the story, there is nothing intrinsically improbable in Dan'el as 'servant, devotee' of a deity, either at this particular juncture in the story or as part of his general characterization. To the contrary: it is most appropriate in the immediate as well as in the general context; and if it occurs nowhere else, it is only for want of opportunity (or more likely, due to lacunae and missing text).

1.5.2.1 All that has transpired hitherto in 1.17:I points precisely to Dan'el as a faithful and pious devotee of El and/or Baal. He has just completed six days of devotional sacrifice. He has shed his regular,

[13] Cf. the literature cited by Del Olmo Lete in MLC, 304, app. I, himself adopting the restoration [ʿbdh]; and the discussion by Pardee, *loc. cit.*, 55, n. 23. It may be noted that of the various alternative proposals, only that of Avishur (UF 4:7 – 8] is epigraphically possible and satisfactory, although it is just as surely impossible for prosodic reasons.

doubtless aristocratic, garb in favour of a common 'loin-cloth' (*mizrtm*) worn by mourners who prostrate themselves on the ground.[14] Much later, after completing the religiously prescribed 'seven years' of mourning for his slain son, Dan'el will offer up sweet-smelling sacrifice (*dǵṯ*) to the gods as well. Admittedly, Dan'el's patron deity is Baal, not El. However, the granting of offspring in Ugaritic as in O.T. literature is in El's jurisdiction, as we learn from *Krt* as well as from the patriarchal traditions of the O.T.[15] In sum: the use of the phrase *'bd DN* in relation to Dan'el connotes 'piety, humility, obedience' which are Dan'el's most prominent and pleasing qualities in *Aqht*, and doubtless the reason for his mention – together with two other non-Israelites famed for their steadfast faith – in *Ezek.* 14.

1.5.3 But when all is said and done, one should not forget that it is not a question of restoring or reconstructing the 'servant' Dan'el. The word is quite clearly written in the text. The burden of proof is on those who question its authenticy for one reason or another.

1.6 The foregoing discussion suggests that an awareness of, and adherence to sound methodology does not in itself guarantee the successful resolution of a philological crux. The successful *application* of sound method presupposes that all or most of the pertinent data be analyzed in the light of sound *theory* which in the case of Ugaritic poetic literature means a conceptual framework (or set of hypotheses) for understanding the principles and conventions which govern the dynamics of poetic composition and determine its formal structures. In the specific case at hand, it involves a twofold recognition: (a) that the text is largely a particular instance of a poetic formula whose normal 'shape' is a distich verse; (b) that the wider prosodic context of the crux is not likely to have induced the poet to deviate from this normal – and normative – shape.

1.6.1 The decisive merit of Pardee's reconstruction, perhaps more than he himself was aware, is that it restores the text to its presumed original

[14] Cf. El in 1.5:VI:11 ff. who, following Baal's death, dons a *mizrtm* as part of a more general mourning ritual.

[15] Is this why the 'epic' tradition underlying E and P in *Genesis* connects the patriarchs with El-worship? After all, the granting of progeny to inherit (the land of Canaan) and the accompanying divine blessings are the major and overriding concerns of this biblical book. Seen in this light, the centrality of El in Patriarchal religion would represent the co-opting by Israelite tradents of Tradition of an El-ideology rooted in contemporary Canaanite epic and religious literature.

state in an elegant manner, consistent at once with the requirements of prosody and the canons of textual criticism.

1.18

Col. I

Lines 6 – 12[a]: Herdner (CTA, 84, n. 7) comments: "Les ll. 6 – 12 sont complétées partiellement d'après [1.3:V:19 – 25] ... La restauration des ll. 7 – 9 est conjecturale. Celle de ll. 11 – 12 est due à Singer [BJPES (1943):54 – 62]". Herdner's reservations with respect to lines 7 – 9[a] are not justified however. For though defective, 1.3:V has sufficient preserved material – in particular the crucially significant word *bnt* in line 20 – to render the restorations here in 1.18:I entirely certain. The main and underlying reason for Herdner's doubts, one suspects, is philological rather than epigraphic; [bnt. bt]*k* "thou hast built thine house" makes no sense here in *Aqht*! The fault lies however with the initial assumption that *bnt* is √*bny* 'build', when in fact it is to be parsed, here as in 1.3:V, as prep. *b* + √*nt*(*y*) 'be elevated, erect'.[1] We note further that KTU restores a text in 1.3:V:19 – 21 identical with CTA's (conjectured) restoration here in 1.18, yet refrains from doing so here. – As concerns ll. 11 – 12: again, the restoration (originating with Singer) is not in doubt, in view of 1.3:V:24 – 5. Sufficient material exists in the two texts combined to ensure the respective restorations in each of them.

The question-marks begin to surface only in lines 9[b] – 10 (and the first three signs of line 11). But here too the difficulties should not be exaggerated.[2] 1.3:V:21 *al. aḫdhm. by*[ ] enables the all-but-certain restoration [al.] *aḫdhm. by*[mny] here in line 9[b].[3] Similarly, 1.3:V:23 *bgdlt. arkty* ensures the restoration [b]*gdlt. ar*[kty] – so already Virolleaud.

The foregoing restorations result in a reasonably well-defined poetic structure:

[al] *aḫdhm* [bymny]
[...]
[b]*gdlt. ar*[kty]

the latter stich an unmistakeable 'ballast variant' for [bymny]. This *poetic* structure indicates a *prosodic* pattern of *[2 + 2 + 2] in which the missing B-line stands in synonymous parallelism with lines A and C

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[1] Cf. above, to 1.17:VI:13. Contrast Dijksra – De Moor (UF 7): [bnm. bt] (etc.), followed by Del Olmo Lete, MLC, interpreted as 'inside' (*bn* + *m*).

[2] Cf. already JNSL 9:98 f.

[3] Cf. MLC, 380: [con mi diestra].

respectively. Now *yd* and *ymn* are a conventional 'word-pair' in Ug. poetry, normally in that order.[4] But *ymn* takes precedence in parallelism when the word *yd* is used in conjunction with √*kl*ʾ to denote 'both hands', as in 1.4:II:14 – 15. The upshot of all this here is to suggest that the two-unit B-line lacuna is to be restored *bklat. ydy.*, an idiom well-attested elsewhere in Ugaritic poetry.[5]

The restoration passes the 'acid-test' of alliterative compatibility with 'flying colours': AL Aḫdm...// [bkLAt...]; ...[*B*YmnY. *B*klat. ydY *B*]gdlt...

The most difficult portion of lines 6 – 12 for purposes of restoration is undoubtedly 10[c] – 11[a]. 1.3:V:19 – 25 is itself defective at this point: ... *arkty. åṁ*[ ]*qdqdk*. The correct restoration is suggested nevertheless by considerations of general context – the action to be taken against El's 'head' (*qdqd*) will result in his white beard becoming stained with blood – as well as by considerations of poetic structure and alliteration.

(1) [amḫš]:[6] The initial *åṁ*[ ] in 1.3 precludes restoring the verb √*mḫṣ*, which, in the 1. c. s. impf. would be *imḫṣ*.[7] The root √*mḫš* is the semantic equivalent of √*mḫṣ*[8] and is attested, albeit in the perf., in 1.3, though slightly removed from the aforementioned context in col. V, viz., III:40 f. Anat asserts: *mḫšt. bṯn. ʿqltn // šlyṭ. dšbʿt. rašm.* Here, as in our 1.18 text, the choice falls on √*mḫš* rather than √*mḫṣ* for reasons of alliteration: mḫŠt. bṮn...Šlyṭ. dŠbʿt. raŠm. In 1.18, this motive is only slightly less apparent because of the lacuna: ...Arkty :: AmḫŠ....AŠhlk. [Šbtk...] // Šbt... Note the total absence of Ṣ in either of the two text citations.

(2) [qmm]: The length of the lacuna, as well as the requirements of prosody, preclude taking *qdqdk* as the direct object of *amḫš*. The restoration takes its inspiration from 1.19:I:9 – 10: ... *bqmm. tšt. ḫrṣ*, which is a stylistic variant of (1.17:VI:37): ... *ḫrṣ. lẓr. qdqdy*. Obviously, *ẓr* = *qmm* "top, crown", with well-known Semitic cognates.[9] The choice of *qmm* rather than *ẓr* for the restoration is dictated by considerations of alliteration as well as epigraphy: aMḫš. QMM. QdQdk...

At this juncture, we should pause to consider the 'sign-count' of lines 6 – 12 as restored. The reason for this procedure is that neither CTA nor KTU provides estimates of how many signs are missing at the

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[4] Cf. 1.2:I:39; 1.4:II:3 – 4 (restored); *ibid.*, VII:40 – 1; 1.10:II:6 – 7; 1.15:II:16 – 18 (= 1.17:I:34, text. emend.) etc.

[5] Cf. 1.1:IV:9 – 10; 1.3:I:10 – 11.

[6] Cf. JNSL 9 (above, n. 2).

[7] Contrast Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:193.

[8] Cf. M. Held, JAOS 79 [1959]: 169 ff.

[9] Cf. already UF 8:163 – 66. Note Akk. *qimmatu*(*m*) [AHw, 921] and Ar. *qimmaʿ* (*arras*), with identical meanings.

conclusion of each line (as distinct from the beginnings, which present no difficulty in this regard).

Line 6, though unrestorable at the beginning, can be calculated as having contained 16 signs; line 7, 16; line 8, 15; line 9, 21; line 10, 17; line 11, 20; and line 12, 17 (including a restoration at the end not yet discussed). Lines 9 and 11 appear to deviate from the mean length; yet it is precisely line 11, with its exceptional 'congestion' at the end of the line, which is restored with the maximal certainty on the basis of 1.3:V! It is perhaps this variability which has prompted CTA and KTU to refrain from estimating the respective lacunae at the ends of these lines – contrary to their custom – and continuing to the end of the column.

These data must be kept in mind when evaluating the admittedly conjectural restoration in line 9: though yielding a high sign-count, it essentially dovetails with the assured estimate of line 11. The alternative to a congested line 9 is to assume the omission of original text material by the scribe. But such an assumption would have to be made for line 11 as well.

(3) [wtqra.] *aqht*: The restoration suggests itself on grounds of idiom and context as well as of alliteration. Ginsberg's (tentative) restoration *w*[ṣḥ ʿm?] is less suitable idiomatically[10] as well as alliteratively; but it captures the general sense intended. Anat is employing here language of prayer, which explains why $\sqrt{ʿzr}$ and $\sqrt{plṭ}$ (and related terms) are so prominent in the Hebrew Psalter, occasionally even occurring, as here, in tandem (cf. Ps. 40:18 // 70:6).[11] The verb $\sqrt{qrʾ}$ is very much a part of this literary genre: cf. e. g. Ps. 17:6,13; Ps. 18:3–4,7; Ps. 130:1, etc. Outside the Psalter, cf. Isa. 58:9; Job 5:1; Prov. 21:13. – *Alliteration:* w[TQrA] AQhT (three of four consonants in common!); W[Tqra] aqhT. Wyplṭk.

Line 13: bn[. dnil]: This generally accepted restoration is too self-evident to require comment. Noteworthy however is the poetic technique in the parallelism of PN_1 // son-of-PN_2, a technique well-known in the Hebrew Bible and one of the more significant data pointing to a common literary tradition as 'Canaanite poetry'.

Lines 15–16: Again we see a significant disparity in the respective sign-counts of these adjacent lines whose restoration is absolutely certain, for reasons of idiom (l. 15) and 'parallel text' (l. 16) respectively.[12] Line 15 contains 14 signs whereas line 16 has 20 signs.

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[10] Cf. my critique in JNSL 9:98.

[11] $\sqrt{plṭ}$ is now attested in a royal letter from Ras Ibn Hani (RIH 78/12:12) in the N form (*nplṭ*): "(A.) has been rescued". Cf. D. Pardee, *AfO* 34 (1984): 221 ff. (and lit. *ibid.*).

[12] Cf. 1.3:V:27–28 = 1.18:I:16–17.

Line 17: lb[k. ti]*ḫd*: The restoration, originating apparently with Obermann,[13] may be considered certain. However, both CTA and KTU assume that additional text-material is to be restored between *lb*[k] and [ti]*ḫd*. Prosodically considered, this is all-but-impossible: *lb*[k] concludes a verse-line just as certainly as [ti]*ḫd* introduces one, and the resultant [4 + 3] couplet admits of no further additions to this strophic context. Epigraphically, line 17 counts 17 signs when restored [k. ti], identical with lines 10 and 12 and one sign *more* than lines 6, 7, 13 and 14 respectively.[14] There is accordingly neither literary nor epigraphic reason for assuming additional text material in the lacuna. The reader's attention may be drawn to the fact noted above that, contrary to custom, neither CTA nor KTU proffers precise estimates of lacuna length on the right-side of the column. It is this limitation which has no doubt precipitated the present error of judgement by the distinguished editors of these text editions.

Line 18: å[iṯ. b]^{19}irtk: Our restoration follows Obermann. CTA: *b̊*[ ]; KTU *b̊/å*[ ].[15] Obermann's restoration is preferable to *b*[qrb] *irtk* for reasons of contextual coherence: El is pleading with Anat to *get rid* of her black bile; *tšt* means here 'set aside', thus precluding the preposition **bqrb*. Note also the resultant alliterating patterns (in this particular case not decisively superior however to the aforecited alternative): d[Iṯ. b]Irtk; and tŠt. d[iṮ]. Notice may be taken also of the 'verse-linkage': ...D[iṮ]...::DṮ. yDṮ..., the 'C-line' typically anticipating the alliterative pattern of the following (monostichic) verse.

Lines 19^b–24^a: The restoration in these lines are all self-evident and generally acknowledged. However, line 22 presents a grammatical anomaly not usually noted, viz., a *qtl* form of the verb *ṣḫq* whose grammatical subject is the feminine Anat. To be sure, the use of the inf. abs. *qtl* instead of a gender-matching finite verb is well-known in Ugaritic poetry. However, its use in such cases is usually the result of a change-in-scene, narrative mode, etc., signalled prosodically by the introduction of a new strophic unit. In the present context, its use is very difficult to justify or explain. I suspect accordingly that a *t* sign has fallen out of the verb due to haplography: the final wedge of the *W* sign is identical with the *T* sign.[16]

Line 24^b: CTA considers the by-now widely accepted restoration *å*[ḫtk] as less than certain; and the autograph, it must be allowed, is

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[13] *Ugaritic Mythology* [New Haven, 1948]: 76. Cf. CTA, 85, n. 5.

[14] The sign-count of ll. 6–17 is as follows: [6][16]; [7][16]; [8][15]; [9][21]; [10][17]; [11][20]; [12][17]; [13][16]; [14][16]; [15][14]; [16][20]; [17][17].

[15] Collation indicates .

[16] [ ] > [].

not especially favourable.[17] However, the restoration is all but self-evident as a parallelism to *aḫ* 'brother' and as part of a well-known diplomatic idiom which Anat co-opts in her deceitful bid for reconciliation.[18] Nevertheless, in light of the ensuing narrative and the meagre epigraphic remains, one cannot entirely exclude alternative restorations, such as *å*[ṯtk] "thy woman"; cf. below, ll. 25–27.

Line 25: [ahbt]: CTA and KTU: [-----]. But this estimate is excessive. The preceding lines 21–24 are each missing three-four signs on the left side: [21][ʿm. a]...; [22][rbt.]...; [23][tšu]...; [24][qht. ǵ], whereas the following line 26 is undoubtedly to be restored (cf. below) [26][kṯr il], i. e., with five signs. Now in view of the left-to-right slant of the fracture line, l. 25 cannot have a lacuna larger than l. 26; and doubtfully as large. The proposed restoration thus fills the available space quite adequately, especially when allowance is made for the fact that three of the four signs restored are horizontals. Alliteratively, the suitability of the restoration leaves no room for misgiving: ...At. Aḫ. wAn. A[ḫTk] :: [Ahbt]...; [ahBt]. šBʿ...//ṣ[Byn...] aBy. Its suitability on contextual grounds will become self-evident in the sequel. – *ṣ*[byn]: The *Ṣ* is clear. The options (*ṣ/l*) given by CTA and KTU are 'theoretical': there is no material evidence for a third vertical (though one is at liberty to restore it). Our estimate of three signs for the lacuna – CTA and KTU are non-commital – corresponds to the length presumed for the restoration *a*[ḫtk] at the end of line 24 (in effect 3½ signs, since most of the *a* sign has to be restored in the lacuna). Note the resultant alliteration: *ṣ*[BYN...]aBY :: Ndt... The root is $\sqrt{ṣby}$ "covet; desire", and the word is morphologically identical with MHeb. *ṣiḇyôn* 'desire, pleasure'.

Line 27[a]: [ank. lk]*l̊t* : The reading]*l̊t* – thus KTU – is confirmed by personal collation.[19] CTA and autograph:]*l̊.m.* That which CTA and autograph take to be an *m* is in fact a *t* + divider. Significant contextual support for our restoration of [k]*l̊t* 'bride', otherwise attested (in plural)

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[17] The head of a vertical (?) wedge evident in the autograph is also apparent in the British-Museum photo in my possession (cf. Pl. II in this volume). But cf. CTA, 85, n. 8, and KTU, reading *å*[(without question-mark indicative of doubt).

[18] Cf. Gen. 13:8; 2 Sam. 20:9 f.; Am. 1:9; *Jubilees* 27:14; *Tobit* 5:21. Further: J. Nougayrol, PRU IV:132 f.; G. Pettinato, *RivBib* 25:238 ff. However, the terms 'brother' and 'sister' in conjunction can also have an amorous connotation, as is evident from the Egyptian 'love-songs' (cf. *e. g.*, ANET[2], 467–69).

[19] In Feb., 1985, at the British Museum (Dept. of West-Asiatic Antiquities), where 1.18 (= 340-1931-RS) is on loan from The Louvre. I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Ch. Walker, Ass't. Keeper, for his courtesy and cooperation, as well as for providing me with a splendid photograph (reproduced from the original negative!) of the tablet. My thanks are herewith tendered also to my friend Dr. W. G. E. Watson of Newcastle-on-Tyne for assistance in collating the tablet.

in 1.4:I:14–15 (//54),[20] is the A-word parallel *ndt*, cognate with Akk. *nadītu*, the ancient Babylonian counterpart of the Roman Catholic 'nun', foregoing (for the most part) physical marriage to a mortal for the sake of a spiritual-symbolic marriage to a god. – The restoration [ank] is suggested by context and parallelism, the deliberate repetition of the phrase **ank...lk*, one may surmise, imitative of the ritualized marital vows pronounced by the prospective wife (cf. Hos. 2:21–2). The resultant alliteration is quite striking: ...anK. [lK.] // [anK. lK]lt. lK // tlK; ...[LK] // [...LK]lt. LK; and, not least, ...K]LT... TLK. Both KTU and CTA assume that five signs are wanting here. – *tlk. bṣd*[y. mt]: Restoration *ad sensum* but in accord with the epigraphic constraints as indicated by the lacuna lengths of the preceding lines. In traditional ancient Near Eastern society, the bride (and wife) walks *behind* her husband. Cf. Jer. 2:2: "I remember to your credit ... your love (for Me) as a bride // How you followed (lit., 'walked behind') me in the wilderness...". But even though her avowals are one great lie, Anat is too proud to say even in deceit **alk. aḫrk* "I will walk behind you", or **tlk. lpny* "You shall walk before me". The result is compromise: *tlk. bṣd*[y.], 'we will walk (through life) side-by-side', a noble egalitarian thought marred only by the treachery which motivates it. – The restoration [mt] is indicated epigraphically by the need to restore two additional signs at the end of the line, the restoration *bṣd*[y.] being too short. Contextually, it dovetails with Anat's use of flattery, exploiting the adolescent Aqht's understandable impatience to 'grow up' and be a Raphaite 'hero' (*ġzr//mt*). The acquisition of the composite bow is the tangible evidence for his 'manhood' as 'warrior' (*mhr*) and 'provider' (*ṣd*). Anat is now about to provide him with tangible evidence for his sexual maturity which the lad has yet to demonstrate. The Ugaritic *mt* connotes here precisely English '(he is) my man', spoken by a wife and/or lover. – *Alliteration*: note the 'verse-linkage' effected by ... bṣd[y. MT] :: [išTM]ʿ. l]MT...

Line 28ᵃ: The length of the lacuna in this (as in the following) line is substantially greater than in the preceding. Our restoration of six signs is in accord with the estimate of CTA and KTU. – [ištmʿ]: Prosodically viewed, the verse-line marking the beginning of line 28 must also introduce a new strophe, in light of the unequivocal strophic termination signalled by the preceding [3 + 3 + 3] tristich (*ndt...//[ank...]...// tlk...[...mt]*). Now a new strophe normally entails a new 'theme' or

[20] Observe the high frequency of the Heb. cognate כַּלָּה in the erotic *Canticles*, noting in particular the collocation of אֲחוֹתִי כַלָּה in 4:10,12 and 5:1. Note too that in 4:7, MSS from the Cairo Genizah read: כַּלָּה יָפָה רַעְיָתִי וּמוּם אֵין בָּךְ which is virtually a paraphrase of Ug. *klt. knyt* "bride(s) without blemish" (cf. UT § 19. 1241; WUS, s. v. 1321; MLC, 565). Additional occurrences of Ug. *klt* may be attested in 4.80 and 6.24.

'focus' (scene or person). The new theme here is the 'hunting' proposition made by Anat, following her mock-marital vows. But then why should Anat, who has been addressing Aqht since line 23[b], turn again to Aqht with a cohortative "[*Hearken, o*] happy-man // [... *o* warri]or", and so soon after the similar "Listen [O h]ero, [Aq]ht" in lines 23–4?

The answer, I submit, is as simple as it is astounding: between the pseudo-nuptial vows taken by Anat in lines 26–7 and the 'hunting' proposition in lines 28 ff., Anat and Aqht made real love as if newly-weds. For reasons of propriety,[21] the narrator refrains from narrative description, resuming his tale with Anat turning to a spent but contented Aqht with: "Hearken O happy man" (doubtless with special emphasis on the word 'man').

Of course, the contented Aqht, suspicions fully allayed, now becomes an easy victim as Anat introduces 'stage 2' in her master-plan: having learnt from Anat the art of loving, he is now invited by the teacher to learn the art of hunting! – The (presumed) choice of the Gt (rather than the G) form impv. of $\sqrt{šm^{c}}$ is motivated *allit. cs*: [...MT] :: [išTM[c]. l]MT... Alliteration also explains the particular form of $\sqrt{{}^{\circ}šr}$ (Heb. *'ošer*, etc.): [*IŠTM*[c]. l]*MT. IŠ*ryt. – [l]*mt*: The restoration of the asseverative L, in addition to providing welcome length to the 'monosyllabic' *mt*, is also welcome semantically: 'Aqht', says the smiling Anat (with a wink in her eye), you really are a man'! Aqht's sexual maturity has been put to its first test, and the lad has not been found wanting.

Line 28[b]–29[a]: [wqġ [29]udnk]: The restoration follows almost as a matter of course from that of *ištm*[c] in the A-line of the verse: cf. 1.16:VI.29 f. (//42)[22]: *ištm*[c]. *wtqġ*[23]. *udn*, a *hendiadys* which here in 1.18 is 'broken up' for purposes of parallelism, – [ġz]*r*: The preserved R and the parallelism with *mt* makes this an all but self-evident restoration. Cf. Dan'el's stereotyped epithets *mt* (*rpi*) // *ġzr* (*mt*...). – *Alliteration*: [wQĠ. udnK. Ġz]*r*, with 'partial alliteration' involving the phonetically similar Q and K phonemes.

Line 29[b]: *ṣ*[dm]: The restoration of $\sqrt{ṣ(w/y)d}$ is generally acknowledged as certain on the basis of context.[24] The addition of enclitic *m* imparts syllabic length to the 'monosyllabic' *ṣd* [= *ṣēd*(*a*)], while improving the alliteration: ...alMDk. ṣ[DM]. Even with the restoration

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[21] Though perhaps not propriety alone. Cf. below, § *Literary Commentary, ad loc.*

[22] Cf. my discussion in UF 8:158–60, where it is argued that the repetition in l. 42 f. is a dittographic intrusion. But this detracts in no way from its *bona fide* value for textual or linguistic study.

[23] The root is $\sqrt{yqġ}$ (not **tqġ*), cognate with Ar. *yaqiẓa* and Heb. $\sqrt{yqṣ}$ "be alert; awake": (cf. UT § 5.8; Segert, BGUL, § 36.1), with loss of initial radical in the G-impv. (cf. e.g., *tn* < $\sqrt{ytn}$).

[24] Cf. 2 Sam. 1:18 "To teach the Judahites the (art of shooting the) bow".

of the enclitic, there is still room for an additional sign to fill the lacuna in light of the adjacent (line 28) [wqġ] and (especially) the absolutely certain *a*[*blm*] in line 30. It does not follow however that an additional sign *must* be restored. The constraint of avoiding bifurcation of words, while not a hard-and-fast rule (especially with multisyllabic words), is still a prominent feature of Ugaritic scribal practice.

Line 30: [laqryk.] *ḫqrt*: CTA and KTU. [- - - - - -]*qrt*. But the autograph – and the British-Museum photograph (cf. Pl. II below) – shows the head of a vertical wedge which can be reconstructed as a *b*. Yet even when allowance is made for the restoration of the *b*, there is still room for six signs in the lacuna which, owing to the slant in the fracture line, is significantly larger than in lines 28–9 where six signs are to be restored respectively. There exists nevertheless a possibility that the asseverative L was written as the last sign of the preceding line 29 (cf. discussion above). As for the restoration itself, cf. 1.17:VI:43. – Note the alliterative patterns:

– ...aLMDk. ṣ[DM :: Laqryk]
– [laQRyk.] ḫQRt...
– [laqRYk].../...ỲRḫ (an 'inclusio'!)

Line 31: The self-evident restoration at the beginning of the line is based on formulaic language (cf. 1.18:IV:8; 1.19:IV:1–2). Not so the lacuna at line's end which both CTA and KTU preface by *š*[ ]. But both autograph (CTA, fig. 57) and photograph (CTA, Pl. XXVIII, obv.) indicate that *ʿayin* is a much more likely reading here, and is so read by Gordon (UT), alone of the major text-editions, without reservation. – The restoration *ʿ*[md] suggests itself as a suitable verbal predicate – a participle to be exact – for the subject 'tower'.[25] Note also the alliteration: ...DMgDl. *ʿ*[MD]. As concerns the identification of the 'tower' here alluded to by Anat, cf. *Excursus* below. – It is a valid inference from here that Aqht and his family reside within a few hours walk of the rendezvous point; and to the east, as we learn from 1.19:IV:46 ff.[26] However, the place would have been presumably less familiar to the (barely) adolescent Aqht than to his parents (and older sister, Pughat?).

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[25] √*ʿmd* 'stand; be erect' is now attested in RIH 78/20. – I do not assume that the restoration entirely fills the lacuna. I assume rather that the scribe left a small space, equivalent to one sign, so as not to break up the following word; or, alternately, because the first sign of the following word, a *w* if our restoration be correct, was too large to be accomodated in the remaining space. Note that the sign-count for line 31 as restored is 17, identical with that of lines 20 and 23 as restored.

[26] Cf. my aforecited article in *Ugarit in Retrospect*, esp. 148 ff. In this sequence, Pughat bathes in the Sea (of Kinnereth), rouges, dresses, then proceeds "[in the wake of] the setting sun ... to the western horizon (*lmʿr*[*b*]...*špš*), and arrives at the tent-camp (*ahlm*) of the Sutean at ABLM.

So Anat gives him some identifying points of reference: a (ruined) gateway tower and, as we shall see momentarily, a river running 'to the right'.

Line 32^{a}: [wnhrm. ly]*mn*: CTA and autograph read both *m* and *n* unequivocally, while KTU's]*m̊n* (without question-mark!) indicates merely that the *m*-sign is damaged. These readings are our most important clue for the entire restoration; for there are no feasible alternatives to our suggested [y]*mn*. The remainder of the restoration presupposes a knowledge of the topographical and archaeological history of (Talmudic) *Bêt-Yeraḥ*, modern Kh. Kērak; cf. 'Literary Commentary' (Excursus IX) below. – *Alliteration*: note how *wnhrm* participates in the pattern of the verse-line of which it is a part at the same time as it anticipates the beginning of the following verse: dMgdl. ^{s}[Md. wnhrM. ly]Mn; [...wNhrM. ly]MN; ... [wn*HRM*] ...::^{c}*RH̊M̊*.

Line 32^{b}: ^{c}*rh̊m̊*[. ---(-)]: The virtual absence of any preserved material in the following two lines precludes any chance of conjectural restoration here. But it is (or ought to be) clear that: (a) ^{c}*rh̊m̊* can only mean in the present context, "their nakedness". Presumably the verse and strophe went on to describe how the 'lovers' dressed and took their leave of each other. – Epigraphically: the reading ^{c}*rh̊m̊* is proffered (somewhat tentatively) by Herdner, following a (private) suggestion by Virolleaud (cf. CTA, 85, n. 11). But it is so read without reservations by KTU. The autograph is also favourable: the two visible horizontals seem to be placed too high for a P, as is the following sign for it to be read as T.[27]

Col. IV[28]

Lines $3^{b}-4$: The restorations in these lines are based mainly on 'parallel texts' in other compositions – l. 3^{c}//1.5:I:5–6^{29} – or on

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[27] *Pace* Virolleaud, *Dan'el*, 224; CTA, 85, n. 11 (where ^{c}*rpt* is considered an equally possible reading).

[28] Thus conventionally. In fact, one may seriously doubt whether a 1.18:II–III ever existed. The reason is that 1.18:I and 1.18:IV are almost certainly consecutive columns! The lapse of time between Anat's visit to Aqht (col. I) – which is on the verge of termination in line 32^{b} – and her visit to Yṯpn in 1.18:IV is more than amply accounted for in the twenty-odd lines missing at the end of col. I and the four defective lines at the beginning of col. IV. Lest one conclude that cols. I and IV are really II–III (with the original I and IV missing), be it recalled that 1.19:I is the more or less direct continuation of 1.18:IV, just as 1.18:I is the immediate continuation of 1.17:VI. The conclusion seems unavoidable, accordingly, that 1.18 is, and was, a two-columned tablet; one on each side.

[29] Cf. in part CTA and KTU: *uṯm. ḏr*[*qm*...]. – For philological discussion, cf. my MLD, 94f. The use of $\sqrt{ḏrq}$ "excrete (*feces*)" (cf. Ar.) alludes to the fact that, upon

formulaic language (l. 4[b]). That the latter restoration has generally escaped scholarly notice is due to the failure to discern the poetic/prosodic structure of the passage.[30] – [(y/t)mt]: The uncertain context precludes knowing who – or what! – the victim is, whether human or mythical-monster. The alliteration favours **tmt* (cf. below), indicating if correct a female (or feminine) subject. In 1.5:I, *amtm* refers to the expiring Baal, victim of a snake-bite from seven-headed LTN/Leviathan. – [lṣmt]: Cf. 1.3:II:7–8 (*tmḫṣ//tṣmt*) and esp. *ibid.*, III:41–46 (*mḫšt//ṣmt//klt*) all with reference to the 'arch-annihilator' Anat. The clue to the restoration is the preserved, albeit 'nonsensical', *lkl*, which I take to be a scribal error for **lkl⟨y⟩* < √*kly* 'annihilate', the final *y* omitted by haplography occasioned by the following (restored) **ybmt*. The verb √*ṣmt* is one of five in the 'annihilation roster' of 1.3:III:38–47: √*mḫš* – √*kly* – √*šbm* (?) – √*ṣmt* – √*mḫṣ*. The choice falls on √*ṣmt* for reasons of alliteration: aside from the dominance of M and T in the preserved and unequivocally restored material – uṭM. ḏr[qM...bTl]T. ʿnT...[ybMT. liMM] – note the repetitions of consonantal clusters MT and TL which this restoration effects:

[...(y/t)MT. lṣMT...ybMT], recalling that Ug. MT = 'death';[31]
[...(y/t)mT. Lṣmt. bTL]t. ʿnT. Lkl⟨y⟩. [ybmT. Limm].

Line 7: yṭpn̂[.]: CTA and KTU: *yṭp*[ ], the former observing (p. 85, n. 13): "Corriger peut-être *yṭp⟨n⟩*. Toutefois, cette forme apocopée se répète à la 1.16." Quite so; except that in line 16 Anat's remarks *may* reveal a certain impatience with the Sutean 'brute' who rudely interrupted her *in medias res* before she had completed the description of her strategem. Here however she is addressing him for the first time; and her manner is still courteous, even patronizing. Secondly, and decisively: neither the British Museum photograph (cf. below, Pl. II) nor a personal collation of the tablet justifies the autograph's (= CTA/KTU) word-divider following the *p* sign, while the remnant of a horizontal wedge-head is definitely discernible just before the fracture, doubtless the beginning of the *n* sign.[32]

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expiry, the bowels discharge whatever fecal matter remains in the lower intestine. In 1.5:I, the explanation is somewhat different, owing to the particular circumstances of Baal's death.

[30] The tristichic [3 + 3 + 3] points to strophic termination, a conclusion suggested also by the strophe-introductory monostich in line 5, indicative of a change in the mise-en-scène and a new theme, viz., the hiring (√*ʾgr*) of the Sutean Yṭpn as mercenary. For the theme of lines 1–4, cf. 'literary comment' below.

[31] Cf. similarly, 1.14:I:12–21 [already UF 8:142 f.]; 1.4:VII:52–58 (cf. MLD, 72).

[32] The most nearly correct reading is that of Driver [CML, 1956!]: *yṭp⟨n⟩*. a[qht], the *a* and *n* signs beginning alike. In the photograph reproduced in Pl. II below, the wedge-head appears as an oblique chip below the fracture line.

[mhr. št. yṯb]: The restoration is on the basis of formulaic language and in accordance with the structure of 'repetitive parallelism'.[33] Yṯpn, like Dan'el, is usually, almost invariably, addressed with his full title of *mhr. št*; its omission in line 16 may be the exception which proves the rule! To be sure, CTA allows only seven signs for completing the lacuna; but KTU estimates *eleven* signs missing. The sign-counts per line vary considerably at the beginning of col. IV, because the scribe tends to avoid splitting words, even those of average or above-average size. Thus line 6 contains, when restored, 16 signs; but line 5 contains 21, and line 8, 20 signs – all restored with complete certainty on the basis of formulaic language. The average sign count per line is 17 – 18 for the entire column, with occasional 16's and 19's. Our restoration here results in a sign-count of 19, identical with lines 12, 22, and 29.

Line 8: [qrt. zbl. yrḫ]: Thus already Virolleaud. The restoration is assured on the basis of formulaic language (cf. above, I:31 – 2, and below, 1.19:IV;1 – 2).

Line 9: bn̂[yr. qṣh]:[34] CTA: b[- - - - - -]; KTU: *bx*[- - - - -]. The autograph (CTA, fig. 58) preserves a full horizontal wedge-head, so positioned as to preclude the 'two-tiered' signs such as *w*, *k*, and *r*.[35] The restoration as a whole is supported by several considerations:

(1) The moon-god YRḪ is elsewhere designated *nyr. šmm* "lamp of the sky" (1.24:16//31); note also *nyr. rbt* "great lamp", predicated of the sun-goddess Špš (1.16:I:37 f.).

(2) the formal-grammatical and semantic parallelism of *bn*[yr. ...h] // *bqrn...h* // *banšt*[36]*...h*. Note also that the 'head' of the moon-crescent (*qdqd*) is also its 'tip' [$\sqrt{qṣ(ṣ)}$].[37]

(3) Not least, note the resultant alliterative patterns:

– Yḥdṯ. YRḫ // bn[YR...]

– bn[yR. Qṣh] // bQRn...

– BN[YR. Qṣh] BQRN. Ymnh (i.e., a quintaconsonantal cluster repeated in the space of twelve consonants and in four adjacent words!).

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[33] Contrast (e.g.) MLC, 383 (partly following CML): [waṯb. aqht. yṯb. b], a restoration seemingly precluded epigraphically. – *Philology*: The root of the verb is $\sqrt{yṯb}$ [return] – thus correctly TO "*s'asseye*" (italicized as uncertain). Anat is intructing the itinerant Sutean to 'stay put' in *Ablm* for a while longer. Note the similar use of $\sqrt{yšb}$ in O.T. Heb. to denote 'nomadic habitation' [Gen. 20:1; 24:62], alternating with the even more characteristically nomadic $\sqrt{škn}$ [Gen. 26:2; 'emended' in v. 3!].

[34] Cf. already JNSL 9:99 – 102. More recently, cf. Dietrich – Loretz, *Fs. Delcor* [AOAT 205] (1985): 113 – 61.

[35] Neither CTA nor KTU comments on this epigraphic residue which is confirmed by personal collation as well as by the British Museum photograph (cf. Pl. II, below).

[36] $\sqrt{{}'nš}$, Ar. *anisa* 'be visible'.

[37] Cf. *bqṣ all* "(she pulls him) by the train of (his) robe" [1.6:II:11].

Line 10: [nrt. ap]: The restoration is conjectural, though corresponding to the epigraphic requirements as presumed by both CTA and KTU: [- - - - -], i. e., one sign less than in the previous line because of the slanting fracture, and a total sign-count of 18. Our previous suggestion of [pr^{c}t][38] is apparently too short to be acceptable. – *Alliteration*: bANŠT [NrT. Ap].

Line 11^{b}: 'Insert': The suspicion of material omitted (accidentally) by a scribe or otherwise missing is prompted by two considerations:

(1) In 1.19:I:14^{b}–17^{a} there is material which, as I have argued elsewhere,[39] is clearly extraneous. The language suggests an origin in the present dialogue between Anat and Yṯpn.

(2) Anat's opening remarks are not only abruptly interrupted in line 11^{a}, but Yṯpn's response contains information which he could have learnt only by mental telepathy: he knows that Anat is interested in Aqht's bow ([qšth]...*qṣ^{c}th*) without Anat having mentioned either the bow or the identity of its owner.[40]

The question which arises at this point is: on what basis can one suggest a plausible reconstruction of the missing text-material? Admittedly, the tentative element in such a reconstruction is inherent in the undertaking. It can be reduced by proper procedure, but never entirely eliminated. 'Proper procedure' in this case consists in the recognition and implementation of certain prosodic principles and techniques, together with a careful analysis of what precisely is transpiring in the story.

Textualia: The material enclosed in square brackets within the reconstruction is taken over verbatim from 1.19:I:14–17. If correctly transposed, we have here an indication that at some point in the written transmission of the poem, the first seventeen lines – at the very least – of 1.19 appeared on the same tablet as 1.18:IV. – The reconstructed second distich has its formulaic counterpart in 1.10:II:6 f., describing Baal gone a-hunting in (nearby) *aḫ. šmk* (Semachonitis/Ḥulatha). The phrase *n^{c}mn. ġzr* is taken from Yṯpn's reply in lines 13 f.: *lṯḫ* [wy] (.) *n^{c}mn. ġzr*.

Prosody: The prosodic structure of lines 9–11^{a} (*ik. ... qdqdh*), viz., a [3 + 2 + 2] tristich, points clearly to strophic termination. This requires in turn that the introduction of the following strophe be suitably marked. Now the strophic 'theme' of [3 + 3] is established by the (partly defective) material co-opted from 1.19:I, viz., *imḫṣh. kd. 'l...ḥwt*. This means that the opening verse of the strophe cannot itself be such a

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[38] JNSL 9:100.

[39] Cf. already UF 8:169–72.

[40] A smaller omission and consequent loss of text-material has long been assumed in line 13; cf. shortly below.

distich. The main options are: (1) a hypercatalectic [4 + 3] distich; (2) a '3' or '4' unit monostich; (3) a [3 + 3 + 3] or [4 + 3 + 2] tristich.

Alliteration: Since most of the material reconstructed is either formulaic and/or attested verbatim elsewhere, there is no need to subject it to a test of alliterative compatibility. Such a test is needed principally in the opening monostich as well as at the 'seams' between the respective texts which we have spliced together.

(1) *aqht...ymnh*: cf.
...QdQdH :: aQHt. lQrt...; ...ablM. YMġY // Yiḫd...bYdh...bM. Ymnh ('verse-linkage').

(2) *imḫṣh...hwt*: cf.
...bM. yMnH :: iMḫṣH...qštH // iMḫṣH...qṣ^{c}tH. Hwt ('verse-linkage').[41]

(3) *laḥw...ly*: cf.
Laḥw. Ln^{c}mn...// ...Lttn. Ly; ...LN^{c}mn...// lttN. Ly; ...lttN. lY :: wY^{c}N. Yṭpn ('verse-linkage').

Line 13: The need to reconstruct the text has long been acknowledged.[42] Our reconstruction of Anat's speech lends additional support, as do prosodic considerations.[43] Already Ginsberg, followed by CTA, cited 1.19:I:14 – 16 in support of the emendation. But it was difficult to see what the two contexts had in common. Now the picture is clear: Yṭpn is merely repeating, nearly verbatim, the latter part of Anat's peroration.

Line 14:[44] *w*[brd]: CTA/KTU: *w*[- - -]. The restoration is essentially *ad sensum*, but with due attention to similar topoi elsewhere as well as to the alliterative features of the preserved material. – Our point of departure is the strophic break signalled by the tristichic [3 + 3 + 3] structure of lines $12^{b} - 14^{a}$ containing Yṭpn's response. Yṭpn is still the subject in lines $14^{b} - 15$; but he is now a third-person actor rather than a first-person speaker. In contrast to the condescending verbosity of Anat, Yṭpn's response is short and to the point. At its conclusion, he rises to prepare – $\sqrt{š(y)t}$, lit., 'set down' – a repast for his divine guest, much as Dan'el had done in 1.17:V.[45] While standing over his

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[41] Note parenthetically the 'metric fill' provided by the unique *kd* [= assev. *k* + rel. *d*] to avoid the [3 + 2] scansion which **imḫṣh. 'l qšth* would occasion.

[42] Cf. CTA, 85, where Ginsberg's suggestion [BASOR 97:7, n. 5] has been incorporated into the body of the text. Cf. further KTU, 58, n. 4. But contrast MLC, 384!

[43] This is especially true when one recognizes that *lṯḫ*[wy] cannot be understood as deriving from $\sqrt{ḥwy}$ 'live'.

[44] Cf. already JNSL 9:102 – 04 (but differently interpreted, here superseded).

[45] The absence of a 'lady-of-the-house' – contrasting with 1.17:V – may not be fortuitous. Yṭpn himself is regularly designated 'warrior' (Ug. *mhr*); and when Pughat is still at a distance from the camp, her arrival – assumed to be that of Anat – is

seated guest and preparing her plate, Anat turns to him (line 16[b]) and says: "Sit down, Yṯp⟨n⟩...". – The 'butler-stance' adopted by Yṯpn is implicit in the restored predicate √*brd*[46], as we learn from 1.3:I:4 ff.: *qm. yṯ'r. wyšlḫmnh // ybrd. ṯd. lpnwh.* Yṯpn is essentially performing the service of Baal's 'butler' PRDMN. Even the respective fares bear a certain resemblance to each other: PRDMN serves 'breast' (*ṯd*) – Heb. *šad* – whereas Yṯpn serves a cereal, *ištir*, cooked in an animal teat (Ug. *ḏd* = Heb. *dad*). – *Alliteration*: ...w[BRd] // ištiR. Bḏdm; ...w[BrD] // ...BḏDm; ...ṯRm. w[bRd] ištiR.

Line 15: [byn ?]: CTA/KTU: [---], Herdner commenting (n. 17) that Gaster's restoration of [waqrb] "est, épigraphiquement, impossible". – We take the preceding *wn'rs* as the augmented conjunction *wn*(.) + *'rs*, the latter cognate with MHeb. עֲרִסָן 'barley-groats'[47] and thus a suitable parallel for the unidentified foodstuff *ištir* (cf. KTU 4.290).[48] The restoration [byn] is of course conjectural; but it satisfies both the epigraphic and alliterative requirements: WN'rs (instead of simply **w'rs*!) [byN] :: Wt]n.[49] Yṯpn's affection for wine is not in doubt, as we learn from the conclusion of the poem (as extant). But the fare also reflects the predilections of the divine palette: thus the O.T. 'gift-offering' (מִנְחָה) to the deity consists of *solet*, 'wheat-grits' [HAL, 716], in oil, and a wine libation poured over (√*nsk*) the cereal. This is very nearly what we have here: barley-cereal in wine!

Line 16: yṯp⟨n⟩: I no longer adhere to the view, originating with Ginsberg, that the attested form *yṯp* is an apocopation of the Sutean's name, deliberately and disparagingly used by Anat.[50] I prefer to see it as a scribal error of omission. The change of mind is the result of a new interpretation of lines 14[b]–15, now revealing Yṯpn as a considerate,

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announced to Yṯpn, presumably by a sentry. The implication seems to be that Yṯpn's tent-camp is more nearly comparable to an army camp than to a beduin encampment, hence the absence of womenfolk.

[46] MLC, 529, compares Heb-Ar. √*prd* – so too TO (154, n.g.), *seq.* Ginsberg – 'separate'. But the *b/p* correspondence is not entirely satisfactory. One ought rather to compare (pseudonymic) DN *Ybrdmy* (= Aṯtar) meaning 'he-who-serves-up-water', i.e., the god of subterranean springs. The verb √*brd* probably denotes simply 'serve; present' with no etymological cognate presently known.

[47] Cf. Ges.-Buhl, *Hwb*, 619, HAL, 836. The O.T. cognate is עֲרִיסָה 'an offering of ערס [?]'.

[48] Variously rendered 'honey' [TO], 'pure oil (?)' [Loewenstamm, AOAT 204:82], 'oil/honey' [Gordon, *Berytus* XXV:19]. The present locus points rather to *ištir* as a 'solid', something which can be used as filling for an animal teat. Gordon's inference [UT § 19.404] in 4.290 that *ištir* is "a liquid measured by the *kd*" is invalid, because Heb. *kad* is used for dry as well as liquid measure, including 'flour' (*qmḥ*) [1 Kgs. 17:12–16].

[49] Note also the resultant parallelism: *ištir. Bḏdm // ...'rs.* [Byn].

[50] JNSL 9:103 f.

even obsequious host, rather than as an imperious and 'chauvinistic' one. Anat, interested in Yṯpn's cooperation, would have neither need nor interest to openly insult Yṯpn at this point, although Yṯpn's obsequiousness appears to have fed her condescension: she now omits his title *mhr. št* in addressing him, and she employs the direct imperative *ṯb* – also *dm* if correctly restored – instead of the jussive-imperfect *yṯb* which she used in line 7. A further consideration in emending to *yṯp⟨n⟩* is the alliteration. As presently constituted, line 16[b] is alliteratively 'bare'; abnormally so. The addition of a final *n* to the Sutean's name alters this situation substantially, even dramatically: ... WN'rs [. byN] :: Wt'N.... 'Nt :: ...yṯp⟨N⟩ W[- -].

w[dm]: CTA/KTU: [- -]. To be sure, there is room enough for three signs in the lacuna, and one may suggest restoring *w*[n. dm], the augmented conjunction *wn* chosen because of the short [dm]. Note that the verse-line as a whole is syllabically short, especially for a four-unit line. However, if *w*[dm] *lk* is scanned as a single unit [= Heb. *w'dom-lak*] and the line as a '3', the augmented form is unnecessary. In addition, the sign-count of the line totals 19 when restored *w*[dm]; and if we assume that the scribe was copying from another tablet, the space at the end of line 16 now assumed vacant would be due to the omission of the final sign of 'Yṯpn'. – For a nice idiomatic parallel to the restored text, cf. Ps. 83:2.

Line 17: bḫb[šy. wn]*km*: The restoration *bḫb*[šy] proffered by CTA and KTU, inspired by the 'parallel text' in lines 27 f., is definitely too short epigraphically, as a glance at the autograph will reveal. Also, the resultant sign-count for the line is a below-average 16, elsewhere attested only in (restored!) line 14. The difference however is that in line 14 the below-average count takes place *before* the lacuna; the lacuna itself is maximally restored. Nor can one argue from the supposed identity of the 'parallel text' which is not fully identical at this point: note *km. nšr* (l. 17) vs. *knšr* (l. 28). The difference, we would suggest is the result of different alliterative patterns in the original, undamaged text: *line* 28: tŠtN. kNŠr. bḫbŠh; *line* 17: aŠtK. Km. nŠr. bhb[Šy], but also: ...KM. Nsr...[wN]KM... Note a similar, if less easily explained disparity in the 'parallel texts' of lines 19 and 30: *wbn. dnil* vs. *bn. dnil*. For a possible explanation, see following comment.

Line 18: [(l/k)yṯb]: CTA and KTU, *seq.* 'parallel text' (l. 29): [km. yṯb]. But there is hardly room for more than four signs in the lacuna; and the resultant sign-count of twenty is significantly above the average, otherwise likely only in line 8. The minimal deviation from the parallel text consistent with a four-sign restoration would be [kyṯb], the same kind and degree of deviation noted above between *km. nšr* and *knšr*. However, the variant *wbn. dnil* here in line 18, together with (restored) [wn.]*km*, leads me to believe that the deviation was greater than *k*:*km*,

and that the text read originally [wyṯb], the so-called 'existential *waw*'.[51] Cp. the resultant alliteration: ...bḫb[šY] // [Wn...] diY. bt'rtY :: [WYṯb]...//Wbn...

Lines 22–23: If anyone still doubts the formative rôle of 'alliteration' in determining word morphology, let him try to explain the difference between *hlmn* "strike" and *špk* "spill"! The only possible explanation surely is *allit. cs.*: hlMN. ṯNM vs. ŠpK. Km. Šiy...Km. Šḫṭ. lbrKh.

Line 26^b:[52] *b*!{...}⟨ṣmt⟩. *mprh*: CTA reads *bap. mh*!*rh*, with note appended (to *bap*): "peut-être ... dittographie (Ginsberg)". The emended *mh*!*rh* passes without comment and without indication of the reading in the unemended text. KTU reads *u* (emended to *b*!) *mprh* (emended to *mh*!*rh*), similarly without comment on the proffered emendations.[53]

Epigraphically considered, KTU's *u*, rather than CTA's (and autograph's) *b* is to be sustained. The Br.-Mus. photograph (cf. Pl. II, below) – cf. also CTA, Pl. XXVIII – shows only one horizontal at the base of the sign supporting two clear verticals and the trace of a third (in the middle). However, the text is so obviously defective that little is gained by reading *u* rather than *b*.

Far more significant is the reading of the following word. The general scholarly consensus, reflected in CTA's unqualified acceptance of the emendation in the body of the text, is that *mprh* is a scribal error for *mh*!*rh* preserved in line 38. The view itself is mistaken; and it is line 38 that needs correction at this point.[54] Lines 26 and 38 have each preserved part of the correct and 'original' text (formerly common to both). The emendation in line 38 is very slight: P (𐤑) for H (𐤑). The more serious disturbance is in line 26, where a scribe omitted an entire word following the extraneous, partially dittographic *uap*. As a result of the omission, line 26 terminates one sign short of the tablet's ruled edge. Had the scribe written *bṣmt* instead of *uap*, the line would have ended flush.

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[51] Cf. UT §§ 12.9; 13.103.

[52] For a previous discussion, cf. UF 8:168 f.; JNSL 9:104 f.

[53] However, in UF 10 [1979]:68, the editors of KTU reconstruct the original text as: (km. qtr) *b*{...}*ap. mprh*, the latter unemended and connected by the authors with Akk. *nupāru* II, and rendered "sein Gemüt". This assumes, however, that the *n* of *nupāru* is a radical of the root rather than a morpheme, which seems more likely. AHw, s. v. gives no etymology or cognates.

[54] *mhrh* makes no sense either in line 26 or in 38. Aqht is never once designated *mhr*, nor is Dan'el; the term is reserved in *Aqht* for the Sutean. As for *mprh*, its etymological credentials are impeccable; the root is √*prr*, Ar. *farfara* (= Heb. √*pr(p)r*): "flutter, shake". Cf. *Job* 16:12; TB Sanh. 37^b (cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s. v.). The predicate √*ṣmt*, elsewhere 'kill, annihilate', here means 'be still, cease' (cf. Ar. *ṣamata* 'be silent; lifeless').

Line 37: [wtʿn]:[55] CTA has [- - - -].[56] The restoration is *ad sensum*, here as in line 38 below. The tristichic poetic structure reflects the beginning of a new strophic unit, following the [3 + 2 + 2] termination of the preceding strophe. – *Alliteration*: wTʿN. ʿNT; ...bṣMT...// ...bMT...

Line 38: [wtʿn. bmt]: CTA has [- - - - - - - -]; but KTU assumes seven signs missing, as does our proposed restoration.[57] The restored *bmt* has its 'ballast' parallel in A-line's *bṣmt. mpr(ḥ)* "upon cessation of (his) throes". Normally the situation is reversed, with the ballast in the B-line. However, the 'cessation of throes' is empirically prior to 'death', and so the poet gives it precedence in parallelism.

Line 39: yl[d. ʿl. umt]:[58] CTA has *y(l/d/u)*[- - - - - - -]; similarly KTU, but with an estimate of eight signs missing. – The idiom *ʿl. umt* "a mother's suckling" occurs as a 'ballast' parallel for *aḫ* 'brother' in 1.19:IV:35//40, there as here with reference to Aqht. It occurs also in 1.6:IV:19 (with reference to Baal). – *Alliteration*: ...yL[d. ʿL...]; ...bṣMT...//... [bMT]...//...[uMT]. Ug. *mt* = 'death'!

Line 40: The restoration of the latter part of the lacuna – following the certain [qštk][59] – is quite conjectural. The parallelism [qštk]//*qṣʿtk* suggests synonymity of the two verse-lines beginning *abn*, while the four-unit *abn. ank. wʿl. qštk* – note well the 'existential *w*' employed *mtr. cs.*! – points to a three-unit B-line; the resultant [4 + 3] distich is the expected continuation of a strophe-opening [4 + 3 + 3] (*wtʿn... [umt]*). The preposition *(w)ʿl* is almost certainly to be restored; cf. already CTA. Now, since eight signs are preserved and six/seven signs can be restored with certainty, we are left with a lacuna of three/four signs, assuming an average sign-count per line of 17 – 19. These three/four signs are presumably the verb parallel to, or identical with, A-line's *abn*.[60]

Line 41: The length of the lacuna – CTA and KTU estimate ten signs missing – makes any suggestion conjectural and tentative. Already Gordon [UL] suggested completing *lḫ*[wt] "thou didst not l[ive]". He was followed by Ginsberg [ANET] and was cited by Herdner in footnote (86, n. 3). Most recently, cf. Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 386. The restoration

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[55] Cf. already UF 8:169.

[56] KTU is unclear, apparently owing to a typographical error. Read *b**[aph. - - - -]?

[57] As restored, line 38 will have comprised eighteen signs.

[58] Cf. already JNSL 9:104 f.

[59] KTU: *q̊*[štk].

[60] This verb (*abn*) has nothing to do with √*bny* 'build', but is to be related to Ar. √*ʾbn* 'accuse; be criminally suspect; blame(worthy); shame(ful)'. Anat is overcome with remorse as she weeps for the slain youth, and declares, in effect, *mea culpa*. Cf. my discussion in UF 15:102.

can claim the support of parallelism: *wḫlq* = $\sqrt{ḫlq}$ 'perish'.[61] – The remainder of the restoration which we proffer is indicated by considerations of structure, context, and alliteration.

(1) The (estimated) eight signs which remain after restoring *lḥ*[*wt*] are most likely two verse-units of four signs each. This means that we are dealing either with a [3 + 3] distich or a [2 + 2 + 2] tristich (assuming that *ʿpmm* terminates the verse).

(2) *ʿpmm*, in my opinion, is cognate with Syr-Aram. $\sqrt{ʿpy}$ "leaves; foliage", with suffixed adverbial *-m*: "like leaves".[62] The restored $\sqrt{qṭp}$[63] 'pluck'; 'remove (fruit)' is thus as suitable metaphorically as it is alliteratively: [LQṭp] wḫLQ.

(3) The restoration of [aqht] follows almost as a matter of course; and it blends very well into the alliterative landscape: AT. lḥ[wT. Aqht]; and ...aQht // [lQṭp] wḫlQ...

1.19

Col. I

*Line 2: tkr̊*b [⟨b⟩tlt. ʿnt]: The initial *t* sign is restored in CTA but read clearly by KTU. Personal collation confirms the latter verdict.[1] The remainder is left unrestored in both text editions, each estimating the lacuna as of six signs. This estimate precludes the proffered restoration[2] which I consider virtually self-evident on contextual grounds. For beginning with line 2, and until line 11, Anat is the principal subject, thematically as well as grammatically. She is the unspecified subject of *tql* already in line 3. It follows that somewhere previous Anat was cited by name. Now, since the conclusion of 18:IV and the beginning of 19:I are virtually complete, there is nowhere except here, in line 2, that Anat could have received the explicit mention requisite for the subsequent unspecified references: [3]*tql*... [6]*tṯb*...[t]*ša*... [7]...*ydḥ*... [8]...*uṣbʿ*⟨*t*⟩*ḥ*.

The solution should be sought in one of two directions: (1) in its undamaged form, the present tablet was already textually corrupt, one

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[61] Cf. 1.5:VI:10.

[62] Cf. UF 15:103.

[63] Contrary to my suggestion in UF 15:103; correct accordingly.

[1] In UF 16:119 f. I still considered *p* a possible alternative: cf. already Del Olmo Lete, AF 2 [1976]: 236 ff.; MLC, 386; and especially the autograph in CTA, Fig. 59 where the horizontal seems too low for a *t* sign.

[2] A fact which I overlooked and failed to note in my previous discussions of this passage (UF 11:554 ff.; JNSL 9:105 ff.), as remarked by A. Caquot, SEL 2 [1985]: 95 f. My collation of the tablet in The Louvre took place subsequent to my authoring the aforementioned studies.

sign having been inadvertantly omitted via haplography due to the preceding *tkrb*; or (2) the word-divider is misplaced after the *b* and should be transposed after the *r*: *tkr.* b[tlt. ʿnt]. In this case, the verb would be *tkr* < √*k(w)r*, Ar. *kāra*, which like the attested *tkrb* is *hap. leg.*[3] and means 'hasten'.[4] I have opted for the former alternative because it leaves open a possibility, however slim, that our text may not have been corrupt before damage. – *lqrb*[m.] *m̊ym*: CTA and KTU: *lqrb*[-?]*mym*, with KTU adding a question-mark after the first M of *mym*. The 150question-mark in the square brackets indicates – at least for CTA (cf. p. xiv) – uncertainty in estimating the size of the lacuna as of one or two signs. A personal collation of the tablet – under high magnification – reveals the following picture: most of the *b* is preserved as well as the initial M of *mym*; the *-ym* is written to the right of the double-ruled column divider, in the 'territory' of the adjacent col. II. In the intervening lacuna there is room for one (large) sign, plus divider. – The augmented form *qrbm* is elsewhere attested in *Aqht* – indeed, only in *Aqht* – at 1.19:II:18,25. The addition of the enclitic is doubtless motivated in all three cases *allit. cs.*: ...lqrb[M.] MyM; b(M)qrbM. asM.

Line 3: ʿ[mh. qšt. b]*lb*:[5] CTA has [-------]lb.; but KTU reads an unequivocal (even undamaged!) *ʿayin* at the beginning of the lacuna, followed by a gap of six signs. The remainder of the restoration is *ad sensum*, but with due attention to the prosodic and alliterative requirements. *E. g.*: we expect an appropriately marked strophic opening to indicate the new theme as well as *mise-en-scène* which we find in 1.19:I:2 ff. Anat has left Ablm with the bow (and corpse!) and is 'heading for home'. The prosodic expression of this transition is the [3 + 3 + 3] tristich of our restoration. Alliteratively, cp. ...LQrb[m]...tQL (and *not* **tpl*[6]); ...qŠT. B]lb :: TṮBr. qŠT...[7]

Contextually: Anat is carrying the (braced) bow across her chest so as to free her arms for supporting the corpse of Aqht as she flies homeward (the weight of which, combined with her excessive speed, causes Anat to tumble into the water [of Lake Kinnereth]). To be sure, the significance 'chest' for *lb* is not otherwise attested in Ugaritic literature (cf. however O.T. Heb. [Ex. 28:29 ff.]); normally *irt* [= Akk. *irtu*] or *aplb*, lit., 'fore-heart' is used. However, the latter would probably be prosodically troublesome, whereas the former is less satisfactory allit-

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[3] UT § 19.1294: "Since the meaning [of *tkrb*] is unclear, so is the etymology." In WUS, there is no entry s.v. *krb*. Cf. also MLC, 568, s.v., for other opinions and readings.

[4] For Ar. √*krb*, cf. Lane, AEL, 2602, s.v., § 4: Hava, 649. For Ar. √*k(w)r*, cf. Hava, 669, noting also *takawwar* 'fall down', a highly appropriate connotation here!

[5] Cf. already UF 11:554 ff.

[6] Cf. UF 11:544 ff.

[7] For Š/Ṯ as alliterative 'allophones', cf. above, 1.17.VI:40, and discussion *ad loc.*

eratively – though only barely – in a verse with a preponderance of B and L sounds: tkrB: ⟨B⟩tLt...LqrB[ ] ...tqL....B]LB :: tt̲Br... But *irt* would be a 'close-second' choice: ...TkRb. ⟨b⟩TlT. ʿnT. lqRb[ ]... [...qšT.b]iRT :: Tt̲bR... Be this as it may: the poet chose *lb* rather than *irt*, and that is a fact![8]

Line 4: qšt[. aqht. kk]*n̊r*: CTA: [- - - - - - -]*r*; but KTU reads: [- - - - - -] *n̊r*. In support of our suggested restoration may be urged the following considerations:

(1) prosodically, the restoration results in an acceptable [3 + 2] distich, part of a strophe-introductory [3 + 2 + 2] tristich, the latter structurally identical with the conclusion ([t]*ša...uṣbʿ⟨t⟩h*).[9]

(2) the similitude, "[like a ly]re" is especially apt. The bow, like the ancient lyre, was constructed of two principal elements: wood for the frame and animal sinew for the string(s). And both were apparently very fragile precisely because of the delicate workmanship required for their manufacture. Furthermore, the waters into which Anat falls are those of the Kinnereth, Ug. KNRT, resembling in name as well as in shape[10] the ancient lyre.

(3) the restoration is alliteratively very compatible: ...Qšt [aQht]; [KK]Nr... t̲mN[Kt̲r].[11]

Line 5: t̲mn. [kt̲r]:[12] The restoration becomes virtually self-evident the moment one realizes that T̲MN = Ar. *t̲amin* 'precious, costly object' rather than 'eight' or 'there'. Cf. above, 1.17:V:2 f., where the speaker (*abl...ašrb*ʿ) is certainly Koshar-Ḫasis. – *Alliteration:* ...yT̲br (.) T̲mn [kT̲r]. Cf. also preceding comment.

[hln]: I now prefer this restoration to that of [whn].[13] Epigraphically and semantically, there is little to choose between them. But *hln* is smoother in context and, because of the L, superior alliteratively: [hLn.] btLt... [Linbb]; [hlN.]...ʿNt...[liNbb]. Of the two additional occurrences of *hln* in Ugaritic literature – both in the Anat-centered 1.3:II – cf.

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[8] Ug. *b* occasionally carries the significance '(up)on', as in: *bṣrrt. ṣpn* [passim], vs. *ʾl. ṣrrt* (1.16:I:43); *bġr. tliyt* = "upon the mountain of mightiness"; *wymlk. barṣ* [1.6:I:65] "he shall rule on earth (as opposed to heaven)", vs. (*d*)*ymlk. ʾl. ilm* [1.4:VII:49 f.] "(who) shall rule over the gods". Cf. D. Pardee, UF 7:357.

[9] To be sure, the thematic 'break' between ll. 2–3 and ll. 4–8 is not very pronounced. But the [3+3+3] tristich of ll. 2–3 cannot be followed by a [3+2+2; 3+2] sequence *within* a single strophic unit. (If we reconstruct a four-unit A-line for *ttbr*[ ]*n̊r*, the difficulty is exacerbated).

[10] Especially when viewed from the Golan Heights!

[11] For the restoration of the latter part, cf. immediately below.

[12] CTA: *t̲mn*. [- - - - -]; KTU: *t̲mn. x*[- - - - -].

[13] JNSL 9:106; UF 11:554 f. CTA and KTU: [- - -].

especially II:17: *whln, ʿnt. lbth. tmġyn*, not unlike the present (restored) context. Cf. also our restoration proposal in 1.17:VI:42.

Line 6: [linbb. t]*ša*: CTA: [------]*ša*; KTU: x[-----]*ša*. The restoration of [t]*ša* ought to be seen as assured by context; in lines 6–11 Anat is the grammatical subject: [6]*tṯb*...[*t*]ša... ...*tiḫd*...[10]*tšt*. The absence of so certain a restoration in the main text editions is a reflection of the general lack of comprehension as to what is transpiring in 1.19:I:1–17! – The restoration of [linbb] is nearly as certain. Mt Inbb is Anat's 'home' just as Ṣpn is Baal's: cf. 1:II:14 ff., and especially 1.100:20. Elsewhere[14] I have speculated that 'Inbb' may be a literary camouflage (or pseudonym) for 'Hermon'. Be this as it may, it should be clear that Anat's 'base of operations' is not far removed from the present *mise-en-scène*, viz., the Kinnereth, with Lebanon-Hermon the most likely candidates. Cf. 1.22:I:10 ff., where Anat seems to be hosting a *mrzḥ/mrzʿy* party for the ancestral shades (*rpum*), presumably at her home on Mt. Inbb; the 'dining-room' is described as situated "on the summit (*bprʿ*) // [25]*bṣq*[.] *birt. lbnn* "on the peak [= MHeb *ṣôq*], on the slopes of Lebanon". Cf. also the OT toponym *bêṯ-Anath* in northern Canaan (tribal portion of Naphtali!).[15]

Line 7: km(.) *r*[*u*]*m*:[16] Virolleaud conjectured *km*[*r*?] – a misprint for *kmr*?[ ]? – but neither CTA (*km*[---?]) nor KTU (*kmxxxx*.) provide any epigraphic support. A personal collation of the text substantiates however Virolleaud's R, traces of which are even visible on the autograph (CTA, fig. 59). The collation also revealed traces of an M-sign at the end of the lacuna, just before the Y. Since there is no indication on the tablet of a word-divider before the Y, KTU's divider is probably a reading of the damaged but hardly doubtful M. – The nature of the similitude, combined with the epigraphic data, leaves no doubt as to the restoration. The word itself is well known in Ugaritic (cf. 1.17:V:21, etc.). It is possibly significant, surely of interest, that there is a reference to *rumm* as inhabitants of *aḫ. šmk* "meadowland/marshes of Semachonitis/Ḥuleh" (1.10:II:9//12). The similitude of the *rum*, O.T. *reʾēm*,[17] is also well known from biblical literature (Num. 24:8; Ps. 29:6). The comparison here is intended to suggest speed and dexterity in climbing a rocky mountain.

Line 8: uṣbʿ⟨*t*⟩*h*: The emendation is universally acknowledged by those who read the text as *uṣbʿh* (so KTU). Herdner argues at some length that the text may even be read *uṣbʿth*, the final *h* corresponding

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[14] JNSL 9:107.

[15] Thus Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible* (London, ²1979): 178 f., 192, 220 f.

[16] Cf. already UF 16:120 f.

[17] Most likely the *oryx leucoryx* (antelope) or the *bos primigenius* ('wild bull'); cf. *Enc. Miqraʾit*, vol. VII: 296 f. (in Hebrew).

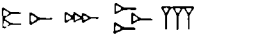
to Virolleaud (= KTU)'s *ḫ* of the following *kḫrṣ*. Cf. next comment. – *p̊ḫrṣ*: KTU (*seq.* Virolleaud, autograph, *et al.*): *ḫḫrṣ*. But Herdner differs (p. 87, n. 2): "...il n'est pas impossible, semble-t-il, de lire un *h* au lieu du *k* incertain [! – B.M.] indiqué par la copie". Herdner's doubts about Virolleaud's K are well founded. Autograph's (fairly clear) K is not only uncertain; it is non-existent! A personal inspection of the tablet – under magnification – reveals not a trace of the second half of the supposed K. What one does see are *two* very distinct horizontals (= Herdner's possible 'h'),[18] *i.e.*, a perfect P sign. This P is the conjunction 'and' (= Ar. *fa*) here used instead of the more common W *allit. cs.* (cf. below). – *ad*(!)*n*: As the object of √*ḫrṣ* 'incise', only *adn* 'gum(s)' – lit., 'base, socket' – is satisfactory. KTU, *seq.* CTA *et al.*, reads *abn*. But as the photograph (CTA, pl. XXIX) shows, the alleged *b/d* sign is on the fracture line. What autograph shows may be only the residual two-thirds of an original **d*, the initial third having been lost in the fracture. If not epigraphically feasible, we shall have to assume a scribal error of *b* (𒅔) for *d* (𒁹). The test of alliteration in this instance is inconclusive, since neither B nor D is dominant in the verse.

Line 9: p!t!n!kl: The text has *wakl*, a reading which is suspect for grammatical as well as for philological and contextual reasons.[19]

(1) Even a goddess could hardly have 'eaten' (√*ʾkl*) Aqht's teeth (*šnth*);

(2) The expected form of the verb, which is part of a sequential chain beginning (*p*)*ḫrṣ*, is **tqtl* not **qtl* as here: cf. the preceding *tiḫd* and *tšt*.[20] The sequence *yqtl-qtl* occurs in Ugaritic poetry only with synonymous or identical verbs in synonymous, rather than 'complementary', parallelism.

It is my submission that *wakl* is a textual corruption due to a faulty 'division of wedges'. The 'original' text was:



Subsequently, the T and the first of three N wedges 'merged' with the P sign to form a W ( ), leaving = A (+ K + L). Indirect corroboration for the emendation, whose principal advantage is the superior sense which it imparts to the text,[21] may be found in the poet's

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[18] Having read the preceding sign as T, Herdner was doubtless influenced by the obvious need for a pron. suff. for *uṣbʿt* to balance the parallel A-term *ydh*.

[19] Cf. already UF 11:547.

[20] The *qtl* form of (*p*)*ḫrṣ* is due to its position at the beginning of a strophic unit and is one of the means used by the poet to signal such a change, as we have seen on several occasions above.

[21] The word is to be parsed as conj. *p* + √*nkl* 'draw back, extract' (cf. Arabic), and involves a practice strikingly illustrated by the so-called 'plastered skulls' from the Neolithic-B period (ca. 6500 B.C.E.) Cf. B. Margalit, *Paléorient IX/2* [1984]: 93 – 98.

choice of the conjunction *p* rather than *w* at the beginning of the distich. The existence of another P (in *ph*) alone is insufficient to explain this choice as motivated alliteratively. But the emended reading provides a third P making it a 'dominant letter'. Note further: ...uṣb^{c}⟨t⟩H :: Pḫrṣ...PH // ...šntH. P!t!n!kl; also ...šNTh. p!T!N!kl.

Lines $14^{b}-17^{a}$*:* That the material contained in these lines is extraneous to the context is, I believe, self-evident. The failure of scholars to make this determination earlier occasions wonder but is not without explanation.[22] Nor is it difficult to decide the provenience of this material, as was seen above, in the reconstruction of 1.18:IV:11. Both the language and the contents make the transposition, if not the entire reconstruction, no less certain than the diagnosis of extraneity here in 1.19:I. The ultimate proof is, of course, the fact that when the material in $14^{b}-17^{a}$ is excised from its present locus, line 17^{b} proves to be the direct continuation, prosodically and thematically, of 14^{a}.

Line 17^{b}*:* *wb̊mt̊*[h. y]*ḫmṣ*(.) *ṣr̊*[ḫ]:[23] CTA reads: *wbmt*[-?]*ḫmṣṣ* [-]t[?], with appended note: "Il manque vraisemblablement après le *t*(?) un signe qui était gravé entre les deux traits verticaux qui delimitent les colonnes et peut-être empiétait très légèrement sur la col. II; le premier signe de la l. 63 (col. II) est en effet sensiblement en retrait." Herdner's 't' – *seq.* Virolleaud – is probably the left-hand quarter of the Ḫ-sign which the scribe concluded in (and slightly beyond) the ruled column divider. – KTU's reading is essentially that of CTA, with the following differences:

(1) the T of *bmt* is question-marked;

(2) only one sign is assumed missing between the questioned T and the following Ḫ (CTA having left open the possibility of two signs missing);

(3) most importantly: after the second *ṣ*, KTU reads an R̊ – albeit question-marked – for CTA's similarly question-marked T̊. This proves to be of decisive importance for the overall restoration.

The text is describing a gateway 'tower'[24] which looms (|/*ḫmṣ*) behind – lit., 'at the back' – the serpent-sentry and his canine companion mentioned in line 13. The poet's choice of the *hap. leg.* **ṣrḫ* instead of *mgdl* encountered in 1.18:IV is determined, as one might

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[22] I was the first to draw attention to this situation (cf. UF 8:169 ff.). The reason it was not diagnosed earlier is not far to seek: very little, if anything of lines 8 – 14 was properly understood. Indeed, many commentators used lines 14 – 17 as a *point of departure* for explaining the wider context. Small wonder they didn't get very far!

[23] Cf. already UF 8:172, n. 86; *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen, 1980): 250 f.; UF 126:127 f.

[24] Ug. **ṣrḫ* = *Ar. ṣarḥ* 'lofty edifice' = Heb. *ṣ^{e}rī^{a}ḥ* [Ju. 9:49] 'fortress-tower' (or the like); cf. *mgdl*-Shechem (vss. 46, 49).

expect, *allit. cs.*: ...[y]ḤmṢ. Ṣr[Ḥ]. – Line 17[b] is also the monostichic '3' termination of the strophe which began in line 11[a] and whose (unique) subject is 'Aqht's Descent to the Netherworld'. With line 18 we are 'back at the farm' and, appropriately, at the beginning of a new strophe signalled by the monostichic '4' (with internal 2:2 parallelism).

Line 18: yḫ̊: Virolleaud read *y*[bl], noting however: "la restitution ... est simplement conjecturale". CTA reads *y*[--], but gives support to Virolleaud's restoration in footnote. However, subsequent scholars have tended to treat the restoration as all but certain. KTU's *yḫ̊* – marked as damaged but not as in doubt – is also more attractive contextually.[25] Alliteratively, cf. ...[Y]Ḥmṣ. ṣr[Ḥ] :: ...YḤ (note the typical strophic/verse linkage).

Lines 25[b]–28: Already Virolleaud realized that these extremely defective lines contained the first presentation of the heroine, Dan'el's daughter Pughat.[26] Yet he seems not to have realized that such a 'first' required that her name be accompanied by its formulaic epithets as in (*e.g.*) II:1–3; 5–7; IV:36–38. Such an assumption is *prima facie* facilitated by the residual *hlk* in line 28, presumably the second element of Pughat's third epithet, viz., *yd't. hlk. kbkbm.* – But there is a problem, two to be exact: (1) line 26 ends with a likely *n* sign, a consonant which does not appear among the twenty-nine (!) consonants which comprise the triad of Pughat's epithets; (2) even if one ignores the residual *n*, there is seemingly too much space in the gap of lines 25[b]–27 for the requisite restorations. Line 28 (*hlk.* [kbkbm]) reduces the epithet consonants to be restored to nineteen. But the average sign-count per line in this portion of the text (lines 18–24) is 11–12. Thus a minimum of twenty-two signs is necessary to fill the gap.

The key to a solution[27] lies, I submit, in a suggestion made by Herdner in a note *ad loc.* but with a different problem in mind. After giving her assent to Virolleaud's restoration at the end of line 28 ([bn]*ši*), she qualifies it thus: "mais il faut alors supposer que l'écriture suivait, dans le texte manquant, une pente nettement ascendante. Il n'est pas impossible que les signes *š*(?)(*h/i*) appartient à une ligne 27 *bis*. En ce cas, le mot *bnši* devrait être naturellement restitué en entier à la fin de la l. 28". The tendency to an upward slant at the end of a line is not uncharacteristic of *Aqht*, and owes its existence to the 'end-squeeze' which occasionally forces the scribe either to slant or to cross the ruled margin. However, Herdner's idea of a line '27 *bis*' – i.e., the reconstruction of an additional text line entirely lost in the gap between lines

[25] Cf. UF 16:129 f.

[26] For Virolleaud, who took 1.19 to be I D, there was no difficulty in assuming that Pughat was here introduced for the first time.

[27] Contrast my previous suggestion in UF 15:105, n. 3, and correct accordingly.

25 – 28 – is not dependent on the slant of line 28. It is a possibility which is epigraphically feasible – *apud* Herdner – and which bears examination as a possible avenue for resolving the dilemma noted above. Our restoration proposal does in fact assume that the 'fixed epithets' of the heroine began in line 27, continued in line 27*bis*, and terminated in line 28. Assuming the average 11 – 12 signs per line, the epigraphic 'fit' is practically perfect.

Line 25[b]: [pht. bt]*h*: CTA/KTU: [- - - -]*h*. Note the alliteration: y*t*P*ṭ*. *t*P*ṭ*... :: [Pht... P*ǵ*t. P*ǵ*t...]; [PHT. bT]H. [P*ǵ*t...]. The word *ht* may be presumed to have a double signification or rôle: it informs the audience/reader that Pughat is near her father as he 'sits in judgement'; and it serves as an introductory device denoting 'behold!'.

Line 26: [p*ǵ*t. p*ǵ*t. šibt. *ʿ*]*n̊*: The sign-count total is twelve, here as in lines 25 and 28, and identical with the counts of lines 20, 22 and 23. – The initial *pǵt* is the PN; the second is more likely the common noun 'girl, lass'. – The phrase *šibt. ʿn* – lit., 'drawer(ess)-of-the-spring' – recurs in 1.12:II:59. The word *šibt* alone occurs in 1.14:V:1 f. (in parallelism with *mmlat*). Cp. also 1.16:I:51 (*aḫth. šib. yṣat*) and of course the 'classic' loci of young girls drawing water in *Genesis* and *Exodus*. To be sure, the phrase *šibt. ʿn* is otherwise unattested in the several repetitions of Pughat's epithets elsewhere. The reason for its conscription here is not unlikely prosodic: the poet, about to describe the activities of a new dramatic person, needs to terminate the preceding description of Dan'el and signal the beginning of a new strophe. Had he restricted himself to the formulaic epithets, he would have had in effect two [3 + 3] distiches:

[pht. bt]h. [p*ǵ*t] // [p*ǵ*t. *t*kmt. mym] [3 + 3]
[*ḥ*spt. lš*ʿ*r. *ṯ*l] // [wyd*ʿ*t]. *hlk*. [kbkbm] [3 + 3]

By introducing the phrase *šibt. ʿn* – which logically is the act prior to 'shouldering water' – he effects a monostichic '4' (with internal 2:2 parallelism) which has a two-fold function: since Ugaritic does not recognise a *[3 + 4] pattern (or, for that matter, any pattern in which the B-line exceeds the A-line in verse-units), the half-line **pht...pǵt* becomes a strophe-terminative monostichic '3' while the line **pǵt. šibt. ʿn. wṯkmt. mym* becomes a monostichic '4' introducing the following strophe. Note that the resultant [4(2:2); 3 + 3...] sequence is identical with the opening of the preceding strophe (lines 18 ff.), the similarity even extending to the scansion of a two-word complex as a single verse unit (*prʿ. qẓ* :: *šibt. ʿn*).[28]

[28] Monosyllabic words in construct with each other are invariably single 'verse-unit'; a monosyllabic word in construct with a bisyllabic word is prosodically 'anceps' and can be scanned as one or two units, depending on the strophic pattern. It is likely that

Line 29^b: [šʿr]:[29] KTU estimates a lacuna of four signs, CTA four or five. However, there is no objective basis for an estimate because lines 29–42 are extremely variable in length. *E.g.*, if the fracture had extended vertically from line 32 to line 42, the respective lacunae would have ranged from one (!) to seven![30] – Our restoration presumes the meaning 'wool(-fleece)' for Ug. *šʿr* (// O.T. *gizzat-ṣemer*) as in Pughat's second epithet *ḫspt. lšʿr. ṭl.*[31] As part of water-conservation, Pughat spreads pieces of wool-fleece on the (paved) 'threshing-floor' overnight to absorb the dewfall of spring-summer, and then rises early in the morning (as the stars disappear; whence *ydʿt. hlk. kbkbm*) to squeeze out the water before the morning sun dries them out. On this particular morning Pughat found the pieces of fleece dry! – *Alliteration*: [bN]Ši...wtphN::[Šʿr]; [šʿR] BgRn. yḫRB. Cf. further below (next two comments).

Line 30: [gbʿl]:[32] As in line 29^b, KTU presumes a gap of four signs, CTA optionally four or five. – The word **gbʿl*, otherwise unattested in Ugaritic, is taken as cognate with Heb. *gibʿôl* 'bud'.[33] – *Alliteration*: [šʿR.] BGrn. yḫRB // [GBʿl]...; [gbʿL]. YǵLY.

Line 31: [rišh]: CTA/KTU: [----]. Ug. *riš*, like Heb. *roʾš*, is used for the 'top' of a plant, *inter alia*; and on two occasions, one of them in *Aqht*, *riš* is the dir. obj. of √*ǵly* 'lower, bow'. Cp. 1.2:I:23 (text emend.)//24; 1.19:III:54. In O.T. Heb., cf. especially Job 24:24 – יְמֻלּוּ

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nouns in construct lose their case-ending in Ugaritic (cf. Z. Zevit, JSS 28 [1983]: 255–32). Accordingly, *šibt. ʿn* is to be normalized as **šāʾibt-ēni*, a quadrisyllabic complex the size of a normal Ugaritic word. – The present text is not the only instance in which the poet deviates from formulaic norm to accomodate a prosodic exigency, and specifically with respect to Pughat's epithets. Cp. 1.19:IV:28: *wtʿn. pǵt. ṯkmt. mym.* Here the epithets have been abbreviated because of the poet's predilection to signal the transition from narrative description to direct speech by means of a strophe-terminative monostichic verse.

[29] Cf. already JNSL X [1983]: 97f. (correcting JNSL IX:108). Similarly restored by Dijkstra–De Moor (UF 7) but differently interpreted.

[30] Cf. [32][rm. trḫpn], the [pn] having been written on the other side of the ruled column divider; [33][iym]; [34][m. lb]; [35][d.]; [36][il. mt]; [37][mt. hrnmy], the [my] having been written on the other side of the ruled column divider; [38][mt]; [39][(½r)pt. b]; [40][rpt]; [41][(½ṯ)l. yṯll]; [42][(½š)nt]. Another peculiarity in this section is the use of word-dividers following line-terminating words (cf. lines 35, 37, 41), suggesting that the scribe was copying from a tablet on which the words were differently lineated.

[31] Cf. *Shnaton* 5–6 [1983]: LV–LXII.

[32] Contrast JNSL X [1983]: 97f., where I accepted the restoration *gpn* advocated by Dijkstra–De Moor. However, in mid-April the grapes are not yet in bud, and the vine, tied as it is to poles, would hardly be described as 'drooping' (√*ǵly*).

[33] Ex. 9:31 (*hap. leg.*). Note the 'parallelism' with 'spring' (*ʾabîb*) indicating that the O.T. text is describing an event transpiring at the same time of year as here in *Aqht*.

וּכְרֹאשׁ שִׁבֹּלֶת "... and they wilt like the 'head' of a spike". – *Alliteration*: [šʿR] Bgrn. yḫRB...iB[Rišh]; ...Ib[rIšh].

Line 37: al⟨l⟩: The emendation of the textual error – haplography – is assured by the 'parallel text' in lines 47 f., as well as by the formulaic use of *all* as a B-word parallel for *l(b/p)š* or *kst*.

Lines 39–40: b[40]ḥm: The unusual bifurcation, as also the large space at the end of line 38, is a reaction to the 'trauma' of line 37, where the scribe, in an attempt to complete *hrnmy*, seriously encroached on the 'territory' of the adjacent column. In line 38 he went to the opposite extreme of 'under-writing'. In line 39 we have the 'in-between' situation of a flush line but a (badly) split word. One may doubt whether our scribe (or his mentor) was pleased with any of these three examples of 'penmanship'.

Line 44: rbḃ: The second B, written inside the double-ruled margin, is 'defective': it is without the second vertical. But the Louvre photograph in my possession (cf. Pl. III, below; CTA Pl. XXIX is here illegible) shows clearly two horizontals at the base of the sign (*pace* autograph). There is thus no possibility of reading anything but *b* (contrast CTA, 87, n. 10). This case of 'defective' writing – perhaps a cuneiform 'cursive'? – is not an isolated case in *Aqht* and should be kept in mind for future reference.

Col. II

Line 11: lysmsm⟨t⟩: The emendation (generally unacknowledged) is in conformity with the identical formula in 1.4:IV:14 f., as well as the phrase *ysmsmt. ʿrš* in 1.17:II:42. Note also (without reduplication) *ysmt. šd. šḫlmmt* (1.5:VI:7, etc.), and the structurally similar *nʿmt. šnt. il* (1.108:27), always with the feminine form of the quality ascribed.

Line 12: ydnil: The text is generally emended to *ydn⟨. dn⟩il* – thus CTA, *seq.* (e.g.) Cassuto and Gaster – and explained as a case of haplography. However, the emendation renders the text nonsensical when placed in context.[34] Dan'el is about to set out on a 'tour-of-inspection' in his fields, and 'sitting in judgement' at this moment is neither his concern nor his desire. KTU, more sensibly, emends to *dnil*, excising the initial Y. But this suggestion is also to be rejected. The form *ydnil* will recur shortly below (line 19), where we must read *ydni*!⟨l⟩ for text's *ydnh*, as noted already by Ginsberg.[35] The latter correctly surmised that *ydnil* is a morphological variant of *dnil*, with the impf. *ydn* subsituted for the perf. *dn*. But Ginsberg provided no explanation for the substitution, which derives from the fact that in both cases (ll. 12,

[34] Cf. F. Rosenthal, *Or* [1939]: 233 f.

[35] JBL 62 [1983]: 212; ANET, 153.

19) the hero's name is given without the formulaic titles *mt. rpi / ǵzr. mt. hrnmy*, with their 'built-in' alliterations (MT. Rpi...gźR. MT. hRnMy), the PN *dnil* hardly figuring in the pattern. The omission of the titles places the burden on the personal name; and the resultant **dnil. ysb. palth* (var. *aklth*) is not deemed by the poet satisfactory in alliterative terms (despite the *'l* sequences in the first and third words); so he adds the 'prefix' Y to improve the situation. The results speak for themselves:

[11]...pḥL :: YdniL. Ysb... ('verse-linkage') // bṣqL. Yph...[36]

Similarly (though less obviously) remedied is the situation in line 19:

[17]...YD...[19]YDni!⟨l⟩.; Ydni!⟨l⟩. Ysb...Yph...

Line 16: y{ }pʿ: The text reads: *ynpʿ*. But considerations of grammar as well as the 'parallel text' in line 23 suggest that *ynpʿ* is an error, the result probably of a 'vertical dittography' occasioned by *wynšq* immediately above, in line 15.

Line 19: ydni!⟨l⟩: Text: *ydnh*. Cf. comment on line 12, above.

Line 20[a]: bak⟨l⟩t: Text: *bakt*. The emendation is universally acknowledged.

20[b]: yp̊h!: Text: *ypʿ*, which is precluded by context.[37] The scribe confused *yph* < √*phy* 'see' with *ypʿ* < √*ypʿ* 'grow tall' (cf. Ar.), both verbs occurring frequently and in close proximity to each other in the present scene: [13]*...yph...* [14]*yph...* [16]*y{ }pʿ...ypʿ...* [19]*...yph* [20]*...yph!...* [23]*tpʿ...tpʿ*.

Line 25: b{ }qrbm: The text reads here *bm. qrbm*. But in the 'parallel text' (line 16) we find *bqrbm*. The augmented preposition *bm* (unlike *km*) scans as an independent 'verse-unit', i.e., as a 'word' rather than as a 'particle'.[38] Accordingly, the unemended text (*tispk...asm*) would scan as a [3 + 4], a pattern which is not only difficult to reconcile with the patterned sequence of verses in the strophe but also violates one of the (few) 'cardinal rules' of Ugaritic prosody, viz., A − B = 0/1! Ugaritic poetry (at least in the major works) allows asymmetrical patterns only when the A-line exceeds the B-line; and even then, the differential cannot be more than a single verse-unit.[39]

Line 26: [hwth]: The restoration, universally acknowledged, is on the basis of formulaic language in Ugaritic poetry generally and in *Aqht* specifically. In the latter, *hwt* is the regular B-word of *rgm*: cf. III:7, 21 f. (restored), and 35 f., all within formulaic structures identical with the

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[36] Cf. already UF 8:191 f.

[37] Cf. CTA, 88, n. 4 (*seq.* Gaster and Ginsberg), aptly citing the 'parallel text' in lines 13 f.

[38] Cf. already UF 7:297, § (b); MLD, 222 (§ 2.3.2.1) = *Appendix*, below.

[39] Cf. UF 7:298 ff.; MLD, 224 (§ 3.5.2) = *Appendix*, below.

text at hand. Outside *Aqht*, *hwt* is the regular B-word parallel of *tḫm*: cf. 1.1:II:17 f.; 1.3:III:13; IV:7; 1.4:VIII:32 ff.; 1.5:II:10, 17 f.

Line 27[b]: in. šˀ[lm]:[40] CTA: *in.* [- - -]; but KTU: *in. šˀ*[- -]. The idiom is well-known from O.T. literature (cf. *e.g.*, Isa. 48:22 (= 57:21); Jer. 6:14 (= 8.11), etc., and especially 2 Chron. 15:5. – *Alliteration*: in š[LM]... ǵLMM; ...š[Lm]. bhLk. ǵLmm.

Line 28[a]: ḫhlk: KTU: *ḫ*(?)*hlk*; CTA (and autograph): [?]*hlk*, with appended comment (n. 6): "Il y a place sans aucun doute pour un signe entre la double ligne verticale qui limite la colonne, à gauche, et le *h*; mais ce signe pourrait appartenir à la fin d'une ligne de la col. I qui empiète, à plusieurs reprises ... sur la col. II. Cette remarque s'applique aussi, *mutatis mutandis*, aux ll. [29] et [30]." – The preposition *b* (as well as *l*) is idiomatic in Hebrew with $\sqrt{hlk}$ + *šlm*: cf. Heb. *lēḵ bᵉšālōm* (e.g., 1 Sam. 29:7; 2 Sam. 3:21 ff.; 15:9, etc.) = English "Go in peace!". – *Alliteration*: ...š[lM.] Bhlk. ǵlMM // Bddy...

yṣ[ˁdn]: The restoration is *ad sensum*. CTA/KTU: *yṣ*[- - -]. The reconstructed $\sqrt{ṣˁd}$ 'step, pace' is presumed cognate with Heb. $\sqrt{ṣˁd}$ and Ar. *ṣaˁida* ('ascend, journey').[41] The collocation of $\sqrt{hlk}$, *$\sqrt{ṣˁd}$, and $\sqrt{yṣˀ}$ is duplicated in O.T. literature, most notably in Hab. 3:11 – 13, a fragment of an ancient Israelite war-epic:

... לְאוֹר חִצֶּיךָ יְהַלֵּכוּ ... בְּזַעַם תִּצְעַד אָרֶץ ... יָצָאתָ לְיֵשַׁע עַמֶּךָ ...

For $\sqrt{yṣˀ}$ // $\sqrt{ṣˁd}$, cf. Ju. 5:4 (also an ancient epic fragment). – *Alliteration*: bDDy. yṣ[ˁDn]; bddY. Yṣ[ˁdn]...Yṣa. wlYṣa; YṢ[- - - .-]YṢa. wlYṢa.

Line 29[a]: [k]*yṣa*; KTU: [-]*yṣa*. Again, the restoration is proffered *ad sensum*: the lads pace back and forth (instead of marching straight forward) at once impelled and thwarted by the dreadful tidings which they bear. Note well the *yaqtula* 'subjunctive' which provides indirect support for the restoration: the lads pace *as if* they would both exit and remain. Cp. Eng. 'coming-and-going' as an expression of confusion. – *Alliteration*: there is no support forthcoming because the K does not participate in any of the alliterative patterns. The same is of course true for the (preserved) conjunction W of *wlyṣa*.

Lines 29[b] – 30: The restorations are assured by the phraseological parallels in 1.18:IV – despite the very different contexts – and are universally acknowledged.

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[40] For a detailed textual and philological discussion of lines 27 – 48, cf. UF 15: 105 – 117. The following observations are mostly a digest of that article (with some minor modifications).

[41] Hava, *Al-Faraid*, 396. – Heb. $\sqrt{ṣˁd}$ is nowadays connected by some with Ug. $\sqrt{ṣǵd}$ (1.10:III:7; 1.23:30). But even if this etymology should prove correct, it would not materially affect the restoration. We would then restore *yṣ[ǵdn].

Line 31[a]: [l.ta]*sr. pdm. rišh*[m]: CTA: [- - -]*sr. ... rišh*[*m*(.)], observing (n. 11): "Le suffix doit être supposé au pluriel *h*[*m*] ou, plus probablement, au duel...". KTU: x[- -]*sr.* ... (without restoration). Dijkstra – De Moor (UF 7:206): [la]*sr*; Driver (CML [1956]: 60): [la. tasr];[42] Driver – Gibson (CML[2], 116): [- - a]*sr*. The form *tasr* is N dual in concord with *pdm* "temples (of head)". – *Alliteration*: [ltA]SR. PDm...//...PD :: ASR...

31[b]: [ydm]: CTA gives no estimate of the number of signs to be restored following the (restored) suffix [m]. KTU, which does not restore the suffix, assumes a lacuna of four signs, sufficient for [m. ydm]. This restoration brings the sign-count for line 31 to sixteen, one more than lines 29 and 32 – 33 and two more than line 30, but one less than lines 27 – 28. – *Alliteration*: ... pDM...yDM; ...pdM. rišh[M. ydM].

Line 32[b]: *asr. m̊*[tmn]: CTA: *asr.* [- - - -]; KTU: *asr.* m̊[- - -]. The restoration is largely *ad sensum*, but finds support in Hebrew idiom (cf. $\sqrt{hgr}$ // *'zr mtnm*) as well as elsewhere. Cf. especially *Job* 12:18 (...*wy'sr. 'zr. mtnhm*); the figures pictured on the *Aḥiram* sarcophagus, "dressed in a long robe ... held tightly around the waist by a belt tied in front",[43] the 'belt' in question very likely identical with the 'funerary belt' designated in O.T. (Isa. 3:24) *niqpā*(h) – $\sqrt{nqp}$ 'encircle'. – *Alliteration*: cf. immediately below.

32[c]: *lḫ*[sp] [33]*mḫlpt*: CTA: *l*[- - - -]; KTU: *lẏ*(?)[- -]. Epigraphically, the Ḫ-sign is exactly one-half of Y ( ); and $\sqrt{ḫsp}$ 'hang down' occurs earlier, in col. I:31, in parallelism with $\sqrt{ǵly}$, as noted above. Contextually, hair which is 'untied' ([lta]*sr*) would tend to 'hang down' (over the face). – *Alliteration*: ...M[tnM]...Mḫlpt; m[tnM.] LḪ[sp] MḪLpt...; Lḫ[sP] mḫLPt.

Line 33: ytk. ⟨u⟩dm't: All the known occurrences of the Ugaritic word for 'tears'[44] feature prosthetic *aleph-u*. Its absence here is to be explained by the adjacent *u*-vowels on either side of the consonant when the two words are normalized in speech: *[yVtVku. 'udm-] > [yVtVku. dm-].[45] Cp. similarly 1.16:I:3: ... *ap. ab. ikmtm*, but in line 17: *ap. ab. kmtm* (in this case the *aleph* lost between the adjacent *i*-vowels).

Line 34: tṯp[n. šptm ?]: CTA: *tṯp*[- - - -]; similarly KTU, but with the P marked as uncertain. The restored verb presupposes Ug. $\sqrt{ṯpn}$ =

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[42] Cf. Driver's translation (p. 61): "the locks of their hair were [not] bound", with which I am in total agreement. I once thought [UF 15:108] that Driver's [la. ...] was a misprint. I later learned that Driver believed in a Ug. negative particle *la*, corresponding to Heb. לא! Cf. his Glossary, p. 158a.

[43] J. B. Pritchard, ANEP, 302.

[44] Cf. 1.6:I:10; 14:I:28; 16:I:28; 1.161 (RS 34.126):16.

[45] Cf. already UF 15:112. The verb *ytk* is probably the inf. abs. (G) of $\sqrt{ytk}$ (!), a by-form of Heb.-Akk. $\sqrt{ntk}$ 'flow, pour out' (intrans.!). Cp. Ug. $\sqrt{ytn}$: Heb. $\sqrt{ntn}$.

Ar. *ṯafana* 'cling, hold fast to',[46] while the restoration of *šptm* is conjectural and *ad sensum*. The 'covering of the mouth' (or brow of the lip) is a sign of mourning (cf. Ez. 24:16 f.) or shame (cf. Mic. 3:7), as well as a natural response to coughing induced by excessive weeping. – *Alliteration*: TṮP[n. ŠPTm];[47] ...ṯqlM :: Tṯp[n.špTM]...; tṯP[N....] :: ṣPNhm... [ṣ]PNhm.

Line 35^b: [hn. ṣ]*pnhm*: CTA/KTU: [- - - ṣ]*pnhm*. Our restoration is thus one sign less than the estimate. However, the lacuna as reflected in autograph, though sufficient to accomodate four signs, need not have comprised more than three.[48] Prosodically considered, the text of lines 35^b–36^a is a strophe-terminative monostichic '4' with 'internal' (also 'repetitive') parallelism.[49] This means that the signs restored before the [ṣ] must either be part of the word [ṣ]*pnhm* – a very unlikely assumption – or a sub-unital particle. Accordingly, *e.g.*, Virolleaud's [bm. yd?] is, for this reason, out of the question. – *Alliteration*: ṣpnHM. tliyM [HM. ṣ]pnHM. A similar use of the exclamatory (!) particle *hm* in an alliterative scheme is in 1.4:II:24 f.: *Mḫṣy. HM*[*.M*]*Ḫṣ*(.) *bny. HM* // [*Mkly. ṣ*]*brt*(.) *aryy* = "My assassins! Lo, the [ass]assins of my sons are they // [The exterminators] of my kin gr[oup]".[50]

Line 36^a nṣḥy⟨*m?*⟩: The correction is suggested by the parallel *tliym*, both terms denoting 'prevail (over)'; overcome', and both modifying *ṣpnhm*. The alliterative pattern is also supportive: ṣpnhM. tliYM. [hM. ṣ]pnhM. nṣḥY⟨M⟩. And if our view of line 40 as the immediate continuation of line 36^a is correct – cf. immediately below – cf. ... NṣḥY⟨M⟩ :: tMǵYN....

Lines 40–41:[51] The transposition of these lines is motivated primarily by content intelligibility. It is inconceivable that the messengers should address Dan'el (*šm'...nbšrkm. dnil*) before they have arrived (*tmǵyn*) and 'raised their voices' (*tšu. ghm*) to speak. Moreover, line 36^b, if correctly restored, makes sense only as part of the tidings; but as presently situated it precedes the introductory *nbšrkm*! – Reinforcing the arguments from context is the test of alliterative compatibility. In the text as presently constituted –

^{36}nṣḥy⟨m?⟩ :: šrr. m[ṯbrkm?] ay

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[46] Lane, AEL, 340 f.; Blachère, *Dictionnaire*, vol. II, 1187.

[47] Recall that Š and Ṯ are alliterative 'synophones'.

[48] The resultant sign-count of line 35 in our restoration is nineteen. This is one sign *more* than line 34 and *three* more than line 36 (without counting the possibly additional material surmised by KTU – with less certainty, CTA – following *ṣpnhm*).

[49] It cannot be reconstructed as [3 + 2] distich in view of the strophe-opening [4 + 4/3].

[50] Cf. already MLD, 26 ff.

[51] Cf. UF 15:108.

there is not a single element of 'linkage' between the two verse-lines, the one ending the other beginning a verse: the alliterating elements – Š/Ṯ; R – are confined to the latter half of the text-line. Compare the text as reconstructed:

[36]NṣḥY⟨M?⟩ :: [40]tMǵYN (shared consonants = 60%!)
NṢḤy⟨m?⟩ :: ...w[tṢḤN]
[41]Šm[ʿ]... [(36b)]Šrr.; [41]...mt. [Rpi] // [(36b)] šRR...;
šM[ʿ]...Mt...// [(36b)] ...*M*[*t*brkM?]

Line 36[b]: *m*[ṯbrkm]: CTA: *m*[------?], i.e., optionally five or six signs missing. KTU: *m̊*(?)[---]xx. Since the Ṯ sign consists of an *ʿayin* superimposed on a vertical wedge (𐎜), KTU's question-marked *ʿayin* may plausibly be taken as a vestigial *ṯ*; in which case we may transcribe *mṯ*[brkm]. The final *-m* is enclitic, as in (line 37) *nbšrkm*, no doubt *allit. cs.* (unless Ugaritic anticipated the European convention of 'polite address' in the plural...).

Line 37: n̊bšrkm: Thus CTA (*seq.* Gaster), allowing however (p. 88, n. 15) that "on peut lire ... *a* ou *n*". KTU (*seq.* Virolleaud and autograph): *å̊bšrkm* which is less likely for contextual reasons. The speaker is one of a team of two messenger-boys (*ǵlmm*) and is no doubt speaking in the name of his companion as well as himself. Note also the dual/plu. forms of the verbs *tṯp-*; *tmǵyn*; *tša* and the suffixes of *ṣpnhm* and *ghm*. – *mdh*[mt]: CTA: [--]*h*[---]. But KTU reads a damaged-but-certain *m̊*, followed by an optional *d̊/b̊* (the ordering of the signs perhaps indicating a preference for the former), a certain *h*, and *two* indistinct signs symbolized as *xx*. Our proffered restoration exactly corresponds to KTU's epigraphic analysis. It presumes a Ug. cognate of Ar. *dahama* 'crushing (event)' – cf. *duhaym* 'misfortune' – O.T. $\sqrt{dhm}$ 'shock', but in KAI 200 (*Yabne-Yam*) 'come-to-grief'.[52] The basic meaning of $\sqrt{dhm}$ is 'be black', still preserved in the Akk. cognate *da'āmu*.[53] – *Alliteration*: nbšrkM. Dnil. MDh[mt]. Note well the enclitic *-m*, used *allit. cs.*! Pughat may be standing alongside Dan'el; but in Raphaite society only the adult male is deemed worthy of address, hence: *šm*[ʿ]. *ldnil...*

Line 38: rq̊[*m*]*t̊*: CTA has ...r[----], KTU: *r̊q̊x*(*t̊*/[ʿ]). The latter half of the Q-sign is visible to the naked eye on the Louvre photograph in my possession (cf. below, Pl. III); and it is preceded by a horizontal shaft, less distinctly articulated. Again KTU's ordering of the options *t̊*/[ʿ] would seem to indicate a preference for the *t*. – The word **rqmt* is presumed cognate with Ar. *raqim* 'misfortune' as well as (homonymously?) 'inscription'. Both significations fit the Ugaritic text admirably,

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[52] Cf. already UF 15:113, 117.

[53] Apparently also in Eblaite (*apud* Fronzaroli, *Quad. Semitica* [1984]: 151): *ti'amu* = [dihāmu(m)].

the first as 'denotation' – "Heading (*riš*): 'calamity'" – the second as 'connotation': "Beginning ((*riš*) of inscription: ...".[54] RiŠ. Rq[m]t; nb-ŠRkm... riŠ. Rq[m]t; and with partially alliterating *k/q*: nbŠRKM...riŠ. RQ[M]t. Cf. further, next comment. – *ḫṯṁ*: KTU is again more helpful than CTA. The latter reads *ḫ* (read by Virolleaud and autograph without reservations), followed apparently (the printed text is typographically faulty) by three dashes and an indistinct *y*: *ḫ*[---]*y* is presumably the intended transcription. Then follows a long string of dashes – ten to be exact – culminating in (*p/*'!)*nt*, all but the *n* registered as indistinct.[55] KTU reads *ḫtx*, followed immediately (without divider) by '*nt*, the first and last signs asterisked but not question-marked. The '*ayin* sign is very distinct on the Louvre photograph in my possession, as is the vertical wedge immediately preceding it, corresponding to KTU's *x* and our *ṁ*. – *Alliteration*: ...mdh[MT] //...rq[M]T. ḤTM... ::[42]MT... (Ug. MT = 'death'!).[56]

Line 38:* Both CTA and KTU assume an appendage to line 38 (CTA: 87) putatively written on the tablet's edge.[57] But the 'splicing', as I have argued elsewhere,[58] is erroneous. In form as well as in content, [š]*ṣat.* [*k*]*rḥ. npšhm* is extraneous here. Note already Virolleaud's observation: "on ne saurait dire ... à quel passage du *début de la col. III* se rattachait cette ligne isolée."[59] Herdner's assumption to the contrary is motivated by her appraisal of the continuation in line 39: *kiṯl. brlṯṁ*... (KTU: *brlt k*(?)*m*(?)...) which by itself is clearly difficult to reconcile with the context. But the 'splicing' of line 38* with line 39, far from alleviating the problem, merely aggravates it! – Our solution is to see in line 39 an intrusion (cf. below) which a later scribe attempted to correct by means of the marginal notation *šṣat. ... npšhm*. It is probably no coincidence that the 'muddle' took place at the very point of yet another textual disturbance: the misplacement of lines 40 – 41 (cf. above). – A new chapter in this text-critical story emerged with the publication of KTU in 1976. In addition to, and preceding, [š]*ṣat. ... npšhm*, KTU reads three words which, I assume, belong to the same marginal notation

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[54] Cf. UF 15:114.

[55] The run-on which follows (= CTA fig. 60*bis*) will be discussed below.

[56] It emerges from this portion of the narrative that it was Anat who sent the messengers to inform Dan'el of Aqht's death; without, of course, specifying 'how' and 'by whom'. But the lads, presumably Aqht's school chums, provide the explanation orally in lines 42 – 44.

[57] Cf. already Virolleaud, *Dan'el*, 185; CTA, 88, n. 17; and KTU, 61, n. 3.

[58] UF 15:109.

[59] *Dan'el*, 185. (Emphasis mine – B.M.).

(= CTA fig. 60*bis*)[60] but were left undeciphered by both Virolleaud and Herdner, viz.: *ỷq̊l̊* (?). *l. tš̊*(?)*ʿ*(?)*xx. hwt.* In contrast to the marginal text discussed above, this material very likely does belong to the present context, but as the continuation not of line 38 (as KTU) but rather of line 44! Cf. below, *ad loc.*

Line 39: The line is clearly extraneous to the present context, even following the transposition of lines 40–41, and *a fortiori* prior thereto. Its contents belong after the general statement, or 'formal message', of Aqht's death (line 42[a]). And, in fact, we find in line 44[a] (continuing a sequence commencing in line 42[b]) a virtual duplicate of line 39:

:39 *kiṯl. brlt*(*n*)
:44 *kiṯl. brlth*

Nor is it a coincidence that the text organically linked to line 44[a] bears a strong resemblance to the marginal notation discussed above:

:42 ... [šṣat] (43) *btlt. ʿnt.* [krḥ. npšh]
(mrg.) [š]ṣat *krḥ. npšhm*

In sum: instead of splicing the marginal notation to an extraneous line 39, we should delete the latter, together with most of the marginal notation (= line 38*), secure in the knowledge that lines 42–44 preserve the identical contents, but in a textually superior form.

Line 44: yql. l{.} *tḫ*[wy]. *hwt:*[61] This text, written on the edge of the tablet (*apud* KTU), is in my opinion the concluding statement by the messenger-boys, and part of their (hearsay?) commentary on the formal message which they communicated in Anat's name. Having described the circumstances of Aqht's death (in abbreviated form to be sure), they now imply the motive for the murder: dispossession (√*ḥwy*), which Dan'el presumably understands forthwith as alluding to the composite bow. – The text is quite uncertain epigraphically; and KTU's reading is not unattractive on alliterative grounds: kiṯL. brLth :: yqL. LTšʿ[ ]. The picture is improved by what is surely the only plausible restoration of KTU's text, viz., *ltšʿ*[ly]: cf. ...brltH. Yql. ltšʿ[lY.] Hwt. Yet note well that the epigraphically problematic consonants Š and *ʿayin* do not participate in any of these patterns. Moreover, there is no basis for the expectation that Anat would revive Aqht after "extracting his soul like wind" from his body: √*ḥwy* in 1.18:IV denotes 'dispossession' not 'resurrection'. Now a reference to 'dispossession' is precisely what we expect to find at the conclusion of the messenger report: cp.

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[60] Note the lacuna at the beginning – with a visible *t*(?) sign – but situated *before* the legible *ʿnt* rather than after, as assumed by KTU.

[61] Differently read and restored in UF 15:109; correct accordingly.

1.18:IV:24^{b} – 27	*1.19:II:42^{b} – 44*
tṣi. km(.) *rḥ. npšḥ*	[šṣat] ... [krḥ. npšḥ]
km. iṯl. brlṯḥ	*kiṯl. brlṯḥ*
km(.) *qṭr. baph*	
b⟨...⟩. *mprḥ. ank. laḥwy*	*yql. ltḫ*[wy]. *hwt*

Cp. also 1.18:IV:11 – 13 as reconstructed above.

Epigraphically, we may note that there is a decided similarity between (vestigial) [š + ʿ] and the *ḫ*-sign. – *Alliteration*: in addition to the aforecited patterns, still operative in the proposed restoration, cf.: lTḥ[Wy]. hWT. – We draw attention to the *qtl* form of **šṣat* in line 42^{b}, contrasting with the impf. *ltḫ*[wy] – or *ltšʿ*[ly] for that matter. As the prosody of the passage indicates – nay, requires! – we begin a new strophic unit in line 42^{b}. The corresponding 'thematic break' is less obvious. Line 42^{a} is the formal message whose 'heading' is 'calamity' and which is signed (or sealed) – $\sqrt{ḫtm}$ – 'Anat'. Lines 42^{b} – 44, in contrast, contain the *oral* elaboration of the circumstances in which Aqht dies, circumstances which the lads may have learned from hearsay and which Anat, understandably, would not be interested in disclosing in the formal message.

Line 44^{b}: [bdnil. pʿnm]: CTA restores [bh. pʿnm] which KTU prefaces with [kqṭr. baph]. But short of assuming another case of extensive writing on the tablet's edge, KTU's restoration is epigraphically precluded. However, both CTA and KTU – now also MLC – err in restoring [bh][62] for which the antecedent can only be Aqht. Yet it is clearly Dan'el who is the human subject in lines 44^{b} – 48^{a}. This requires explicit mention of his name prior to the first verbal predicate (*tṭṭ*). Since the formulaic passages on which the extensive restorations on these lines are based opens with *bh*, we must assume that here the poet wrote [bdnil]. Epigraphically, this restoration poses no difficulty. In lines 34 – 47, the range of sign-count per line is a broad 13 – 19. A case of a line with eighteen signs, as here, occurs in line 34. Lines 45 and 46 total(led) sixteen and seventeen signs respectively. – *Alliteration*: [bdni*L. PʿNm*]...// ʿ*L*[*N. PN*h....; [BDNil...] ...//...tDʿ // [B]DN]...

Line 46: [tġṣ. pnt. ...]: The verb is $\sqrt{nġṣ}$ (= Ar. $\sqrt{ngḍ}$) 'shake, shiver'; and the fem. subject *pnt* 'corners, edge(s)' requires the restoration *tġṣ* (CTA and KTU: [yġṣ]): cp. 1.3:III:34; 1.4:II:19.[63]

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[62] As I (carelessly) did also in UF 15:107. But cf. my translation on p. 116!

[63] CTA and KTU appear to have assumed that the form *tġṣ* in 1.3:III:34 and in 1.4:II:19 was due to the feminine gender of Anat and Asherah, and so 'corrected' to suit the masculine Dan'el.

Col. III

Lines 2–17: A definite deterioration in scribal precision is noticeable in these lines, reflecting perhaps a temporary lapse of concentration. Most of the errors are of the trivial sort, and the requisite emendations universally acknowledged.

Line 2: yṯb⟨r⟩: The scribe omitted the final consonant, for no apparent reason except carelessness. Cf. correctly, lines 8, 31. An identical error occurs in line 17.

Line 3: tḥ⟨t⟩: Again omission of the final consonant. Correctly rendered in lines 10, 24, and 32.

Line 5: abk!y: Text reads *abpy*. The scribe inadvertantly omitted the concluding horizontal which distinguishes *k* from *p*.

Line 6: arṣ!: Text reads *art*. The scribe probably erred under the influence of the preceding, nearly adjacent *(b)ḫrt*.

Line 9: tq(!)ln: Virolleaud and Herdner read straightforwardly *tqln*. But KTU reads *tǵln*, emended to *tq!ln*. The Louvre photograph in my possession (cf. below, Pl. III) favours KTU's verdict.

Line 12: ⟨b ʿl⟩: The scribe omitted the entire word. Cf. correctly below line 26. The source of the error is clearly haplography: **...b ʿl. ybn*(.) *b ʿl. ybn* > *... ybn. b ʿl. ybn.*

Line 14: ṯ̊p̊r: Thus CTA, supported by KTU. Virolleaud and autograph assume a biconsonantal word; but cf. CTA, 89, n. 9; and line 28 below.

wyp⟨h⟩n: The omission of the *h* may be attributed to the psychological pressure of an end-of-line 'squeeze'. An examination of the tablet (and photograph) shows that the scribe had very little room to complete the final, five-consonant word. Cf. correctly, line 29.

Line 17: yṯb⟨r⟩: Cf. comment to line 2 above.

Line 33: ⟨hm.⟩ iṯ: The omission is noted neither by CTA nor KTU, and seems to be generally unacknowledged. The emendation, which can claim the support of the 'parallel passages' in lines 4 and 19, is also mandatory for prosodic reasons. The phrase *iṯ. ʿzm* alone scans, like *in. ʿzm*, as a single verse-unit (cf. below, line 39). But this is precluded here. The phrase is part of a [2 + 2 + 2] tristich used as a 'free variant' of the [3 + 3] distichic pattern that constitutes the 'theme' of the strophe beginning line 30[b] (*knp. ṣml...*). Furthermore, a structure of [2:1:2] which results from reading *iṯ*(.) *ʿzm* is a prosodic albatross.

Line 40: yb⟨ky?⟩. lyqẓ:[64] CTA reads: *yb. llqẓ*; but in footnote (n. 2): "Lire peut-être *yb ʿl* [.] *lqẓ*.[65] KTU's *lyqẓ* – the *y* marked with an

[64] Cf. UF 16:145 f.

[65] I suspect that this is a misprint for *ybl*[.] *lqẓ*; cf. similarly Dijkstra–De Moor, *loc. cit.* However, cf. Caquot–Sznycer (TO, 452), who base their interpretation, surprisingly, on *yb ʿl*, which is of course out of the question epigraphically.

asterisk but not a question-mark – is as persuasive semantically as it is morphologically. The verb in question is √*yqẓ* (= Ar. √*wqẓ*, var. √*wqṭ*) meaning 'beat violently; thrash'.[66] The initial word, if not a textual error for **ybky* (thus KTU), may be analyzed as √*ybb* – Heb. √*ybb* (D) 'cry shrilly', singularly appropriate here. Also telling (though not decisively) against the emendation is *ybky* immediately following *lyqẓ*. However, there may be some basis for assuming that Ugaritic, like Hebrew, distinguished √*bky* (G) 'weep, cry' from √*bky* (D) 'beweep; bewail (ritually)', the latter used exclusively in connection with the dead.

Line 41: yqbr{ }nn: The text reads a divider after the R. Though the use of the divider with the *nn* suffix is not unknown in Ugaritic poetry, it is generally intended as an indication to scan the suffix as a separate verse-unit. But here a single-verse unit is prosodically requisite, as also in line 45: *tšḫṭann* (thus with autograph, *pace* KTU: *tšḫṭa.nn*).

bmdgt: The *m* is read as damaged by both CTA and KTU, but the autograph correctly shows more than 50% of the sign which is not in doubt. Cf. also Pl. IV, below.

bknřt:[67] Both autograph (CTA, fig. 61) and photograph (CTA, Pl. XXIX, rev.) make it quite clear that from a purely epigraphic point of view, the preferable – to my mind, sole possible – reading is *bknrt*.[68] Virolleaud's *bknkn*(?) as well as CTA's *bknk-* are simply misreadings of the material evidence still visible on the tablet today. The final *t*, which KTU does not even mark with an asterisk as signifying damage, much less question, is unequivocal in the autograph, in the photograph, and – not least – on the tablet, slanting upward to the right because of a paucity of space. Nor need any doubts be entertained concerning the next-to-last sign: . This is surely an R – cf. below, Pl. IV – with the second upper horizontal inadvertantly (or 'cursively') omitted by the scribe. Accordingly, KTU's *bkn(k/r)t*, while a definite improvement on Virolleaud and CTA, still does not do full justice to the epigraphic data.

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[66] The Arabic cognates cited in UF 16:146 (last paragraph) are misprinted; correct accordingly.

[67] Cf. already UF 8:172 ff.; UF 16:147 ff.

[68] Cf. G. A. Barton, JBL 60 [1941]: 213 ff. (note especially the concluding footnote on p. 255!); R. de Langhe, *Les Textes de Ras Shamra – Ugarit* ..., [1945]: vol. 2, 168 f.; G. R. Driver, CML [1956!]: 62. Even H. H. P. Dressler [VT 34:216 ff.] concedes that the autograph reads *bknrt*. But he curiously omits reference to the photograph (CTA Pl. XXIX), while insisting (quite wrongly as I can testify) that the tablet itself reads (*mirabile dictu*!) *bkn(h/p)*! This as well as other readings proffered by Mr. Dressler (*ibid.*) are sufficient to convince this writer that Mr. Dressler's expertise does not lie in epigraphy. There is more to collating a tablet than merely holding, and beholding, it in the palm of one's hand! – The reading *bknrt*, rendered 'in (the city of) Kinnereth', is now accepted by De Moor in his recent *Anthology of religious texts from Ugarit* (Leiden, 1987). Cf. also the photographic enlargements in our Pl. IV, below.

The 'alliterative data' is no less supportive: yqbRNN....bkNRt (and with partially alliterating *k*/*q*: yQBRNN....BKNRt...).[69] – The word in question is, of course, the Sea of Galilee, 'Kinnereth', appropriately designated **mdgt* 'fishery, fishing-ground' (< *dgt* 'fish'), as well as *qr. mym* (lines 45 f.). In fact, much of lines 42–48, including the allusion to "El's abode" (*bt. il*), is incomprehensible without the assumption that Aqht's remains (*bhm*) have been cast by his father into the lake of Kinnereth.

Line 45: tšḫṭann: In both CTA and KTU misprinted as *tšḫṭann*. KTU also reads a divider after the *a*. But this is not confirmed either by the autograph or by the Louvre photograph in my possession (= Pl. III, below). The various emendations which have been proposed to deal with the allegedly problematic *a* are all gratuitous. The root is $\sqrt{ḫṭ}$ 'wayward motion'. whence 'shake; disturb' as well as 'go astray; sin'. It is now attested in RIH 78/20:5–6: *tḫṭa. lgbk // trš. ltmntk* "be unsteady in your back // be feeble in your trunk". Semantically, $\sqrt{ḫṭ}$: $\sqrt{rš}$[70] :: $\sqrt{nġṣ}$: $\sqrt{dlp}$. The *Krt* text usually cited in support of emending here in 1.19 (1.14:III:50) – *yḫṭ* – is either an apocopation or a textual error for **yḫṭu*. The *aleph-a* of *tšḫṭann*, far from being suspect, is an invaluable witness for the *yaqtula* subjunctive, used in a subordinated conditional clause: "May Baal break ... if you disturb..." Cf. further discussion in § 'Literary Commentary', EXCURSUS XVI. – *qr. mẏ*[*m*]: Thus KTU. CTA restores the entire word, [mym], presumably on the basis of the identical phrase in the following line.

Line 47: CTA's [?] at the conclusion of the line is not confirmed by collation or by KTU.

Line 48: p'lm{ }h.: Text shows an extraneous divider after the *m*; delete with CTA (contrast KTU).

pdr. dr: CTA comments (n. 6): "Le second *dr* que la copie permet de deviner, n'est plus lisible actuellement". The statement is incorrect. Autograph (and KTU) reflects the writing on the edge of the tablet overlooked by Herdner and established by personal collation.

Col. IV

Line 8: dnil. ⟨l⟩bth: We assume the loss of the preposition via haplography. For discussion, cf. above, 1.17:II:24.

Lines 9–10: Some scholars[71] see here a textual disturbance, and would emend *'rb. b*[10]*kyt* to *'rb. b⟨bth. b⟩kyt*, on the analogy of (re-

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[69] To judge by Egyptian transcription and Hebrew orthography, the N of *knrt* was doubled in pronunciation; whence *yqbrNN...?*

[70] Cf. Ar. *rasa'a* 'be loose (of limb)'. Unlike $\sqrt{ḫṭ}$, the semantic connection with Heb. $\sqrt{rš'}$ 'wicked, evil', if at all existent, is not clear.

[71] Cf. Dijkstra–De Moor, UF 7:210; Dietrich–Loretz, UF 9:334; and already Herdner, CTA, 90, n. 10.

stored!) [20]...*t*[bʿ. bbty] [21]*bkyt*. The suggestion is not acceptable.[72] In addition to producing a prosodically unsatisfactory text,[73] it is based on a false analogy, viz., the text of lines 20^b-21^a as restored above. The restoration, which originates apparently with CTA (p. 90, n. 10), is epigraphically precluded by the size of the lacuna. Cf. shortly below.

Line 19: yṯ⟨ṯ⟩b: As presently constituted – *yṯb* – the text can mean either "he sits" or "he returns"; but the contextually requisite "he replies" (*//wyʿn*) is **yṯṯb* (cf. UT §§ 5.36; 19.2661).[74]

Line 20: t[bʿ. aṯty. bbt]*ẏ*: KTU: *t*[bʿ.-----]x[-]*ẏ*(?)/*ḫ*(?). This reading presupposes a restoration of nine signs; contrast CTA: *t*[bʿ.----]. But in footnote, Herdner concedes that hers is a *minimal* estimate ("six signes au moins"), in addition to a residual *y* or *ḫ*. Therefore, her own admittedly tentative restoration of *t*[bʿ. bbty] – ignoring the residual traces – must be considered undersized.

Our proposed restoration[75] is admittedly conjectural and *ad sensum*. However, it does conform to the epigraphic requirements as indicated by KTU; it provides a satisfactory sense;[76] it is prosodically sound; and it fits admirably into the alliterative patterning: [...aṯTY. bbT]Y // bkYT...; ...B*BT*]Y // Bk*YT.B*hklY.

Line 22: wyqr̊[y]: Thus KTU; CTA: *wyq⟨ry⟩* (cf. p. 90, n. 12).

Line 23(//30): dǵṯḫ: Thus CTA; KTU: *dǵṯt*(?), *seq*. Virolleaud.

Line 25: ʿd̊[bt. pǵt. tph]: Though restored largely *ad sensum* – cf. lines 26^b-27 – the proposed restoration meets the requirements of context (thematic as well as prosodic) as well as conforming to the constraints of the epigraphy. CTA/KTU: *ʿl/d̊*)[-------]. I assume that *ʿd*[ ] is a verb (= $\sqrt{ʿdb}$ II 'pick, raise up' = Heb. $\sqrt{ʿzb}$ II !), the *qtl*(*t*) form indicating a new grammatical/thematic subject; and that it is at least graphically identical with (line 26) *ʿd*[ ]*t* (KTU: *ʿd.xt*). The *t* ending suggests a feminine subject – not inappropriately considering the theme: cf. 1 Sam. 17:6 f.; *Iliad*, Bk. XVIII – who can hardly be anyone other than daughter Pughat mentioned in line 28 (cf. Ju. 11:34). The 'tambourine' (*tp*) occurs elsewhere in a very similar and instructive context (1.108:4 f.): ...*btp. wmṣltm. bmrqdm. dšn* (cf. lines 26 f. below). – *Alliteration*: ʿd[bT. PǵT. TPh]; ... D[k]BkBm :: ʿD[Bt...].

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[72] Cf. my critical comments on this proposal in JNSL 9:110–12. Cf. also Pardee, UF 8:261.

[73] As argued *ibid.*, 112. The emendation requires attaching *pẓǵm. ǵr* to *bḥẓrḥ* to form a verse-line; but this plays havoc with the continuation of lines 11^b-12.

[74] Gordon cites our passage (§ 19.2661) as an example of $\sqrt{ṯ(w)b}$ in the G stem meaning 'declare'. But it is a one and only case.

[75] Cf. already JNSL 9:111, n. 62.

[76] Assuming *aṯty* = "women" (with *y* = fem. pl.).

Line 26: ʿd[b]*t*: CTA: *ʿd*[--?]; KTU: *ʿd. xt* (the *t* read clearly, without asterisk or question-mark). I take this to be the same verb as in line 25, but with a somewhat different signification. In line 25, $\sqrt{ʿdb}$ refers to the 'picking up' of the instrument (cf. 1.19:III:49, etc.: *ʿdb. ... mṯ. ydh*), perhaps also the act of 'raising it' overhead. Here in line 26, $\sqrt{ʿdb}$ refers to the 'raising' of the (alternate) hand in the act of 'playing' the instrument.

kl[atm.]:[77] *CTA*: (*ṣ/y*)[---]; but KTU has *k*(?)*l*(?)*xxx*. Ug. $\sqrt{kl}$ʾ = 'twain' (cf. Heb. כְּלֵאַיִם) occurs elsewhere in parallelism with *yd*, signifying 'both-hands'. Cp. 1.3:I:10 f.: *ytn. ks. bdh // krpnm. bklat. ydh.* – *Alliteration*: ...kL[aTM.] mṣLTM; ...kl[atM] MṣltM. MrqdM...

Lines 26ᵇ–27ᵃ: mṣ[27]*ltm*: Thus KTU. CTA: ...[27]*ltm*; but cf. already Virolleaud (*Dan'el*, 173): [mṣ?]*ltm*. Cf. further next comment.

Line 27ᵇ: mrḫdm. dšn:[78] CTA: ...*dš*[-]*l* [-]; but Virolleaud read already *dšn*. KTU: ... *dš*(*n*/*t*). The reading is now assured by 1.108:4 f.: ...(*w*)*bmṣltm. bmrqdm. dšn.* The reference is to 'castanets' made of 'ivory' and tied to the fingers of the dancers ($\sqrt{rqd}$), as in Spanish tradition.[79] It is not unlikely that the *mrqdm* are identical with O.T. *mnʿnʿm* = MHeb. *rᵉbiʿit*, Aram. *rᵉbiʿin*.[80] – *l* [k(lk)m ?]: CTA: *l* [-]; but KTU discerns traces of two signs following the *l*, too indistinct to be read. Our admittedly conjectural restoration presumes a Ug. cognate of Ar. *laklak* 'clap', MHeb. *lklk* 'mix-by-beating'.[81] Space permitting, I would prefer to restore *l*[klkm].[82] – *Alliteration*: ...KL[atM.] MṣLtM...L[K(LK)M].

Line 32: *brkt*[m?]: Thus KTU: *brktm*(?); CTA: *brkt*. KTU's *-m*, if correct, would be enclitic, its use determined *allit. cs.*: ...brkTM // TMrn...

Line 38ᶜ: [ḥy ?][39]*npš*: KTU: *x*?*x*?. CTA has no corresponding reading or even an indication of a lacuna. Dan'el is swearing an oath on his life: cp. Heb. חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ, in effect a euphemism for "may thy soul perish (if...)". – *Alliteration*: ...kbkbM :: [ḤY]...hY. MḤ (with partially alliterating Ḥ/Ḫ).

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[77] Cf. already JNSL 9:113.

[78] Cf. UF 16:166–68.

[79] Cf. already B. Margulis (Margalit), JBL 89 [1970]: 292 ff.; A. Caquot, *Syria 53* [1976]: 295–304.

[80] Cf. UF 16:167 f.

[81] Cf. Hava, *Al-Faraid*, 692; Jastrow, *Dictionary* ..., s. v.

[82] Note that line 27, as reconstructed by KTU, is two signs shorter than line 26, and the fact that in line 26 CTA (in contrast to Virolleaud) failed to posit the lacuna necessary for reading or restoring *mṣ* of *mṣ*[27] *ltm*. Cf. similarly below, line 38, where KTU discerns traces of two signs – question-marked to be sure – without a corresponding lacuna in CTA's transcription.

Lines 40 – 41:[83] Both CTA and KTU agree that two signs are to be restored at the end of line 40. But few proposals have been made to fill the lacuna, in part because until the publication of CTA (1963) the sequel text was generally misread.[84] KTU now confirms CTA's reading of a D sign followed by a divider (Virolleaud, autograph, *et al.*: *dg*(*t*). Since the relative pronoun *d* (unlike *dt*) is seldom if every written (at least in the literary texts) as a separate 'word', it follows that the *d* + divider is the conclusion of a word which began at the end of line 40. The recent suggestion by MLC to read an adverb of time [k/ʿ][41]*d*. ("entonces") reflects this same line of reasoning, although the proposal made is probably too short to fill the available space. – Our suggested restoration is to be interpreted as a fem. sg. impf. (G) of √*ndd* 'go, proceed, set out', frequently attested in 1.20 – 22 as part of a formula marking the transition from one *mise-en-scène* to another: *aṯr. tdd. rpum* (// *ilnym*). Cf. also (1.22:I:10 – 11): *km. tdd. ʿnt. ṣd* "Anat sets out to hunt". The verb √*ndd* – lit., 'wander-to-and-fro' – is less a verb of action and more an introductory verb, like √*q*(*w*)*m*, to a specific activity (like English, 'I am going to...'). – Epigraphically, the bifurcation of a triconsonantal word is suspect *a priori*. However, in this portion of the text the phenomenon is relatively common: ...[y][51]*bl*; ...*tq*[55]*ḫ*...; ...*ġ*[59]*zr*. Note too the 'unorthodox' bifurcation of ...*b*[45]*nšgḫ*. The scribe seems to have realized that he might finish the tablet before completing the story (or at least the present scene), and he tried (unsuccessfully) to avoid this situation by utilizing every bit of space, even at the cost of producing an 'unaesthetic' epigraphy.

Line 41: ttql: The word is considered entirely certain by KTU (neither asterisk nor question-mark), thus confirming CTA, the latter however averring (n. 7): "texte très incertain". But CTA's transcription is similarly not question-marked. Virolleaud read (*dg*)*t*(.) *t*(?)[ ]*l*(?), which Gaster would later restore as *t*[šʿ]*l*.[85] – The reading *ttql* may be analyzed as a reflexive (tD) of √*ql* 'fall', here in the sense of 'plunge; cast oneself'. The alliteration provides significant support for the reading as for the preceding restoration: bearing in mind the 'allophonic' character of *k*/*q* in alliterative schemes, cf.: ...TKL. mKLy. ʿL. umT[K] :: [Td]d. TTQL... (= 'verse/strophe-linkage'). The context is of course overwhelmingly favourable: residing along the (eastern) shores of the Sea of Kinnereth, Pughat uses the sea as a means of cleansing her body as well as – one might say especially – a place of concealment in effecting her disguise: she wants to ensure the no prying neighbours give her secret plan away! – *trtḫ*[ṣ. ydm]: KTU assumes four signs to be

[83] Cf. already UIR, 144 f.

[84] By some scholars, even thereafter: cf. Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:211.

[85] *Thespis* (1950): 453; similarly, Driver, CML [1956!]: 64; Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:211.

restored in addition to the *ṣ*. CTA is non-committal, although the size of the space encompassed by the square brackets suggests a lacuna of two signs (in addition to the *ṣ*). The restoration of [ydm][86] seems certain following the unique reading *w*{.}*ṯkm* first read by KTU.[87] It is now clear that our text (lines 41 f.) is stylistically related to a well-known *Krt* passage:

1.14:II:8 – 11(//III:52 – 54)	1.19:IV:41 f.
trtḥṣ. wtadm	*trtḥṣ tid!m*
rḥṣ. ydk. amt	*[ydm]*
uṣbʿtk. ʿd. ṯkm	*wṯkm*

Alliteration: ... [yDM]...tiD!M. Cf. further below, next two comments.

Line 42: tid!m: Text has *tium* (confusion of the similar *u* and *d* signs). The emendation is universally acknowledged. – [ṣdp]: CTA presumes a lacuna of two signs, KTU a lacuna of three.[88] The restoration of (*hap. leg.*) **ṣdp* (= Ar. *ṣadaf* 'sea-shell; conch') is *ad sensum*: note the parallelism with *ǵlp. ym* 'sea mollusk', referring to the *murex trunculus*.[89] The resultant alliteration may also be adduced in support: ...bǵlP...[ṣdP] dalP...; [ṣDP] DalP. šD; trtḥ[Ṣ. YDM]...//...YM // [ṢDp]... Note also the partially alliterative *ṣd/dẓ* sequences resulting in 'verse-linkage': [ṢDp]...šD::Ẓuh...

Line 43: t[šlp(n)]:[90] CTA/KTU: *t*[- - -]. A prerequisite for a proper restoration is the recognition that *ẓuh* is: (a) prosodically, and therefore

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[86] Cf. already UIR, 145.

[87] CTA (text): [- -](a./t)*ḏm*. But in footnote (n. 8): "Lire peut-être avec Virolleaud *wtadm*... Nous serions tentée de completer *p*[*ǵ*]*t*[.] *adm. tidm.*" (Whence the *p* and *t* ?!)

[88] This circumstance would appear to preclude the restoration of *anhb*(*m*) on the basis of 1.3:III:1 – 2 (//IV:45), a restoration which if epigraphically possible would not be without alliterative merit: [AnHB(m)] dAlp... :: ẓuH. Bym... That this was considered satisfactory is shown by its attestation in 1.3. But observe the different settings of the two texts: rBB...kBkBM :: ...anhBM... versus ...tiD!m. bǵlP... :: [ṣDP]..., not to mention the parallelism (*b*)*ǵlp ym* // [xxx]... unknown to text 1.3:III:1 f. (//IV:45).

[89] Cf. De Moor, *Or* 37 [1968]: 212 – 15; Margalit, UIR, 146, n. 58. On 'Tyrian Purple' generally, cf. Jensen, JNES 22 [1963]: 104 – 118. We do not assume that Pughat found the murex snail in the Kinnereth, where they do not (and never did) exist, but rather that she had a cosmetic rouge made from the murex which, as the text avers, had reached her from a distance (*dalp. šd*). We may recall that a major artery of communication runs from Tyre on the coast to tell Dan and to the Bashan-Golan region as far as Damascus.

[90] Differently restored in UIR, *loc. cit.*, and in RB 90:557 f.; the reasons will be given below.

syntactically, independent of the preceding *dalp. šd*;[91] and (b) that despite the unlikely morphology, *ẓu(h)* is here the dir. object of a **tqtl* verb whose subject is Pughat.[92] – The philological premise of our proposed restoration is that $\sqrt{ẓu(h)}$ derives from $\sqrt{ẓ'y}$, a variant of PS $\sqrt{ḍ'y}$[93] 'emit a bad odour; stink', rather than (as generally assumed) $\sqrt{yẓ'}$ = $\sqrt{yṣ'}$ 'exit; excrete'[94], and that it denotes 'tunic, undergarment',[95] more or less identical semantically with *npyn* ($\sqrt{npy}$) found in synonymous parallelism with *md* "'tights'" (lit., 'measured-garment'). The question to be answered here is: what type of activity performed by Pughat with respect to her *ẓu*-garment is best suited to the sequence of activities beginning *ttql* (l. 41) and concluding *tlbš* (l. 46)? – Previously, I was inclined to see in our passage a stylistic variant of 1.4:II:6: *tmt*. *mdh. bym* "She (= Asherah) launders (lit., 'twists') her tunic in the sea". In both cases a female is about to embark on a journey and is preoccupied with her garment in the sea. However, whereas in 1.4:II one may infer that the heroine intends to wear the laundered garment (as soon as it dries) on her journey, the implication here in 1.19 is that Pughat is *exchanging* her *ẓu*-garment for a warrior's *npṣ*-garment, which she dons ($\sqrt{lbš}$) in line 44. It is difficult to see what purpose would be served by laundering at this point. Our newly proposed, admittedly conjectural restoration presumes a Ug. $\sqrt{šlp}$, cognate with Heb./Aram. $\sqrt{šlp}$ 'draw out; remove (a shoe, etc.)", Akk. *šalāpu* "pull, draw out; remove, wipe off".[96] Pughat removes her (feminine) undergarment prior to donning warrior raiment which, in an administrative document (KTU 4.245 = PRU 2, 54) is referred to ('barracks-talk'?) as *md. ṯtrt* "Astarte's (long) underwear", apparently because of the similarity to women's 'tights'. The *npṣ. ǵzr* may thus be assumed to have been a tight-fitting (*md*) garment worn directly on the body, thus necessitating that Pughat remove

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[91] The monostichic verse beginning *ẓuh* is best taken as strophe-terminative rather than as strophe-introductory (although prosodically viewed, both options are valid). The former alternative corresponds to a 'thematic break' in the narrative: Pughat's activities in the water contrasting with those (implicitly) on land. In the sea, she 'plunges', 'washes', 'rouges', and 'strips'. On land she 'dresses' ($\sqrt{lbš}$).

[92] The alternatives to this assumption are more difficult still: either *ẓu* as a feminine noun, or a 3 m. sg. *tqtl*. – The linguistic reconstruction is as follows: *[ẓi'yu] > *[ẓi'u], written *ẓu*, and uninflected. Cf. similarly (*tpr.w*)*du*, where *du* is an abs. inf. *[di'u] < [da'āyu]. (If finite, we ought to have had **wtdu*).

[93] Cognate with Eth. *ṣē'a* (var. *ḍē'a*) 'stink', Heb./Syr. *ṣē'a(h)*/*ṣ̄ī* 'soiled, dirty'. Cf. HAL, 931, s. v. *ṣē'a(h)*.

[94] This correspondence is confined in Ugaritic to text 1.12. In *Aqht* (and Ugaritic generally) PS *$\sqrt{wḍ'}$ 'exit' > Ug. $\sqrt{yṣ'}$, a well-known and universally acknowledged fact.

[95] Cf. B. Margalit, RB 90:556–62; M. Malul, RB 93:415–18.

[96] Cf. BDB, s. v.; AHw, 1145 f.

her 'civilian' *zu* undergarment.[97] – In addition to satisfying the epigraphic and thematic requirements, the proposed restoration proves to be pivotal in the alliterative patterning of the text:

– daLP. Šd :: ...t[ŠLP(n)], a case of 'verse/strophe linkage'.
– ...T[Šlp(n)]...TŠT...TŠt

If we adopt the energic alternative, *t*[xxxn],[98] cf.

– ...t[šLPN] / ...NPṣ.../ ḫ[LPN].

On the latter restoration, cf. immediately below.

Line 44: ḫ[lpn]:[99] The restoration originates with Gaster[100] who read *ḫ*[lp], a proposal considered by Herdner (CTA, 91, n. 11) "non sans vraisemblance". But both CTA and KTU demur from incorporating the restoration in the body of the text. CTA presumes a triconsonatal word: *ḫ*[--]; but the evidence from administrative texts 4.385:6 and 4.630:5 points to **ḫlpn*,[101] denoting (in 4.385) 'lance' (= *mrḥ*).[102] The basic meaning of $\sqrt{ḫlp}$ is 'pass through; pierce', whence *mḫlpt* '(braided) hair-locks'; *ḫlpnt* 'two-ply wool'; *ḫlpnm* "(two) scalpels, lances".[103] – *Alliteration*: ...NPṣ... (...ḫ[lPN]; and with partially alliterating *p/b*, cf. tLBš...ḫ[LPn], and ḫ[lPN] BNšgh. Cf. also above, comment on *t*[šLPN]. – We should take note of the poet's choice of $\sqrt{nšg}$ (*hap. leg.*!), rather than the more common *ḥbš* to designate the 'belt, girdle' of the Anat-disguise (cf. above 1.17:VI:8 and especially 1.18:IV;17//28). The choice is motivated by the semantic link of $\sqrt{nšq}$ 'weave' and $\sqrt{ḫlp}$ 'pleat, sow', both associated with 'clothing' (cf. Heb. *ḥalîp̄ā(ḥ)*. The 'blade' and the 'girdle' are, so to speak, cut from the same piece of cloth!

Line 46: [aṯr]:[104] CTA: [--], but KTU: [---]. The restoration of the preposition, denoting 'in the wake (lit., 'steps') of...' explains the genitival form of *ṣbi* (= $\sqrt{ṣb}$ < *$\sqrt{ḍb}$) 'setting' (lit., 'effacing').[105] Prosodically, the restoration creates a 'double-construct' so that the five-word

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[97] Cf. RB 90:559 ff.

[98] Although the average sign-count in lines 41 – 46 is sixteen, lines 42 and 44 (*apud* KTU's estimate and our restorations) originally contained seventeen signs. Line 47 is also reconstructed by KTU as having had seventeen.

[99] Cf. already UF 16:172 – 74.

[100] JAOS 70 [1950]: 9.

[101] Thus already Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:211. But their interpretation is very different from ours, and requires the restoration of additional text material for which there is insufficient space.

[102] Cf. R. R. Stieglitz, JCS 33 (1981): 52 – 55; C. H. Gordon, in: *Cortesão Memorial Volume* [1979]: 141 – 45; and my discussion in UF 16:172 ff.

[103] Cf. also Heb. $\sqrt{ḥlp}$ 'pierce' (Ju. 5:26; Job 20:24); 'pass through; sow (cloth)' (cf. *ḥalîp̄ā(ḥ)* 'suit-of-clothes'; garment).

[104] Cf. already UIR, 148.

[105] Cf. RB 89:423 ff.

sequence [aṯr]...*špš* scans (as it otherwise must) as a line of four verse-units.[106] – *Alliteratively*, cp.: ...AṮt. :: [AṮr]... ('verse/strophe-linkage').

Line 47: [p/t]*r*[(t)pš(t)]:[107] CTA and KTU again differ slightly in their estimates of the lacuna: CTA: [-]*r*[- -]; KTU: x*r*[- - -]. The preserved R, together with the alliteration and the context,[108] ought to preclude any restoration other than $\sqrt{rpš}$ 'tread on unclean surface; trudge'.[109] The root $\sqrt{rpš}$ is possibly attested in administrative text 4.348, but in any case is well-known in Semitic.[110] The doubts concern the precise form of the verb to be reconstructed. Virolleaud's autograph (CTA, fig. 62) favours $\mathring{p}$ over $\mathring{t}$,[111] the former (if correct) to be interpreted as 'conjunctive-*p*(a)' chosen (as commonly) *allit. cs.*[112] In this eventuality, the verb form is necessarily *qatala*(*t*): *pr*[*pšt*], tallying with the perf. *mġy*[t] in line 49. However, the nature of the activity, and its duration, suggests a *tqtl*(*t*) form of the verb; in which case we should restore either [t]*r*[pš], following CTA's estimate, or [t]*r*[tpš], a Gt form, following KTU's estimate. – Alliteratively, it is the *p* + *qatalat* option which proves most attractive: ... ŠPŠ // Pr[PŠt.]. Pġt.... minŠ. Šdm //...ŠPŠ. It also better explains the otherwise curious *qatalat* form of $\sqrt{mġy}$ (normally **tqtl.*). For, as we have suggested on several occasions previously, Ug. poetry doesn't normally use *yqtl-qtl* in sequential narration (in contrast to *qtl-yqtl*).

Line 50: lyṯ[pn. y]*bl*: This long-standing restoration (cf. CTA, 91, n. 15) is by-now universally acknowledged. Note the resultant alliteration: ...lahLM :: rgM. LyṮ[pn] – 'verse/strophe linkage'; ...LahLm :: ...LyṮ[pn. y]bL; and ...LYṮ[pn. Y]bL...

Line 51: [ʿnt]: CTA/KTU (*seq.* Ginsberg): [pġt]. But the context supports Dijkstra – De Moor's (now also MLC): [ʿnt]. Pughat, disguised as Anat, is seen at a distance by the sentries, her unusual dress immediately identifying her as 'the-one-who-hired-us' (*agrtn*). It is as Anat that Pughat is ushered forthwith into Ytpn's private quarters. – *Alliteration*: in this respect as well the restoration [ʿnt] proves superior to that of [pġt]:

agrTN. BAT. B...// [ʿNT.] BAT. B...

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[106] Cf. UF 7:295.

[107] Cf. already UIR, 148; UF 15:112, n. 14; UF 16:175, n. 413.

[108] Cf. UF 16:174–76.

[109] Scholars for the most part tend to restore here $\sqrt{ʿrb}$ 'enter'. Cf. my critique in UF 16:174 f.

[110] Cf. BDB, 952, s. v.; AHw, 954. The PS form is to be reconstructed as *$\sqrt{rpś}$.

[111] Virolleaud himself read *k*(?)*r*[t?]; Driver (CML [1956!]) read *ẇr*[dt]. Both *k* and *w* are closer to *p* than to *t*.

[112] Cf. UF 11:546 f., where I have shown that "virtually without exception the preference of the conjunction *p* over *w* is motivated *alliterationis causa.*".

Line 52: b⟨a⟩hlm: The scribe inadvertantly omitted the *a* sign, due to haplography: ... **bat. bahlm* > *bat. bhlm.*

Line 55: tq!ḫ: The text reads (*apud* autograph and KTU) *tpḫ*. The emended reading is universally acknowledged, the context permitting no reasonable alternative. But if doubt were to arise on contextual grounds, the issue could be decided on grounds of alliterative compatibility: *tQḫ...wtšQynh // tQḫ...// Qbˁt* (not *krpn*!)... As against three Q's (and one K), the text has but one P (and two B's).

Line 57: ila: The prevalent emendation to *iln*! "our god/El", adopted also by KTU (contrast CTA!), is fully gratuitous. Not only does it yield poor sense and awkward idiom, it obliterates a priceless linguistic datum. The speaker, we should recall, is the Sutean Yṭpn. To make his speech 'credible' to the audience, the poet has him speak in an 'Amorite/ MAR.DU' dialect. The DN I-LA is attested in the Amorite/MAR.DU PNN *Milki-lu-ila* and *Yu-mi-ila*: this is the 'Amorite El', the god of nomads (*il. dyqny. ḏdm*), whom the sedentary and 'western' Canaanites/ Raphaites know as ILU (in Ugaritic myth, still a tent-dweller!). In normal Ugaritic orthography, there would be no differentiation between ILU and ILA. Therefore, the poet deliberately uses a phonetic complement to stress the difference and to ensure the proper pronunciation in recital. – *šṯ*[.]: The reading is based on a personal collation; CTA and KTU read merely *š*[--]. However, the lacuna is smaller in this line than in line 59, where KTU reads *šṯ*[-]*šṯ* and CTA *šṯ*[-?]*šṯ*. Furthermore, in line 57 the *i* of the following word *il* is at least partly to be restored inside the lacuna. Accordingly, the combination of (0.90*t*) + (0.33*i*) is quite sufficient to fill the gap in line 57. Formerly,[113] I tended to restore *š*[t(m)], primarily for epigraphic reasons. But as line 59 makes clear – the reading **štm* precluded there epigraphically – *št* (= Akk. *sutū* = Heb. (*bᵉnē*) *šet*) does not pluralize with *m*. The addition of an M to *št* would have to be explained as 'enclitic', motivated either prosodically or alliteratively (or both). Now the relatively short words which comprise the four-unit A-line *byn...št*[?] are augmented by a fifth word, *il*, which in construct with *št* forms a single verse-unit of 'normal size'. There is thus no prosodic imperative to encliticize *št*. As for the alliterative factor: far from emhancing the alliteration, the addition of M to *št* actually impairs it: cf. ...yŠT. ILa...ŠT[.]IL...

Line 59: [y]*šṯ*: KTU assumes a lacuna of one sign, CTA optionally one or two. It is generally recognized that we are dealing here with the verb $\sqrt{\check{s}(y)t}$ 'set down, place', either **yqtl* or **tqtl* in form. I prefer the former, to be analyzed (like **ybl* in ll. 50 f.) as a G passive, 3 m. s. (= Fr. 'On met...'). The supportive reasoning runs as follows: both Pughat and

[113] Cf. UF 8:186; JNSL 9:116.

Yṭpn are inside the tent, whereas the implication of *yšt...lahlm* is that something has been brought into the tent from the outside. The to-my-mind doubtful status of the reading **ḫršm* – see shortly below – normally understood as denoting 'magical instruments' or the like in the possession of the supposed diviner Pughat, is a negative reason for dissociating the heroine from the verb.[114] If our alternate reading **ʿ(!)ršm* "(double-)couch" is adopted, then the issue is definitely settled in favour of [y]*šṭ*. – Alliteratively viewed, neither alternative appreciably affects the patterning (though a slight edge would have to be given to *tšṭ*): ... ŠT :: (y/T)ŠT...[115]

Line 60: *ʿ(!)ršm*:[116] CTA, KTU, and scholars generally read *ḫršm*, usually understood as deriving from √*ḫrš* 'do magic', and taken to mean 'instruments of divination'.[117] But one searches the sequel text in vain for either the purpose or the effect(s) of placing such instruments in the tent. The sole activity in the few remaining lines of text is Yṭpn's consumption of alcoholic beverage dutifully and purposefully plied by Pughat. In short order he will presumably have lost consciousness, and thus will hardly be in need of divining instruments. Pughat, one may assume, will not have tarried after accomplishing her mission in the 'lion's den'; thus *her* need for such instruments is likewise not apparent. – The solution, I submit, lies in recognizing that the reading of the initial Ḥ-sign is extremely doubtful. A doubtful Ḥ might well be a damaged (or superimposed) *ʿayin*, or, failing that, a scribal error for same. The word **ʿršš* 'bed, couch' was observed above at 1.17:I:38 and II:41. The final *m* might be enclitic (as frequently with 'segholates'), or, more suggestively, a dual: a double-bed or couch was brought into the tent by Yṭpn's personal guard(s) – perhaps even pre-arranged ... – to accomodate the female guest as well as her host. In view of what was seen in 1.18:IV, we may even surmise that love-making was part of the

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[114] Cf. e. g., Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:214, reading [t]*šṭ* and rendered, "She (i. e., Pughat) put..."

[115] In JNSL 9:116 f. I read [y]*šṭ* while still of the belief that *ḫršm* was the sole epigraphic option, and which I interpreted as reflecting Yṭpn's image as an 'itinerant sorcerer'. The theoretical possibilities in favour of **yšṭ* thus outnumber those favouring **tšṭ*. The latter can only refer to Pughat, whereas the former can refer either to Yṭpn or to an impersonal 'one'.

[116] Cf. my discussion in VT 36 [1986]: 485 – 89.

[117] Cf. e. g., Gaster, *Thespis* [1961]: 375; Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:213. Caquot and Sznycer dissent, considering the *ḫršm* "seulement des objets manufacturés que Pughat a pu porter pour acheter Yaṭpan". The problem here (aside from misconstruing the purpose of Pughat's visit) is that we know precisely how Pughat is dressed and what she is carrying: a sword in her girdle, nothing more nor less.

remuneration promised to Yṯpn by Anat as the price for his services.[118] Be this as it may, the reading ʿ(!)*ršm* imparts a much more satifactory sense to the passage then does *ḫršm*, and it cannot be entirely ruled out even on purely epigraphic grounds. – The test of alliterative compatibility is in this case inconclusive, since neither Ḥ nor *ʿayin* figures in the alliterative patterning of the verse: ...[y]Št. -rŠm; ...-ršM. LahLM... Cf. also below, next comment.

p[mla]:[119] CTA and KTU: *p*[---]. Virolleaud: *k*[bdh?]. The restoration is made possible, as well as probable, following KTU's reading of the continuation: *km*(.) [61]*ybl* (CTA: [ ]*bl*) "like a stream/channel". The imagery of a 'bloated body' due to excessive consumption of alcohol, encountered earlier in 1.17:VI, occurs also in *Enuma Elish*: "As [the gods] drank the strong drink, the(ir) bod[ies] swelled" (*ḫa-ba-ṣu zum*[-ra/ri]). – The resultant alliterative patterns are most impressive and add cogency to the proposal: ...(ḫ/ʿ)ršM. LAhlm // p[MLA]... Cf. further, comment on *y*[mk] below.

Line 61: ỷbl: The reading (and priority!) is that of KTU.[120] CTA has [-]*bl*, with Gaster's [s]*bl* cited non-committally in footnote. The context, and the literary parallels cited above, hardly leave any room for doubting *ybl* (= Heb. *yuḇāl* = Akk. [Mari!] *yabiltum*) "stream, channel, rivulet". – *y*[mk.] *l̊ah*: [121] CTA has *y*[--](*ṣ̊*/*l̊*)*ah*, with Gordon's restoration of *y*[qr]*ah* cited in footnote. KTU reads *yx*[--](*ṣ̊*/*l̊*)*ah*, differing with CTA in supposing three signs to be restored. – The reading *l̊ah* is to be preferred, philologically as well as alliteratively. Unlike **ṣa*- which is otherwise unknown in Ugaritic, the substantive *la* (var. *lan*),

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[118] Our text recension, it will be recalled, has telescoped the scene of Anat's contracting with Yṯpn in 1.18:IV. That payment of some sort was promised Yṯpn is however evident from the sentry's announcement, "our employer (*agrṯn*) has arrived...".

[119] Cf. already MLD, 85, n. 1; JNSL 8:75 ff.; 9:116 f.

[120] The appearance of this reading (as [y]*bl*) in Dijkstra – De Moor's aforecited UF 7 study is very curious, to say the least: (a) because the translation reflects [b]*bl*, cited in the notes as an alternative *possibility* to [y]*bl*, and supposedly cognate with Akk. *biblu* (admittedly derived from **wabālu*), the entire expression (i.e., [b]*bl. lb*) compared with Akk. *bibil. libbi* 'wish of the heart'; (b) because the absence of any clarifying comment on [y]*bl* = **bll* = 'wish' (hardly self-evident in Ugaritic!), coupled with the strange English syntax of the note *ad loc.* (p. 214), suggests that [y]*bl* was added (in proof?) *following* the publication of KTU (or rather the computer print-out which was made available to friends and interested visitors at the UF Institute in Münster in the winter of 1975–76). For despite the date of 1975 for UF 7, this particular volume of UF did not appear until mid-1976, more or less together with KTU (while the proofs for the UF 7 articles could still be corrected in early 1976 ...). Accordingly, one has the right to suspect that the reading **ybl* (or [y]*bl*, an easier correction of [b]*bl*...) did not originate at the Semitic Institute of Kampen...

[121] Cf. already JNSL 8:77 f.

deriving from √*l*ʾ*y* 'be strong', occurs in a formulaic phrase predicated of the sun-goddess (1.3:IV:18, etc.): *la. šmm* "power of the heavens".[122] Alliteratively, not only are ʾA and L prominent in the tristich, but the combination of L + A + H, and in that sequence, recurs earlier in the word LAHlm. Note also ...LAhlm // p[mLA]...//...LAh, as well as ...LahLm // p[mLa]...ybL...Lah. Last, but not least important, the resultant text, "his strength ... (verb) like a snake" also provides a most suitable context for restoring the missing verb (*y*[- - (-)]). – The suggested *y*[mk] reflects √*m*(*w*)*k* or √*mkk* 'be low(ly)', well-attested in Ugaritic. Cf. 1.4:VIII:12 f. (*mk. ksu. ṯbth*), and especially 1.2:IV:17, which may be seen as a stylistic variant to our text: ʿ*z. ym. lymk* "Yamm's strength ebbs (lit., 'descends')", with ʿ*z* a synonym of *la*(*n*) [cf. 1.108:21 – 23]. The choice of LA here in 1.19, rather than the (possibly) more common ʿZ, is determined *allit. cs.*: unlike L and ʾA, neither ʿ*ayin* nor Z is attested in the tristich at hand ([y]*št...lah*). Conversely, in 1.2:IV:16 f., the consonantal *aleph* is entirely absent while ʿZ. Ym alliterates with the proximate Zbl. Ym. – The choice of √*m*(*w*)*k* in the ophidic simile plays on the literal as well as figurative quality of the snake as a 'low-life', or (coll. Eng.) 'creep', which (like the wallowing drunkard) crawls on the ground and is both loathed and feared. It is surely no coincidence that the two dramatic persons who 'merit' ophidic similitude are Anat (1.17:VI:14) and her hired Sutean assasin, Yṯpn.

Line 61^{d}*:* [m]s[k. (m)škr?]: The restoration is very tentatively proffered. KTU does not assume any additional text material after the second *tšqy*, while CTA reads thereafter merely [?]*w*[ ]. But Virolleaud, followed by Driver, read and restored [m]*s*[k. hwt?]. The first word is more persuasively restored than the second, although I agree with Virolleaud in reconstructing a B-line of three words (= 'verse-units'), thus forming a [4 + 3] distich.[123] – In considering a restoration for this (B) line, we should begin with the following data as a point of departure: (1) the repetition of *tšqy* in the B-line suggests, as Virolleaud surmised, that we are dealing with synonymous parallelism of the 'repetitive' kind. But the pattern for such parallelism is generally *a-b-c//a-b-d (and not, as Virolleaud assumed, *a-b-c//a-b-c). Accordingly, Virolleaud's restoration of [m]*s*[k] is probable, whereas [hwt] is not. (2) the choice of

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[122] Cp. Ju. 5:31; Ps. 19:6, and the discussion in my MLD, 84 f., 173 f.

[123] Dijkstra – De Moor also reconstruct a [4 + 3] distich. But their restoration of *s*[m. hwt] "(She gave) him poison (to drink)" is compromised both by the etymological uncertainty of the sibilant (Heb.-Aram.-Arab. *s*(*a*)*m*(*m*) // Akk. (OB) *šammum* [OAkk. *śammum*]) as well as by the plot of the story: if Pughat planned to poison Yṯpn, what need would she have of the dagger in her waistband? Note too that Virolleaud's transcription – less certainly CTA's – indicates a lacuna of one sign between *yšqy* and *s* (CTA: *w*).

msk, rather than *yn*, in the A-line suggests that the consonants *m-s-k*, individually and in sequence, are alliteratively significant in the verse (and conversely, neither *y* nor *n*). – Our proposed restoration is an attempt to produce a meaningful text which answers at once to the prosodic and alliteratively requirements. $\sqrt{\check{s}kr}$ 'be drunk' was encountered above in the 'list of filial duties'. The combination of $\sqrt{msk}$ and $\sqrt{\check{s}kr}$ occurs in Isa. 5:22 where it denotes the 'mixing' of intoxicating beverage, Heb. *šēḵar*.[124] Alliteratively, note [M]s[K] [(M)šKr], and tŠQy... tŠQy... [(m)ŠKr].

[124] The designation of an alcoholic beverage as MSK points to a 'mixed drink', i.e., wine plus an additive, such as honey, spice, or merely water. Cf. HAL, 572, citing Dalman, *AuS*, vol. VI:128 f.

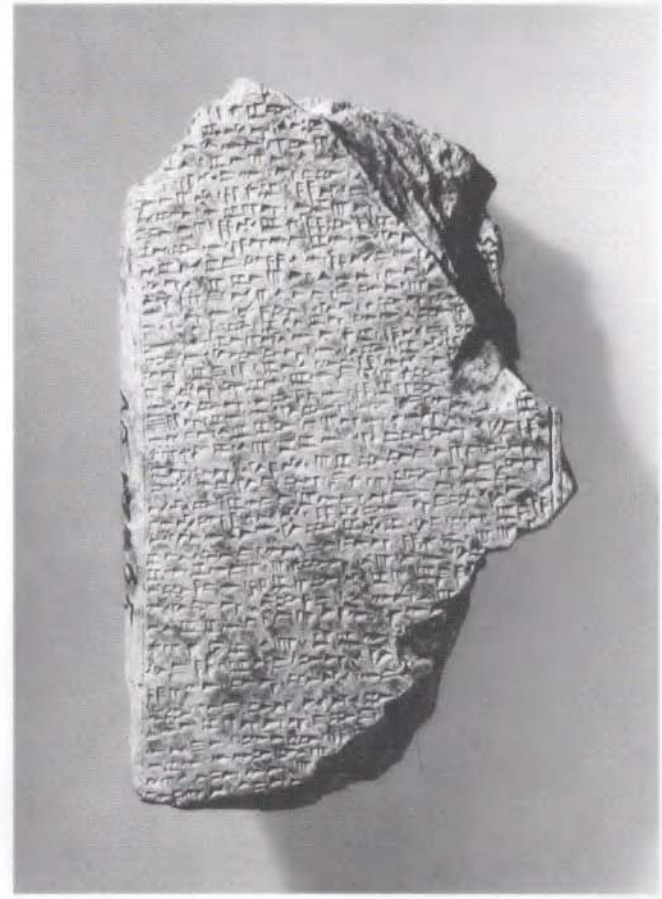
1.17:I-II (obverse)

1.17:V-IV (reverse)

Photographs courtesy of The Louvre

PLATE I

1.18: I (obverse)



"1.18: IV" (reverse)

Photographs courtesy of The British Museum

1.19: I-II (obverse)

1.19: III-IV (reverse)

Photographs courtesy of The Louvre

PLATE III

l.39
l.40
l.41
l.42

l.39
l.40
l.41
l.42

Enlargement of 1.19: III: 39-42. The word *Ḳenṙt* "in the (Sea of) Kinnereth" can be read at the end of line 41 (the final 't' is slightly raised)
Photographs courtesy of The Louvre

§ 4. Literary Commentary

ACT I – SCENE 1 (1.17:I:1 – 48; II:1 – 23)

TEXT

... (ca. 10 lines)	...		
[apnk.] [1][dnil. mt. r]*p̊ỉ*	3	6	
aph⟨n⟩.ġzr(.) [2][mt. hrnmy]	3		12
uzr. ilm. ylḥm	3	6	
[3][uzr. yšqy.] *bn. qdš*	3		
yd(.) [4][ṣth. ⟨dnil	3	6	
yd. ṣth.⟩ y*ʿ*l]	3		10
wyškb. yd(.) [5][mizrth.] *p̊yl*!*n*!	4		
ḥn. ym(.) [6][wṯn]	3	6	
[uzr.] *ilm. dnil*	3		12
[7][uzr. ilm]. *ylḥm*	3	6	9
uzr(.) [8][yšqy. b]*n. qdš*	3		
ṯlṯ. rbʿ(.)*ym*	2		11
[9][uzr. i]*lm. dnil*	3	6	
uzr(.) [10][ilm. y]*lḥm*	3		9
uzr. yšqy. bn(.) [11][qdš	3		
ḫ]*mš. ṯdṯ. ym*	2		11
uzr(.) [12][il]*m. dnil*	3	6	
uzr. ilm. ylḥm	3		9
[13][uzr]. *yšqy. bn. qdš*	3		
yd. ṣth(.) [14]*dnil*	3	6	
yd. ṣth. yʿl	3		10
wyškb(.) [15]*yd. mizrt⟨h.⟩ pyln*	4		

mk. bšbʿ. ymm	3		
[21β]*uzrm. ilm. ylḥm*	3	6	12
[22]*uzrm. yšqy. bn. qdš*	3		
[16][w/k]*yqrb. bʾl. bḥnth*	3		

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abyn. at(.) [17][d]*nil. mt. rpi*	4	7	
anḫ. ǵzr(.) [18]*mt. hrnmy*	3		13
din. bn. lh(.) [19]*km. aḫh* {... 19[b] ...}	3	6	
[20]*bl. iṯ. bn. lh. k*!*m*(.) *aḫh*	3		
wšrš(.) [21]*km. aryh*	2		

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[23]*ltbrknn*(.) *lṯr. il*(.) *aby*	4	7	
[24]*tmrnn*(.) *lbny. bnwt*	3		13
[25]*wykn. bnh. bbt*	3	6	
šrš. bqrb(.) [26]*hklh*	3		
nṣb. skn. ilibh	3	6	
bqdš(.) [27]*ztr. ʿmh*	3		12
larṣ. mšṣu. qṭrh	3	6	
[28]*lʿpr. ḏmr. aṯrh*	3		
ṭbq. lḥt(.) [29]*niṣh*	3	6	
grš. d{ }*ʿšy. lnh*	3		12
[30]*åḫd. ydh. bškrn*	3	6	
mʿmsh(.) [31][*k*]*šbʿ*(.) *yn*	3		
spu. ksmh. bt. bʿl	3	5	
[32][w]*mnth. bt. il*	2		

ṭḫ. ggḥ. bym(.) [33][ṯi]*ṭ*	4	8	
rḥṣ. npṣh. bym. rṯ	4		
[34][ks.] *yiḫd. il*(.) ⟨*bdh*	4	7	
krpn. bm. ymn⟩	3		
⟨*brkm. ybrk.*⟩ *ʿbdh*	3	6	
ybrk(.) [35][dni]*l. mt. rpi*	3		9
ymr. ǵzr(.) [36][mt. h]*rnmy*	3		

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npš. yḥ. dnil(.) [37][mt. rp]*i* *brlt. ǵzr. mt. hrnmy*	4 3	7	13
[38][wyrš]*ḫ̊. hw. mḫ. lʿršh* *yʿl*(.) [39][lʿrš. d]*ḏ*	3 3	6	
bm. nšq. aṯth(.) [40][whr hwt(h)]. *bḥbqḥ ḥmḥmt*	3 3	6	12
[41][hw. mḫ. yhr]*r̊n. ylt* *ḥmḥmt*(.) [42][mṯt. mt. r]*pi*	[3] 3	6	
wykn. bnh(.) [43][bbt] [šrš]. *bqrb*(.) *hklh*	3 3	6	12
[44][nṣb. skn. i]*libh* *bqdš*(.) [45][ztr. ʿmh]	3 3	6	
[la]*r̊ṣ. mšṣu*(.) [46][qṭrh] [lʿpr. ḏ]*mr. aṯrh*	3 3	6	12
[47][ṭbq. lḥt. niṣh] [gr]*š̊. dʿšy*(.) [48][lnh]	3 3	6	
(etc.) ..... (ca. 10 lines)	...		

[bqdš] [1]*ẑ*[tr. ʿmk.]	[3]		
[larṣ. mšṣu. qṭrk] [2]*lʿ*{ }*ʿpr̊. ḏm̊*[r. aṯrk]	[3] 3	[6]	12
[ṭbq](.) [3]*lḥt. niṣk* *gr̊*[š. dʿšy. lnk] ...	3 3	6	
[(5β)]*aḫd. ydk* [.] *b*[škrn] [6]*mʿmsk. kšbʿt. yn*	3 3	6	11
[4]*spu. ksmk. bt.* [bʿl] [wmntk] (.) [5]*bt*(.) *il*	3 2	5	

[(6β)]*ṯḫ̊* [7]*ggk. b*{ }*ym. ṯiṯ* *rḫṣ.*(.) [8]*npṣk. bym. rṯ*	4 4	8	
b⟨*riš.*⟩ *d*!*ni*[l] (.) [9]⟨[piṯ]⟩. *tšmḫ* *wʿl. yṣhl.* ⟨[pnm]⟩	4! 3	7!	

[10]*yprq. lṣb. wyṣḥq*	3	6		
[11]*pʿn. lḥdm. yṯpd*	3			
yšu(.) [12]*gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3			
aṯ̊bn. ank(.) [13]*wanḫn*	3	6		
wtn̊ḫ. birty(.) [14]*npš*	3			11
kyld. bn. ly. km(.) [15]*aḫy*	3	5		
wšr̊š̊. km. aryy	2			
[16]*nṣb. skn. iliby*	3	6		
bqdš(.) [17]*ztr. ʿmy*	3		9	
lʿpr[.] *ḏmr. aṯr*[y]	3			12
[18]*ṯbq. lḥt. niṣy*	3	6		
grš(.) [19]*dʿšy. lnḥ*	3			11
[21]*spu. ksmy. bt. bʿl*	3	5		
ẇm̊n[t][22]*y. bt. il*	2			
tḫ. ggy. bym. ṯiṯ̊	4	8		
[23]*rḥṣ. npṣy. bym. rṯ*	4			

Synopsis

The so-called, probably misnomered 'incubation scene'. Seven days of sacrificial devotions by Dan'el, man-of-RP', culminate – on the seventh day! – in Baal's intercession on Dan'el's behalf with El. Wine-cup in hand, El pronounces a benediction, foretelling – in somewhat prurient detail – the birth of a son to Dan'el. A jubilant Dan'el receives the good tidings from his patron Baal.

General Comments

The unit is missing ten lines at the top, thus precluding our knowing whether the tablet which we take to be the first of three is really the original beginning. There is no reason for not assuming a prior, no longer extant tablet which described, *inter alia*, (1) Dan'el's place of residence and the members of his household, especially wife DNTY whom we meet for the first time in col. V without any formal introduction (contrast the introduction of Pughat in 1.19:I:25–28 [restored in part]).

(2) The birth of a first-child, a daughter named simply – on the literary level, however, most significantly – 'Girl', whose birth was presumably followed by a lengthy 'dry spell'. This cessation in reproduction, we tend to assume, provides the crisis which precipitates Dan'el's journey to a shrine of El – at Laish-Dan? – and the sequence of actions described in 1.17:I.

Since most of the above scenario is necessarily speculative and hypothetical, we can say very little about the origins of the principal character of the story, Dan'el. The stereotyped fixed-epithets, *mt. rpi* and *mt. hrnmy* provide very scant information by virtue of their enigmaticity. It is at once interesting and surprising that nowhere is Dan'el ever referred to by his patronymic, *bn* X, even for purposes of parallelism where such a usage might have been expected. The same is true for the royal hero of *Krt*, although here the reason might be his doctrinally determined filial relationship with El, the epithet *bn il* superseding *bn* X.

However, on the basis of allusions encountered subsequently in the story – especially in the third tablet, 1.19 – we can safely assume that Dan'el is a well-to-do landowner belonging to the patrician class known as *adrm* charged with the public administration (metonymously, adjudication). Whatever his place of origin – almost certainly *not* HRNM/ Harmel near Kadesh-on-the Orontes – he resides at the time of the story in proximity to the Sea of Galilee and Kh. Kerak, presumably on the heights to the east of, and overlooking, the Sea, the western perimeter of the region known in the Bible (and in LB Egyptian and cuneiform sources) as 'Bashan'.

Unlike King Krt, Dan'el's desire for offspring – *male* offspring to be exact! – is not motivated by dynastic considerations. The several and various duties of the son enumerated in the repeated list do not include any which might be deemed appropriate for a young prince and heir apparent.

Excursus I: Dan'el's Epithets MT. RPI and MT. HRNMY

Scholarly opinion is sorely divided on the precise – or even less than precise – signification of the hero's stock epithets, MT. RPI and MT. HRNMY, "man-of-R." and "man-of-H." respectively. The term RPI is usually understood as a genitival (*status constructus*) form of a common or proper noun RPU deriving from a root $\sqrt{rp^{3}}$ "heal, mend". At this point the consensus gives way to two basic alternatives:

(1) a proper-name designation of the hero, approximately 'Raphaite-gent'[1], with or without connection to the biblical Rephaim conceived

[1] Thus H. L. Ginsberg, ANET.

either as an aboriginal population of Transjordanian Bashan (Gen. 14, etc.) or as the chthonic deities corresponding to Ug. *rpum*, Phoen. *rp'(y)m*; in effect, divinized ancestors.

(2) a designation of Dan'el's patron deity, Baal, conceived as a 'Healer'.[2]

Some light would appear to be shed on this problem by a short and much-discussed text (RS 24.252 = 1.108) containing a prayer to a divine personality referred to as RPU. *mlk. 'lm* = "R., eternal king" or "R., king of yore", the choice depending on whether one sees in R. a *bona fide* deity or merely a divinized ancestor. The petitioners in this Ugaritic psalm are obviously residents of Ugarit, possibly self-designated as *rpi. arṣ* "Raphaites of the land". However, the divine personality whom they address resides (or resided while alive) elsewhere, viz., in the Bashan localities of (O.T.) Ashtaroth (Ug. *'ttrt*) and Edrei (Ug. *h/i!dr'y*).[3]

For all its importance, and the tantalizing geographical references which tie in with the general *mise-en-scène* of the *Aqht* story, it is still unclear how, or whether, this text bears on Dan'el's title of *mt. rpi.* For if, as some scholars allege, RPU of 1.108 stands for one of the 'high gods' of the Ugaritic pantheon – El or Baal – who are active in *Aqht*, one wonders why the poet consistently uses RPI rather than the divine proper-names in the epithet. If, as others have more recently alleged,[4] RPU of 1.108 stands for a relatively minor deity such as RŠP/Reshef or MLK/*Malik* – neither of whom appears in *Aqht* – the question is exacerbated: for in addition to the problematic avoidance of the proper-name, Dan'el's exclusive devotion to Baal (and, to a lesser extent, El) throughout the poem is, to say the least, surprising.

Only slightly less acute is the problem which arises when one assumes – as I am inclined to do – that RPU of 1.108 is a divinized eponymous ancestor of the ruling class of LB Ugarit, either DTN/Ditānu or YQR/Yaqaru(m).[5] In this case one would have expected that Dan'el,

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[2] Thus Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7, *loc. cit.*, and Gibson, CML[2].

[3] Cf. B. Margulis (Margalit), JBL 89 (1970): 292 – 304, followed by M. H. Pope – J. H. Tigay, UF 3 (1971): 120; D. Pardee, UF 8 (1974): 245, n. 101; S. Ribichini – P. Xella, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 7 (1979): 154 – 56; Dietrich – Loretz, UF 12 [1980]: 176, now also G. C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek* (JSOTS 43 [1985]: 118 – 23; K. Spronk, AOAT 219 (1986): 177 f.; G. Del Olmo Lete, *AuOr 5* (1987): 50 f.

[4] Cf. Heider, *op. cit.*, 137 ff.

[5] Cf. my observations in "The Geographical Setting of the Aqht Story", in: *Ugarit in Retrospect* (ed. G. D. Young) [1981]: 151 – 56. The publication of RIH 77/21 by Bordreuil and Caquot (*Syria* 56 [1979]: 301 ff. – cf. already *Ugarit in Retrospect*, 46 f. – has prompted a partial yet significant revision in our understanding of 1.108. For it can hardly be doubted (cf. Bordreuil – Caquot, *loc. cit.*, 303) that the reference in RIH 77/21, line 14, to RPI. YQR is identical with (w)YQR. IL of 1.108:2, and that both are identifiable with IL. YQR of the Ugaritic 'King List' (1.113:26) and the

like K(e)r(e)t – cf. 1.15:III:2–4//13–15 – would be portrayed as a king in *Aqht* and would be more explicitly integrated into the genealogical tree of the ancestor. But the contrary is the case. The hero of *Aqht* is never designated, nor portrayed, as a king – the text in 1.19:III:46 most emphatically notwithstanding – and one searches the poem in vain for even the slightest allusion to the city of Ugarit or its ruling class (even if the poem as a whole and in its ideological thrust is a powerful critique of this same society and its cultural values). Whatever else *Aqht* represents, it assuredly is not a certificate of legitimacy for royal potentates.

Equally unconvincing is the commonly held view based on a presumed etymology of RPU/I as $\sqrt{rp'}$ "heal, mend".[6] The hero in *Aqht* is neither

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personage mentioned on the dynastic seal (cf. Nougayrol, PRU III, xxxvi–vii; xl–xliii). The full historical significance of this identification, as yet insufficiently appreciated, is that the ruling dynastic house of Ugarit in LB times traced its origins to a Transjordanian/Bashanite "king of yore" (Ug. *mlk. 'lm*) who ruled (Ug. *ytb//tpt*) in Ashtoreth and (as far as?) Edrei at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.E. (cf. K. A. Kitchen, UF 9 (1977): 131–142, who however assumes Yaqaru to have founded the dynasty *in* Ugarit!). This conclusion confirms my original surmise (JBL 89:301) that the petitioners of RPU in 1.108 are "identical with the ruling circles at Ugarit ... with some kind of family relationship [to RPU]".

[6] *Pace* R. M. Good, BASOR 239 [1980]: 41–2, who suggest that Ug. *rpu* (= [rapi'u]) denotes 'healed one' in the sense of 'he-who-is-interred' or 'embalmed'. The basic meaning of Semitic $\sqrt{rp'}$ appears to be 'mend, repair', and only secondarily 'heal (medically)'. This is the signification of $\sqrt{rp'}$ in Arabic and – though this is not generally remarked – in O.T. Hebrew (whence its frequent collocation with $\sqrt{šbr}$ 'break' etc.). Cp. e.g. 1 K. 18:30 "And he repaired (D $\sqrt{rp'}$) the ruined ($\sqrt{hrs}$) altar". Cf. also Deut. 32:39, Zech. 11:16. The root $\sqrt{rp'}$ is thus semantically akin to $\sqrt{šlm}$ "be whole", whence Ar. *rapa'a* "make peace". (For the possible significance of this determination, cf. immediately below.) Furthermore: newly available onomastic evidence from Ebla confirms the normalization of Ug. RPU(M) as [rapa'u(ma)] rather than [rapi'u(ma)] – cf. Lipiński, in: *La Lingua di Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni), [1981], 206. Nor is there any substantial evidence for $\sqrt{rp'}$ = 'render fertile' (*pace* Lipinski, in: *La Lingua di Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni), [1981], 206). Again: the theophoric component *r-p-'* in West-Semitic PNN can hardly be interpreted as denoting 'spirit-of-the-dead', 'shade', or the like. No father, West-Semitic or otherwise, is likely to have called his son (e.g.) "My-son-is-a-shade" (cf. Eblaite Su-mi-ra-pa = *Šmrp'*, *apud* Lipiński, *Lingua*, loc. cit.). All the *r-p-'* components of PNN must be understood 'optimistically', even hyperbolically, as connecting the bearer with the ancestral *heroes* – admittedly long dead – what the Hebrew Bible calls אַנְשֵׁי הַשֵּׁם "people-of-renown". It is best rendered in fact 'hero' or 'champion'. If one insists however on an etymological explanation of *r-p-'* used in this sense, one can I believe do worse than consider the following possibility (cf. already my "Geographical Setting", *loc. cit.*, 155 f.). From a basic meaning of $\sqrt{rp'}$ = "mend, repair", i.e., connect together that which is broken,

'healer' nor 'healed' at any point in the story as extant.[7] Nor is there any evidence anywhere in the poem for Dan'el's impotence. Such a notion, inspired by the opening scene of the poem, rests on a highly conjectural interpretation of a single word (UZR) understood as a 'stimulant', an interpretation which in itself raises serious problems for a comprehension of the wider context.[8] In his benediction to Dan'el, El prescribes no medicine or restorative ritual for the hero, who, we should note, may already be the father of a daughter. Furthermore, comparable materials furnished by the Hebrew Bible suggest that the lack of repro-

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severed, etc., there develops the idea of 'intercede on behalf of; establish liaison'. As divinized denizens of the Netherworld, the ancestors have more direct access to the gods than do their living, and therefore often sinful, descendants on Earth. The latter offer sacrifices and prayers; but without the intervention and mediation of the ancestors there is no guarantee that the identity of the earthly worshippers will be known to the gods, or that their case will be forcefully and persuasively taken up on their behalf in time of need. This appears to be the sense of the activity engaged in by DTN/Ditānu in RS 24.272/1.124 – cf. A. Caquot, *Fs. Loewenstamm*, op. cit., 1–6 – and not improbably the rôle anticipated by the petitioners of RPU in 1.108, where the entreated ancestor is asked to use his powers of blessing on behalf of his illustrious descendants and the great city of Ugarit which, thanks to him, they have conquered and now rule.

[7] Contrast Caquot–Sznycer, TO, 402, followed now by Cazelles, *ACI di Studi Fenici e Punici* (1983), vol. III, 673–76. The phrase *mt. rpi* is rendered by TO "homme de guérison", analyzed grammatically as an 'objective genitive' construction, and understood to mean that Dan'el has been cured of the 'disease' of infertility by El. However, it may be doubted whether the ancients considered infertility as such a 'disease' to be 'healed' ($\sqrt{rp'}$). On the other hand, J. Gray (LC^2, 120) sees Dan'el as a 'healer' *ex officio*, a 'sacral king' who 'dispenses fertility'. However, the notion of Dan'el as a king – sacral or otherwise – is erroneous, and the root $\sqrt{rp'}$ does not denote 'render fertile' (cf. fn. 6 above).

[8] (1) If Dan'el is the one who consumes the UZR – now by eating ($\sqrt{lḥm}$) now by drinking ($\sqrt{šty}$) it ! – then the line *uzr. yšqy. bn. qdš* necessitates a choice between two difficult assumptions: either Dan'el is himself a *bn. qdš*, i. e., a divine being – in flat contradiction to his sterotyped epithet MT "man (of...)" – or a verb can be interposed in Ugaritic between two words in status constructus, the latter difficulty obviously sensed by the authors of TO (cf. 419, note d, citing Is. 19:8, the meagreness of the supporting evidence merely underscoring the severity of the problem).

(2) The entire scenario loses credibility on this view. If UZR is a panacea for Dan'el's alleged infertility, then El's benediction in the sequel is all but superfluous. Indeed, one wonders why Dan'el tarried so long in the sanctuary after consuming the restorative UZR. Conversely, the divine response on the seventh day presupposes that Dan'el has entreated and propitiated the gods with food and drink (or some similar ritual act). The *Krt* text in 1.14:II:12–26 (& parallel) is surely paradigmatic for human behaviour desirous of obtaining divine favour and assistance; for it is El himself who instructs his devotee to act in this way! However, if Dan'el is the consumer of the UZR, then the subsequent 'revelation' is difficult to explain; for there is then no ritual act for inducing divine intervention.

duction is typically 'blamed' on the woman rather than on the man. If Dan'el has a fertility problem, then it is his wife who is at fault.

Similarly dubious is the alleged connection of Dan'el's title with the chthonic deities designated *rpum*.[9] The ancestral gods are referred to in *Aqht* as *ilnm* (a variant of *ilnym* elsewhere) and *gprm* (< *gpr* "pit"). Periphrastically, they are known as *ilm. arṣ* "the gods of the Earth".

Nowhere in *Aqht* are these beings ever brought into direct contact or liaison with Dan'el. It is only in the so-called 'Rephaim Texts' (1.20 – 22), which may or may not be an intrinsic part of the original *Aqht* story, that such a connection is effected; yet even here there is never any doubt that Dan'el forms no part of this Netherworld, chariot-riding coterie (Dan'el's own means of transportation being limited to a finely ornamented donkey). Furthermore, in the approximately sixteen occurrences of the epithet MT. RPI, the second word is never pluralized as *rpim*. It would appear, therefore, that (*mt*) RPI and RPU/IM are semantically, if not also etymologically, two distinct entities.

Before proceeding with our own proposed solution, we must consider briefly the parallel 'B' epithet, (*ǵzr*) MT. HRNMY.

The view, originating with Albright[10] and destined to become (faute de mieux?) a matter of scholarly consensus, takes HRNMY to be a gentilic reference to the hero, specifying his place of birth, if not also his place of residence at the time of the story. The alleged GN HRNM is thought to be connected with Egyptian HRNM/ARNM (mod. Hermel) near Kadesh-on-the-Orontes. The sketchily elaborated thesis rests however on no concrete evidence culled from the poem itself; and even the linguistic equation with the Egyptian, which is its sole foundation, is less than secure; at best, it is only one of several possibilities.[11]

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[9] Cf. M. H. Pope ("Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", in: *Essays on the Ancient Near East* (J. J. Finkelstein *in Memoriam*), ed. M. de J. Ellis [1977]: 163 – 182) where the connection of (*mt*) RPI with the *rpum* and hence with the Netherworld is virtually taken for granted: "The Ugaritic parallelism of RPU and HRNM in Dan'el's title suggests that HRNM" – connected by author to O.T. "(Valley of) Hinnom"! – "relates to the Netherworld" (*ibid.*, 166). No attempt is made however to draw out the implications of this determination for understanding the character or rôle of Dan'el in the story.

[10] "The Traditional Home of the Syrian Daniel", BASOR 130 (1953): 26 – 27. We should note not only the extreme brevity of the article, but also the fact that (a) by labelling Dan'el a "Syrian", author seems to be begging the question; (b) the qualification 'traditional' leaves the question open as to whether this is Dan'el's residence at the time of the story.

[11] Cf. my discussion in "The Geographical Setting", *loc. cit.*, 141 f., noting especially the fact that, according to W. Helck (*Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien...*, [²1971]: 132) the Egyptian H/A-R-N-M is a corruption of H-R-(M)-'(e)-L (= mod. Hermil)

But perhaps the most serious shortcoming of this hypothesis is that it cannot deal satisfactorily with the one occurrence of the word HRNMY in *Aqht* divorced from its usage as part of the hero's epithet.

It was S. B. Parker[12] who first challenged the regnant opinion that in the collocation *dġṯ. hrnmy* near the end of the story (1.19:IV:24//31) the subject-referent of HRNMY is necessarily Dan'el. Parker noted the grammatical possibility of understanding HRNMY in apposition to the following *d/bkbkbm* "He-of/in the stars", and corresponding semantically to the *ilm* (= *il* + *m*) in lines 23//29, viz., "the Harnamite-god, he-of/in the stars".

It was sufficient for Parker's own thesis that such an interpretation be considered possible. He therefore adduced neither evidence nor argument which would make this interpretation preferable to the one espoused by the majority of scholars. – But in point of fact, the consensus view is quite untenable.

(1) Nowhere in the entire poem of *Aqht* is Dan'el ever referred to simply as HRNMY, always as (*ġzr*) MT. HRNMY. And even this epithet never occurs except in 'fixed' parallelism, and as B-term(s), with MT. RPI. Neither epithet, moreover, ever occurs apart from the specific and contiguous mention of Dan'el by name. None of these conditions obtains in 1.19:IV:23 ff.

(2) In both of the 1.19:IV contexts (in effect, 'parallel-passages') the phrase *dġṯ. hrnmy* is a 'ballast variant' in parallelism with DĠṮH (lines 23/30).[13] The entire couplet reads:

(y)šʿly. dġṯh. bšmym // dġṯ. hrnmy. (d/b)kbkbm

The pronomial suffix of DĠṮH is generally assumed to have Dan'el, the implicit subject of the verb *(y)šʿly*, as its nominal antecedent, a view which in turn tends to strengthen the case for similarly interpreting HRNMY. However, this view is tenable only in lines 23–24. In the parallel repetition in lines 30–31, where it forms part of Pughat's speech to her father, the result of maintaining this interpretation is sheer nonsense. For we must then suppose that Pughat first addresses her father using the vocative – i. e., 2nd pers. – *ab* "my father" (line 29), then shifts to the oblique 3rd pers. DĠṮH "his frankincense-offering" (line 30), and concludes with a return to the direct 2nd pers.: *ltbrknn.../ tmrn...* Short of taking the subject of these verbs to be the aforementioned

found in the campaign list of Thutmosis III, a determination which, if correct, effectively undercuts the connection with Ug. HRNM.

[12] UF 4 (1972): 101.

[13] The reading follows CTA and Dietrich – Loretz in UF 10 (1982): 69. Contrast Virolleaud (*Danel* [1936]), Gordon (UT [1967]) and Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín (KTU [1976]).

ILM or KBKBM[14] – which would then make Dan'el's moving benediction in lines 36–38 a curiosity, to say the least – there does not seem to be any way of reconciling these discrepancies. We are thus forced to conclude that the nominal antecedent of DĠṮH is someone, or something, other than Dan'el. The most likely, if not altogether certain, candidate is the word DBḤ in lines 23//29.[15] On this interpretation, the sacrifice (DBḤ) is offered up together with "its incense" (*dġṯh*), the latter serving to camouflage the pungent odour of the burning flesh as well as to hasten its consumption by the fire.[16]

The elimination of HRNMY from consideration as a gentilic reference to Dan'el does not of itself prove that the term refers to "He-of the stars" (*ḏkbkbm*). This alternative remains one of two possibilities. The other would be to understand HRNMY as modifying DĠṮ either as an adjective or as a noun in construct state. However, the formulaic occurrence of HRNMY as part of Dan'el's fixed epithets reduces the latter to a merely theoretical possibility. For however we choose to interpret MT. HRNMY, it is *a priori* more likely to describe Dan'el's relationship to a deity than to anything that might plausibly be predicated of DĠṮ.

At first glance, the foregoing interpretation of HRNMY as a divine predicate would appear to support, if not require or confirm, a similar verdict for RPI in the MT. RPI epithet, a verdict which several scholars have indeed reached for quite independent reasons. However, it is by no means self-evident that the A and B epithets of Dan'el stand in synonymous as opposed to formal or complementary parallelism. It is quite as likely that MT. RPI and MT. HRNMY convey two pieces of information about the hero as that they constitute stylistic variants of one and the same content. It may be remarked that the assumption that epithet A is not synonymous with epithet B underlies the reigning consensus; for whatever RPI is taken to mean, it has never been understood as referring to a geographical location, as HRNMY has been.

It is against this background that we propose our solutions, necessarily tentative given the complexity of the problems and the dearth of hard evidence.

(1) In the epithet MT. RPI we would see a reference to the Transjordanian-Bashan location attested in Egyptian sources of the New-Kingdom as *rnw. rpi*[17], identical with Hellenistic Raphon (1 Macc. 5:37),

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[14] Thus Caquot–Sznycer, TO.

[15] First suggested by A. F. Rainey, IOS 3 (1973): 53. Cf. further my discussion of DĠṮ in UF 16 (1984): 164–66.

[16] The narrative in Gen. 8:20 f. comes readily to mind. God smells the sweet fragrance (*reᵃḥ. ha-niḥoᵃḥ*) of the meat-sacrifice combined with frankincense.

[17] No. 29 in the campaign list of Thutmosis III, immediately following Ashtaroth (no. 28).

mod. er-Rafeh, situated just 8 km. n. e. of t. Aštara (= Ug. [GN] *ʿṯtrt* = O.T. Ashtaroth = EA Aštartu); the latter, attested as early as the Egyptian Execration texts, was a major population and religious centre in the Amarna Age.[18] The incorporation of GN RPI as part of the hero's fixed epithet suggests that this is the place of his birth; possibly, but less likely for other reasons, as an allusion to his place of residence at the time of the story.

The presumed Ug. idiom MT. RPI = "man-of-(GN)-RPI" bears formal-structural comparison with (western) Akk. idiom *amēl*/LU (*ša*) GN, occurring frequently in the Amarna Letters and at Alalaḫ;[19] and with the O.T. Heb. אִישׁ – plu. אַנְשֵׁי – in construct with a place-name (Ju. 9:49; Jon. 3:35; Ez. 2:22–28, *passim*, etc.), continuing as well into Mishnaic Hebrew (*Aḇoth*, chap. 1, *passim*).

If correctly analysed, the epithet MT. RPI may prove the first direct link between the traditions underlying *Aqht* and 1.108, with its explicit reference to GN Ashtaroth. Cf. also the additional references to this site in the RS 24 texts edited by Virolleaud in Ug. 5.[20] Our interpretation of MT. RPI is thus consistent not only with the specific geographical background of the *Aqht* story, but also with the mounting evidence for, and new appreciation of a north-Transjordanian/Bashan provenience of the major religious and literary traditions of the Ugaritic texts as a whole.[21]

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[18] Cf. D. Kellermann, ZDPV 97 (1981): 45–61; B. Mazar, *Cities and Districts in Eretz-Israel* (1975): 182–90. On the basis of EA 364 it may be concluded that Ashtaroth was the 'capital' of the Bashan region in the first half of the 14th cent. (Mazar, *ibid.*, 187 [in Hebrew]).

[19] Cf. CAD, vol. A-2, p. 57[b].

[20] Cf. 1.100:41 *mlk. ʿṯtrth* = (DN) MLK at Ashtaroth" (cf. already M. Astour, JNES 27 (1968): 13–68); 1.107:17 *mlk. bʿṯtrt* = (DN) MLK in Ashtaroth" (cf. Astour, *ibid.*). See now the discussion by G. C. Heider, *op. cit.*, 115 f.

[21] There is a growing body of scholarly opinion which favours locating the *Krt* epic in the Bashan area as well (*pace* M. Astour, UF 5 (1974): 29–39. Note however the question-mark in the title of the article: "A North-Mesopotamian Locale of the Krt Epic?"). A passing remark by A. F. Rainey [JAOS 94 (1974): 187], in connection with my exposition of the 'Bashan hypothesis' in JBL 89 (1970), that the GN *Udm* of King PBL in the *Krt* epic is conceivably identifiable with EA (256) *Udumu* in Bashan – in the neighborhood of *Aštarti*/Ashtaroth! – was seconded by De Moor and Spronk (UF 14 [1983]: 165), though without further discussion or supplementary data. It is worth recalling in this connection (a) that the story of *Baal's Palace* which introduces the larger composition of *Baal-Mot* (1.4–5–6), contains explicit reference to Lebanon and Hermon (1.4:VI:18–21), rather curious if Baal is ensconced atop Gebl-el-Aqra in the vicinity of the heavily forested Mt. Amanus; (b) text 1.10:II:9,12 refers to *aḫ. šmk* almost certainly (as long recognized) identical with Lake Ḥuleh/Semachonitis just north of the Sea of Galilee/Kinnereth, and implies that this area is virtually Baal's

(2) Our solution for HRNMY, beyond the more secure determination of its status as a divine predicate, is to view it as a literarily motivated neologism compounded of two semantic and lexemic elements: a verbal component deriving from $\sqrt{hr(r)}$ 'be full; pour out, dispense'[22] and a noun component MY 'water'. The word may be idiomatically rendered 'Rainmaker'. The formation as well as the signification are comparable with YBRDMY (1.24:29), a neologism coined as a literary sobriquet for Athtar and meaning "He-who-serves-up [$\sqrt{brd}$] water".[23] Athtar, like Baal (and El) is a life-supporting deity associated with fresh water. His specific domain is apparently the subterranean springs and rivulets used for irrigation. Not by chance is he chosen by El and Asherah to replace the slain Baal (1.6:I:54 – 65), a task for which he proves to be inadequate, there being no satisfactory substitute for celestial precipitation in Canaan.

The presumed $\sqrt{hr(r)}$ is normally connected in Ugaritic (and Hebrew) with (male!) insemination. In fact, it probably occurs in the opening scene of *Aqht* (line 41, restored) in the sense of impregnation. A more certain occurrence is in 1.23:15.[24] This root would also appear to underlie the word YR (Heb. *Yoreh* = autumnal rain) in 1.19, in connection with Dan'el's petition of the clouds (I:40).[25] It is almost certainly to be understood as an hypostasis for Baal as 'Rainmaker'. The use of one and the same root $\sqrt{hr(r)}$ to denote 'inseminate' and 'make rain' is hardly coin-

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'backyard' where he relaxes a-hunting after a hard day's work. This is the same place designated (1.17:VI:23) *ġl*(.)*il* "Great Valley" (Aram. *ḥwlt'. rbt'* = Gr. Oulaθa = Tal. (*ym'*) *d-ḥulṭa* = mod. el-Ḥuleh/Ḥula) as a source of *qnm* ("reeds"). Cf. discussion below, *ad loc.*

[22] Cf. the cognate Arabic root – *apud* Hava, *Al-Faraid*, 822 f. – meaning, *inter alia*, 'abundant of water' and 'flow, pour out' (whence also 'diarrhea').

[23] Cf. B. Margalit, MLD, [AOAT 206], pp. 33 and 149 f. Text 1.24:25 – 30[a] should be read and rendered as follows: (ḤRḤB speaking to suitor YRḤ, the moon-god):

[25]*n'mn. ilm*	"O fair youth!
lḫtn (.) *'m. b'l*	Marry into *Baal's* family (i. e., not mine!)
trḫ(.) *pdry*(.) *b*[t. ar]	Wed Pdry ('Fatty'), (his) daughter-of-honey.
aqrbk. abh. b'[l]	I'll introduce you to her father, Baal
yġtr. 'ttr(.) *trḫ*	Athtar will serve as 'matchmaker',
⟨y⟩*lk. ybrdmy. b*[t.a][30]*bh*	YBRDMY/Athtar ⟨will⟩ go to her [father's hous]e
lbh! y'rr	He will rouse his/her heart (in affection for thee, YRḤ).

[24] Cf. also: (a) 1.12:I:39, where *yḥmdm* "he craves them (carnally)" stands in parallelism with *yhrrm* "he would impregnate them (thus correctly Aistleitner, WUS, s. v. 856); (b) 1.5:V:22 (*Baal-Mot*), where for the generally accepted restoration – originating with Ginsberg [KU] – *w*[th]*rn. wtldn*, we do better epigraphically – cf. CTA, p. 36, n. 4 – to read: *w*[yhr]*rn. wtldn* = "He (= B.) impregnates her and (then) she gives birth". [Correct accordingly my MLD (AOAT 206): 122.]

[25] Cf. my discussion in RB 91 (1984): 102 – 115.

cidental. The imagery connected with rain and fertility in ancient Near Eastern thought and speech is strongly sexual.[26] Baal is imagined (and portrayed) as refulgent with water much as a sexually aroused male is filled with desire and fertilizing semen. A presumed epithet 'Water-Dispenser' = HRNMY is thus very much in character.

There remains to be considered a possible objection, one which we ourselves have previously raised in connection with the attempts to identify (*mt*) RPI with a specific deity, viz., why does the poet consistently avoid the DN Baal, otherwise ubiquitous, in designating the hero as (*ex hypothesi*) 'man-of-the-Rainmaker'?

The answer – which applies to HRNMY but not to RPI – lies I believe in the realm of the prosodic. The principal significant difference between *B'L* and *HRNMY* is the number of syllables they contain: one (with case-ending, two) and five respectively. The full significance of this discrepancy can be appreciated when it is further observed that the epithet MT. HRNMY invariably occurs in conjunction with another monosyllabic epithet, viz., ĠZR. If *b'l* were to be substituted for *hrnmy* in the sequence *ġzr. mt. hrnmy* the prosodic results would be far-reaching. *E.* g., the verse-line *ap⟨h⟩n. ġzr. mt. hrnmy* (1.17:I:1–2) scans – as it must! – as '3', as does *brlt. ġzr. mt. hrnmy* (*ibid.*, line 37), with the contiguous monosyllabic words counting as a single 'verse- (or 'stress') unit'. With the substitution of *b'l* for *hrnmy*, the combined sequence of *ġzr. mt. b'l*, totalling (without case-endings) a mere three syllables – the equivalent of one normal-size word – would most likely scan as a single verse-unit, thus reducing the total scansion value of the above verse-lines from '3' to '2', a circumstance precluded by the wider prosodic context in which these lines are found.[27]

In short, the choice, indeed the very *raison d'être*, of the literary concoction that is HRNMY is determined *metri causa*.

Excursus II: Does the Opening Scene of AQHT (1.17:I) Describe an Incubation Ritual? A Critique

The hypothesis which sees in the opening scene of *Aqht* a so-called 'incubation ritual' originates with Obermann's study of 1946[1], one of

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[26] A striking O.T. example – inadvertently omitted from the discussion in RB 91, *ibid.* – may be found in Is. 55:10, where *hôlîd* – Hiphil causative of *yld*, as well as the semantic and morphological equivalent of *Yoreh* (< **y'horeh*) – is used to describe the act of earth's fertilization by celestial precipitation.

[27] For the prosodic principles determining the structure of Ugaritic (and, *mutatis mutandis*, O.T.) poetry, cf. my article in UF 7 (1975): 289–313, and AOAT 206, op. cit., 219 ff., the latter reproduced as an Appendix at the conclusion of the present work.

[1] *How Daniel was Blessed with a Son: An Incubation Scene in Ugaritic* (JAOS Supplement no. 6, New Haven, 1946).

the more significant contributions to *Aqhtiana* of the immediate post-war era. Already Mlle. Herdner, in her state-of-the-question review article some three years later,[2] cited Obermann's hypothesis with unqualified approval. The view was subsequently endorsed by such diverse commentators as Driver[3], Cazelles[4], Jirku[5], Gray[6], Gibson[7], Coogan[8], and Del Olmo Lete[9]. The only significant dissent has been that of Caquot – Sznycer[10] who consider Dan'el engaged in effecting a cure for physical disability, viz., impotency, rather than in a rite of incubation aimed at inducing divine revelation. However, though not so intended, this understanding of the text supports rather than confutes the 'incubation hypothesis'. For, as is well known, the most common motivation for ritual incubation in Classical as well as in later times was precisely to obtain medical cure for diverse ailments and disabilities.[11]

It may be stated at the outset that the hypothesis rests very heavily on analogy and comparative data rather than on concrete evidence from the Ugaritic text proper, which is notably silent on a number of key points. Since the tablet is broken at the top, we enter the scene *in medias res*. Thus we cannot be completely certain that Dan'el is performing the ritual acts in a temple or sacred precinct, though this would be a very reasonable inference from the ensuing narrative. All we can say for certain is that Dan'el is not at home; his precise whereabouts, however, are a matter for conjecture.

The first and primary question is accordingly as follows: what is the evidence for incubation rituals in the pre-Classical world of the ancient Near East? Obermann himself cites the following data in support of the hypothesis:

(1) In the Ugaritic literature itself: King Krt's dream is deemed "another instance of an incubation scene", although with the qualification that "nothing is said about the ritual involved."[12] Obermann further

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[2] "La Légende Cananéenne d'Aqhat d'après Les Travaux Récents", *Syria* XXVI (1949): 1 – 16.

[3] CML, p. 6.

[4] VT 7 (1957): 428. Cf. *idem.*, *Annuaire* – École Pratique des Hautes Études (V[e] Section), t. LXXXVII (1978 – 79): 216.

[5] KMERSU, 115, n. 2 (*seq.* Cazelles).

[6] LC[2], 108.

[7] CML[2], 24.

[8] *Stories from Ancient Canaan* (1978): 27 f.

[9] MLC, 40 f., 332 f.; less categorically in *Interpretacion de la Mitologia Cananea* 1984): 115 – 120, with extensive bibliography.

[10] *Textes Ougaritiques* (1974): 404.

[11] Cf. discussion below.

[12] *Loc. cit.*, 10, n. 13. Cf. however A. Caquot, "Les songes et leur interpretation selon Canaan et Israel", in: *Les Songes et Leur Interprétations* (Paris, 1959), vol. 2: 99 – 124,

concedes that "the series of rites – ablution, offerings of solid food and liquids, [the] lifting of hands ... in prayer ... are not part of the [alleged] incubation ritual as such", for as described in *Krt* these rites take place outdoors, in broad daylight, and *after* the alleged participant in the incubation ritual has awakened, following the Divine revelation.

(2) O.T. sources: the text of *Job* 33:15 ff. is alleged by Obermann to be "the one *clear and explicit* allusion to incubation in the Old Testament".[13] This statement is a rather curious paraphrase of the assertion by L. H. Gray, in *Hasting's* ERE, vol. VII, 206, that the "basal *theory* of incubation" can be found in Job 33:15 f. Commenting on this passage in the *Anchor Bible* Commentary, M. H. Pope, formerly a student of Obermann and a leading Ugaritologist in his own right, merely observes that the biblical text "expresses what is implicit in most of the material relating to dreams in the Bible and in the literatures of the ancient world, viz., that they may be [a medium of] communication from the divine."[14] Pope makes no reference to incubation generally or to the text of *Aqht* in particular. These divine communications, one may add, are mostly if not invariably unsolicited, and they can occur anywhere the recipient may be sleeping, whether at home or elsewhere, be it a profane or sacred place.[15]

(3) Mesopotamia: this evidence is marshalled by Obermann in footnote only, suggesting that its contribution is considered marginal. A reference to the annals of Ashurbanipal[16] is accompanied by the remark that the text lacks any specification of the ritual acts presumed to accompany the putative incubation. A second source is the *Gudea Cylinder* A, § 8:1 – 14 (cited by Obermann *apud* Witzel's edition of 1922).[17] The text contains a description of the king entering the temple,

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esp. p. 105: "... le décor est la chambre de Keret et non un sanctuaire, aussi me paraît-il préférable d'éviter le terme technique d'incubation... Rien dans notre texte n'indique une relation magique de cause à effet entre les larmes du roi et l'apparition du dieu en rêve". Cf. also p. 123, n. 1.

[13] Obermann, *loc. cit.*, 10. (Emphasis added – B.M.).

[14] *Job* (AB, vol. 15, 1965): 218.

[15] Contrast Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 332 f., citing additionally Gen. 28:10 – 22; Num. 22:8, 18 ff.; 1 Sam. 3; 28:6 (!); 1 Kgs. 3:4 ff., 19. With the exception of 1 Sam. 28 all the examples describe unsolicited visitations, in contrast to the Incubation ritual where the suppliant is the initiator and the revelation is a response to solicitation. On the other hand, the case of Saul, though a solicited visitation, lacks all the other characteristic features of Incubation: there is no overnight sojourn, no dream, no ritual sacrifice; and the communication is with the ghost of a deceased person, not with a deity (the word *'ĕlohîm* in v. 13 denoting 'ghost', Ug. *ilib*).

[16] Cited by Obermann as KB 2 172 (97), 186 (118 ff.).

[17] Witzel, *Der Gudea-Zylinder A*, Keilinschriftliche Studien, 1922, pp. 5 (= text), 32 f.[!] (= commentary). Cf. further A. Falkenstein and W. Von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (SAHG) [1953]: 373.

'sanitizing' it from demons and related pernicious influences, offering animal sacrifice, and entreating the gods. There is nothing in the text to suggest ritual incubation, nor was such a suggestion made by Witzel (or subsequently, Falkenstein). For if there is one *sine qua non* in both the theory and practice of ritual incubation as understood in Classical sources it is surely that the subject *sleep* in the sacred precinct overnight.[18] To be sure, the Cylinder contains earlier references to Gudea dreaming, as well as to a revelation – not fully comprehended by the king – of the god Ningursu to build a house or temple to the god. A second dream-visitation clarifies the meaning of the first. However, both dreams involve *unsolicited* revelations. Gudea is not in any predicament prior to the revelations and does not 'seek out' the deity for advice and/or assistance. M. Lambert and R. Tourney summarize the situation as follows:

> « on a depuis longtemps remarqué que le récit de la fondation et de la construction d'un sanctuaire constitue dans l'Orient ancient un ‹ genre littéraire › bien déterminée. Le dieu que l'on veut honorer doit manifester clairement ses désirs, en songe ou de toute autre manière et faire connaître à son fidèle le plan... »[19]

The authors cite by way of comparison the biblical texts of Ex. 25:9; Num. 8:4, I Chron. 28:19; and Ezek. 43:10–11. There is no reference to the Ugaritic *Aqht* – Obermann's publication having appeared shortly before – nor to incubation ritual.[20]

(4) Obermann cites another alleged parallel from the prayer inscriptions of the Hittite king Mursilis.[21] But here as well the evidence is flimsy in the extreme.

None of the supporters of Obermann's Incubation hypothesis have, to my knowledge, adduced any additional evidence from sources of the ancient Near East contemporaneous and contiguous with LB Ugarit and the presumed composition date of *Aqht*. The only source for such evidence, and the home of the very concept 'Incubation', is the later world of Classical Greece and Rome, with significant manifestations in subsequent Christianity. This evidence has been painstakingly discussed and elucidated in M. Hamilton's *Incubation, or The Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, published in 1906. Even if the points of contact between the ritual described in the opening scene of *Aqht* and the Classical prototype of Incubation as synthesized by Hamilton were more numerous and striking than they are in fact, we should

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[18] 'Incubation', be it recalled, is the translation of the technical Greek term ἐγκοίμησις, from ἐγκοιμίζω = "lull to sleep (in a place)". Cf. L. H. Gray, *loc. cit.*, 206.

[19] Lambert and Tournay, RB LV (1948): 403–37. The quotation is from p. 406.

[20] Cf. also the summary by Falkenstein in SAHG, p. 373.

[21] *Apud* Goetze, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I, 219.

still hesitate in extrapolating the notion of Incubation for use in Late-Bronze Syria-Palestine. Dissatisfaction with such methodological procedure has come to the fore in recent biblical scholarship with respect to the long-cherished idea of 'amphictyony', once considered axiomatic for any reconstruction of pre-monarchic Israel. The case for Obermann's incubation hypothesis *prima facie* never equalled the case for Noth's amphictyony; and it therefore merits the same judgement *a fortiori*, as the following observations will hopefully demonstrate.

Hamilton writes:[22] "The gods in whose temples incubation was practised were chthonian deities ... invested with ... powers ... of sending dreams and the gift of healing". Now the Ugaritic Dan'el is described as giving food offerings to the *ilm*, who are the gods generally or the supreme deity El (with enclitic *-m*), but certainly not the nethergods, otherwise known as *iln(y)m* or *ilm. arṣ* – in *Aqht* once designated *gprm* "pit-dwellers"[23] – or even the ancestral shades (*rpum, ilib(m)*, etc.). Any doubt on this matter is removed by the incontestable fact that after a week of devotions the response comes from the 'high gods' El and Baal.

Hamilton writes:[24] "Illness was the most frequent motive for consultation; hence the primary aspect of incubation is medical.... The object ... was to meet with the deity in sleep, ask questions, and receive answers." Notwithstanding the interpretation advanced by Caquot and Sznycer for Ugaritic UZR as an elixir of sexual invigoration, there is no unequivocal evidence that the Ugaritic hero is thought to be suffering from any physical ailment or inadequacy. Such evidence as there is suggests in fact the contrary. When El finally responds to Dan'el's supplications, he does not prescribe any medicine or ritual act which might be interpreted as therapeutic. The blessing of El takes the form of a prediction/instruction for Dan'el to return home and copulate zestfully with his wife, with the assurance that male progeny will be forthcoming. To ensure the fulfillment of the blessing, Dan'el will invite the birth-goddesses (*KṮRT*) to his home at the time of copulation, presumably as a means of insuring fertilization and pregnancy.[25] Again, there is no sign that Dan'el acknowledges a physical disability either in himself or in his wife.

There is yet another, even more decisive, objection to be made at this point. It is by no means certain, indeed it is rather doubtful, that Dan'el is asleep at the time of the divine revelation. All we know for certain is that the revelation took place on the seventh day. There is no

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[22] *Op. cit.*, 2.

[23] Margalit, UF 8 (1976): 169–72; UF 16 (1984): 122.

[24] *Op. cit.*, 3.

[25] Cf. Margalit, JANES 4 (1972): 53–61; 113–17; and UF 15 (1983): 74f.

mention in the text of Dan'el awakening following the divine communication, in marked contrast to the account at the beginning of *Krt*.[26] Elsewhere in *Aqht* Dan'el converses with Baal (or his hypostasis) in daytime.[27]

Hamilton writes:[28] "In the majority of cases the god appears in person, and by some simple act, or surgical operation, effects the cure. Next morning the patient leaves ... sound in life and limb." Not only is there nothing of this in *Aqht*, but the fulfillment of the promise to Dan'el is deferred and takes place outside the (presumed) sacred precinct.

Hamilton writes:[29] "The process which the suppliant ... had to carry out ... was costly ... and was accompanied by rites and sacrifices... The *iatra*, or doctor's fees ... were stringently exacted. Punishment was inflicted on those who sought to evade payment". Again, there is no hint of this in *Aqht*. Dan'el is alone in the sanctuary; there are no priests or cultic personnel in evidence. Dan'el's costs are the food offerings themselves. On the other hand, Dan'el's food costs are multiplied by six. For in *Aqht*, again in contrast to the Classical Incubation, divine revelation takes place not in the first night but after six.[30] But there is nothing in these food costs to suggest that they are considered to be payments made to cultic personnel.

In sum: an unbiased reading of the Ugaritic *Aqht* (1.17:I) reveals no points of significant contact with the picture of ritual Incubation which emerges from an impartial appraisal of the Greco-Roman sources which inspired the analogy. Moreover, the absence of corroborative data from the ancient Near East contemporaneous with Ugaritic literature (Late-Bronze Age) makes such a comparison *a priori* methodologically dubious. Finally, it should be emphasized that the conscription of the concept of ritual Incubation for Ugaritic as well as for O.T. studies, far from contributing to the elucidation of the subject-matter, actually results

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[26] Cf. Caquot, "Songes", *loc. cit.*, p. 123, n. 1: "dans le texte d'Aqhat il n'est fait mention de sommeil ou de songe, il n'est pas certain que l'assurance divine soit transmise au consultant par le moyen d'un rêve." Indeed, if our reconstruction of lines 15 – 16 is correct, then the revelation took place on the seventh day, *while* Dan'el was making sacrifice. For similar 'daytime' revelation in the O.T., cf. (e. g.) Isa. 6, 1 Kgs. 22:19 ff.

[27] Cf. 1.19:I:38 – 45. For discussion, cf. Margalit, RB 89 (1982): 418 ff.; RB 91 (1984): 102 ff.

[28] *Op. cit.*, 29.

[29] *Ibid.*, 31.

[30] The comparative literary data from ancient Near Eastern literatures (including Greek) makes it clear that no ritual significance can be attached to the number 'seven' here in *Aqht*. We are dealing with a literary scheme, well attested in Ugaritic, whereby six days of routine activity is suddenly and dramatically concluded by a new form of activity on the seventh. Cf. conveniently S. E. Loewenstamm, AOAT 204 (1980): 192 – 209.

in a distortion of the data as well as in an undesirable attenuation of the original concept.[31]

§ 1.17:I:1 – 33. Supplication and Revelation

A virtually nude Dan'el is seen performing ritual sacrifice to the gods – or, more specifically perhaps, to the nominal head of the pantheon, El. The time frame is a week of seven days. In each of the first six days the sequence of activities is identical: Dan'el offers food and drink, then retires for the night. He spends the nights rather uncomfortably: without a bed – an indication that he is not at home – he is forced to recline on the hard floor with only his clothing as bedding.

The routine is interrupted on the seventh day. The day begins as usual with offerings. But at some unstated point thereafter, yet *prior to retirement*, Dan'el – or in the initial stages, possibly the audience alone – is made privy to a discussion between Baal and El presumably seated in 'divine council'.[1] In his address to El, Baal gently rebukes the venerable deity for his failure to notice Dan'el's week-long devotions. Baal thus appears here in the rôle of intermediary conveying the prayers of the devotee to their proper destination.

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[31] As illustrating the distortion of data, cf. Obermann's analysis of YD. ṢT(–) as denoting the act of "sprinkl[ing] (|√*ndy*) the cubicle"; the end-result is that the verb Y'L is left without a complement. The undesirable attenuation of the original concept is exemplified by Del Olmo Lete's aforecited (n. 15) inclusion of virtually all revelation by means of dream in the category of 'Incubation'. Conversely, without resort to the concept of 'Incubation' one perceives more clearly the true nature of the episode in *Aqht*, viz., as a *petitio dei* [Heb. |√*drš* + DN]. An illuminating parallel in O.T. literature is Gen. 25:21 – 23 (with typical 'compression'). A barren matriarch – note that Isaac is not suspected of impotency! – results in the husband petitioning (*'tr*) the deity on behalf of his wife. We are not told what form the petition takes; but nothing in 1.17:I of *Aqht* is precluded, including the overnight stay. The second half of v. 21 informs us (in three words!) that God responded to Isaac's petition and Rebecca became pregnant. Schematically represented:

Gen. 25:21[a] // 1.17:I:1 – 15
Gen. 25:22[bα] // 1.17:I:16 – 47 (etc.) + II:1 – 23
Gen. 25:22[bβ] // 1.17:I:38 – 42; II:24 – 43

The Biblical text in vv. 22 – 3 introduces a 'complication' unknown to the Ugaritic, and intended to serve the overtly political purpose of the O.T. account. But the second visit to the deity, and the oracular response, gives us additional insight into the events of the original visit, and accentuates the similarity with the Ugaritic narrative: YHWH's oracle corresponds to El's benediction.

[1] Ug. *pḫr. m'd*, Akk. *puḫur ilāni*, Heb. עֲדַת אֵל and סוֹד קְדוֹשִׁים; now also De'ir-Alla (l. 5) *šdyn. mw'd* (predicated by |√*nṣb* as in Ps. 82:1).

The epithet ABYN used by Baal in this connection may be construed as a deliberately rhymed and ironic imitation of El's stereotyped epithet LṬPN, approximately 'Benevolent-one'. Baal thus insinuates that El has this past week belied his name: rather than 'benevolent' he is 'indifferent'.

Baal concludes his speech, setting the stage for El's response, with a plea on Dan'el's behalf – based presumably on the hero's supplications during the previous six days – viz., that he be granted male progeny. In support of the plea Baal recites for El's benefit a rather extended list of 'filial duties' which will be repeated subsequently and in close succession by each of the dramatic persons in the scene.[2]

The purpose of this list, on the story level, is to impress upon the venerable El the indispensibility of male offspring for ensuring the well-being of a man such as Dan'el both in the management of his present terrestrial life as well as, and most especially, in the eternal Hereafter.

Excursus III: The List of Filial Duties

Introductory Remark

The attempt to discern a 'dodecalogue' structure in this list must be judged unsuccessful.[1] The list contains not more than eight discrete commandments.[2] The first two, introduced by the 'double-duty' verbs $\sqrt{nṣb}$ and $\sqrt{yṣ'}$ (Š), refer to the proper burial of the deceased father and, probably, to acts of necromancy associated with the ancestors-cult centering on MRZḤ (cf. shortly below). The third and fourth 'commandments', introduced respectively by $\sqrt{ṭbq}$ and $\sqrt{grš}$, involve the protection of the living father: his person as well as his reputation. The fifth, introduced by $\sqrt{'ḫd}$, colourfully depicts the assistance rendered by the son to a drunken father who cannot make it home unsupported; here too the background is cultic drunkenness associated with MRZḤ. The sixth, introduced by the 'double-duty' $\sqrt{sp'}$, alludes to participation in the official cults of the high-gods, with the son apparently substituting for the father. The seventh and eighth duties incumbent upon the

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[2] Baal will recite the list a second time when informing Dan'el of the decision taken in his favour, suggesting that Dan'el may not have been privy to the full discussion in the divine council.

[1] Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Syria* XLIII (1966): 29–47; K. Koch, ZA (N.S.) 24 (1967): 211–21. Cf. discussion above, chap. 1: History of Research, §§ 14–15.

[2] It may or may not be coincidence that the number of commandments – eight – corresponds precisely to the number of children born to King K(e)r(e)t by his *eighth* wife, ḤRY! 'Eight' is also the complementary B-term of 'seven' when the two occur in synonymous parallelism (according to the pattern $x//x + 1$).

obedient son are introduced by $\sqrt{tḫ}$ and $\sqrt{rḥṣ}$; they refer to the seemingly menial household chores of 'plastering' (a leaky roof) and 'laundering'. Their association with the preceding occasions wonder.

Duty # 1: NṢB. SKN. ILIBH[3]

The first, if not also principal, duty of the son is to erect ($\sqrt{nṣb}$) the burial edifice – designated SKN, literally 'storage-place'[4] – to house the physical remains of his father upon the latter's death. The poet would seem to have in mind the Dolmen structures which abound in the vicinity of the Sea of Kinnereth and the Golan Heights. These structures, which P. Karge long ago associated with the O.T. tradition of the Rephaim resident in Bashan,[5] are known today to be tombs dating (at least) to MB I (ca. 2200 B.C.E.).[6] Especially noteworthy are the archaeological finds in some of the Golan Dolmens, which include javelins of a type attested at Ugarit beginning with EB III (ca. 2400–2200 B.C.E.), and especially common among the so-called 'necklace wearers' (*porteurs des torques*) some centuries later. These finds may constitute the first pieces of material evidence for a historical connection between the Bashan region and Ugarit.[7]

The much discussed ILIB – until quite recently a little known and poorly understood term – is now attested in a list of Ugaritic deities in alphabetic (Ug.) script as well as in Akkadian and Hurrian translations.[8]

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[3] Cf. UF 15 [1983]: 71 of which the present discussion is a summary, with some additional details.

[4] Cf. O.T. מִסְכְּנוֹת (עָרֵי) "store(-cities)", Tg. בתי/קרוי אוֹצָרַיָּא. The root $\sqrt{skn}$ recurs with this signification also in 1.4:I:43 (*Baal-Mot*): *sknt. kḫwt. yman* = "a closet the size of the plains of YMAN". Cf. my MLD (AOAT 206): 23 f.

[5] P. Karge, *Rephaim: Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens* (Paderborn, 1917), who saw in the Dolmens of Bashan an expression of the idea "daß das Grab das wirkliche Haus des Toten ist" (p. 504).

[6] C. Epstein, EI 12 (1975): 1–8. The Dolmens excavated more recently by Kh. Yassine (BASOR 259 [1985]: 63–69) further south in the Jordan Valley, in the vicinity of Damiyeh, are dated by him somewhat earlier to EB I.

[7] Epstein further notes that the type of Dolmen found in the Golan Heights is similar to the one excavated by J. Nasrallah (*Syria* XXVII (1950): 314–31) further east, in the vicinity of Der'a (commonly identified with O.T. Edrei).

[8] CTA 29:1 // KTU 1.118 (= *Ugar.* VII, 1 ff.); RS 20.241:1 = *Ugar.* V, 44 ff.; CTA 166:1 = *Ugar.* V, 520 ff. Cf. also the list of divine offerings, KTU 1.109 and 1.148 (= *Ugar.* V, 580, 592), where *ilib* also occurs. For a recent discussion, cf. J. F. Healey, SEL 2 (1985): 115–25, and literature *ibid.* – The linguistic correspondences are as follows: Ug. *ilib* = Akk. DINGIR *a-bi* = Hurr. *en. atn.* Both Nougayrol and Laroche render the respective equivalences by 'dieu-père', i.e., in appositional rather than construct relation. Cf. *Ugar.* V, 520 ff.; RHA 34 (1976): 63, 80. But contrast Lipiński, UF 5 (1973): 198 f., who argues for *ilib* = [ilu ibi] < *[ilu abi] (= Akk. DINGIR - *abi*) "dieu de mon père".

This new material has laid to rest various theories concerning the etymological derivation of the Ugaritic term, in particular its supposed correspondence with O.T. *'ôḇ* "ghost, spirit-of-the-dead".[9]

Nevertheless, a number of problems in connection with this term still await resolution. (1) It is not clear how a putative DN *ilib*, derived (via vowel harmony) from **ilab* and meaning approximately "God-Father", comes to be declined as a common noun in *Aqht*: *iliby*, etc.[10]
(2) Since neither Akk. DINGIR *a-bi* nor Hurrian *en atn* is known from other Akkadian or Hurrian sources respectively, there exists a suspicion that these translations of the Ug. ILIB may be somewhat artificial if not altogether erroneous.[11]
(3) Finally, even if one allows this new data to bear directly on the use of ILIB in *Aqht*, one is still faced with a formidable problem of interpretation. Unfortunately, little or no help is forthcoming from the parallel (B-) line, itself obscure.

The point of departure for any attempt to interpret the ILIB of *Aqht* ought to be the recognition that the subject-referent is Dan'el *qua* deceased father, and not the lad Aqht or some remote ancestor of the past. The lad is clearly precluded by the occurrence of ILIBY with Dan'el as nominal antecedent, while the pronomial suffixes preclude a specific ancestral spirit answering to the name of ILIB.

It is the son who is required to erect such a monument for his deceased father, for such a construction involved considerable physical labour and material costs best suited for the male progeny and heirs to the family estate. If mere attendance to the ancestors-cult is involved, it is not clear why female progeny should be excluded. What we know of ancestors-cult in the ancient Near East does not suggest that the gender of the 'caretaker' (Akk. *pāqidu*) mattered a great deal, least of all to the hungry and thirsty 'spirits' of the Netherworld.[12]

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[9] So generally. According to Vieyra (RHA 69 [1961]: 47–55) and Hoffner (JBL 86 [1967]: 385–401) denoting 'pit' (= Lat. *mundus*). For a critique of this thesis cf. Dietrich–Loretz–Sanmartín, UF 6 (1974): 450 f.; Margalit, UF 8 (1976): 146 f.

[10] Cf. Nougayrol, *Ugar.* V, 46, n. 2, and W. E. Lambert, UF 13 (1981): 301, where the possibility of separating the *Aqht* references from the rest is considered. Healey, *loc. cit.*, 119, sees the Akkadian version as possibly involving "a false etymology of a confused and obscure term". However, shortly thereafter, citing the prominence of ILIB in the offerings-lists, Healey surmises that *ilib* is "the ancestral, if anonymous patron of the royal house", hardly a 'confused and obscure' matter!

[11] Cf. M. Tsevat, UF 3 (1971): 351, n. 10; Healey, *loc. cit.*, 122 f.

[12] Cf. CAD, vol. E, s. v. *eṭimmu*, esp. 398 f. Further: J. C. Greenfield, RB 80 (1973): 46–52; M. Bayliss, *Iraq* 35 (1973): 115–26; Ph. Talon, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, vol. 22 (1978): 53–71; M. Birot, in: *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster), 1980: 139–150; Dietrich–Loretz, UF 12 (1980): 381 f.

It is thus our submission that the ILIB of *Aqht* denotes the defunct and disembodied ghost of the father, identical with the 'smoke' (*qṭr*) raised (via necromancy) from the earth, as described in filial duty no. 2.[13]

BQDŠ. ZTR. ʿMH

This is the B-line elaboration of the initial duty, with the verbal predicate $\sqrt{nṣb}$ understood. The son is obliged to set up in the QDŠ the ZTR of his ʿM. What precisely this entails is far from clear, although it can be assumed that it is more or less identical with the activity described in the A-line.

The crux of the problem is the word ZTR. It was formerly thought to be a verb in parallelism with $\sqrt{nṣb}$. But the search for a Semitic etymology has yielded nothing better than a presumed dialectical variant of Heb. $\sqrt{str}$ 'hide, shelter'.[14]

A suggestion by M. Tsevat[15] to see in ZTR a Hittite LW meaning 'sun-disc', and via metonymy 'stela' – the latter assumed to be the meaning of SKN in the A-line – has gained some adherents of late.[16] I find the suggestion unconvincing.[17]

We ought to reconsider the syntactic structure of the verse-line taken for granted at the beginning of the discussion, viz., '(to set up) in

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[13] Drawing on this conclusion for elucidating the *ilib* of the cultic and 'pantheon' texts, it may be surmised that *ilib* can also serve as a sort of shorthand for 'ancestors-cult', for all practical purposes identical with **dbḥ. ẓlm* (RS 34.126 = KTU 1.161) "the-feast-of-the-shades". In a somewhat similar vein already Lambert, *loc. cit.*, 301, though I remain skeptical of an historical connection with the Old-Akkadian DN *Ilaba* as argued by Lambert.

[14] Thus (e.g.) Gray, LC^2, 109, n. 3. However, the assumed correspondence of Heb. /s/ and Ug. /z/ is otherwise unattested.

[15] UF 3 (1971): 351 f.

[16] *E.g.*, Caquot – Sznycer, Dijkstra – De Moor, Gibson, Del Olmo Lete, *loc. cit.*

[17] For the following reasons: (1) Hittite LW's in the Ugaritic literary texts are a rarity. One thinks of ḪTṮ (1.14:II:18 & par.) 'silver' = Hittite *ḫattuš* which the poet substitutes for the common Semitic *ksp* for reasons of alliteration (cf. Margalit, UF 11 (1979): 543 f.) The word DĠṮ at the conclusion of *Aqht* – cf. discussion in UF 16 [1984]: 164 – 66 – virtually exhausts the list.

(2) It has not been demonstrated, either by Tsevat or by his followers, that funeral stelae in ancient Syria were necessarily, or even customarily, decorated with a sun-disc so as to make ZTR a self-evident and instantly comprehensible metonymy for 'stela'. And if SKN does not mean 'stela' – as I believe is the case (cf. UF 15 [1983]: 71) – then the entire hypothesis falls to the ground!

It may be noted at this point that the polyglott dictionary (*Ugar.* V, 240 ff.) has a syllabically spelled Ugaritic word [z]*u?-ut-ta-ru* (*ibid.*, 250) which might conceivably be our word ZTR. Unfortunately, the corresponding Akkadian and Hurrian entries are missing. Cf. TO, 421, note n.

the QDŠ the ZTR of his 'M', with ZTR analyzed as a direct object of √*nṣb* understood. It is equally likely that the *entire* A-line is to be understood in the B-line, viz., "(to set up the SKN-tomb of his father's-ghost) in the QDŠ, the ZTR of his clan". On this analysis ZTR will be understood as a noun in apposition to QDŠ rather than as a B-term parallel of SKN.

The word BQDŠ is more promising. In view of the context, it must denote 'in the sacred precinct', the place where the SKN (and possibly ZTR) is erected, i. e., a cemetery. This usage of √*qdš* does not seem to be attested elsewhere in Semitic. However, a recently published incantation text from Ras Ibn Hani (RIH 78/20) appears to support such a usage in LB Canaan-Syria.[18] The conjurer of the text invites afflictions on the demon wherever he may be (line 7 f.): "In the heavens (*bmrmt*), in the seas (*bmiyt*[19]) / in the Netherworld (*bẓlm*) and in the QDŠ (*bqdš*)". It is hardly likely that *bqdš* means here 'in the sanctuary', which is man-made, hence inappropriate in the company of heaven-sea-Netherworld. Also, as the home of some deity a sanctuary/temple is hardly the place where a poor demon could find refuge.[20] On the other hand, cemeteries are traditional haunts for ghosts and evil spirits for reasons which are obvious to common sense: the cemetery is, so to speak, a point of junction between the supernal and the infernal, the first terrestrial 'stop' on the spirit's upward voyage.

Given the unequivocally funerary character of the passage generally and the parallelism with ILIB- specifically, there can hardly be any doubt that the word ʿM- is to be understood as 'kin-folk; clan', cognate with Heb. *ʿam(m)* as used in the idiom √*ʾsp* (*N*) *ʾl. ʿm(y)w* "he was gathered unto his kinfolk" (in the Netherworld), a sort of euphemism for 'he died'. That this usage of *ʿam(m)*, known also from the Amorite onomasticon, does not recur elsewhere in Ugaritic is merely a reflection of the limited size of the Ugaritic literary corpus, and cannot tell against the interpretation.[21]

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[18] The *editio princeps* of this text was published by Caquot and Bordreuil in *Syria* 57 (1980): 343–47 [appeared 1983!], following preliminary publication by Caquot, ACF 79 (1979): 488–90 (cf. already CRAIBL, 1979, 277–90). For detailed studies of this text, cf. Y. Avishur, UF 13 (1981): 13–25; Loretz–Xella, MLE 1 (1982): 37–46; and Caquot, *Orientalia* (1984): 163–76.

[19] Lit., 'in the waters', which together with 'heavens' forms a merism for all the water in the world: the heavenly and the terrestrial. Cf. Gen. 1:6–7.

[20] The rendering "dans le sanctuaire" is given by Caquot (*Or* 53, *loc. cit.*, 170) with question-mark. Contrast Loretz–Xella ("im Heiligtum") and Avishur ("In the temple"), *loc. cit.*

[21] *Pace* M. H. Pope (*Finkelstein Memorial Volume*, op. cit., 164), followed by R. M. Good (*The Sheep of His Pasture* [1983]: 30 f.) both of whom take the word 'M in this

Duty #2: LARṢ. MŠṢU. QṬRH // L'PR. ḌMR. AṬRH

All six words are attested elsewhere in Ugaritic where their respective meanings are not in doubt. However, the text as a whole has been the subject of many and varied interpretations, seldom (if ever) correct.[22]

The verbal predicate, a Š-causitive of √*yṣ'* 'go out, exit', has as its direct object *qṭrh*, lit., "his smoke", referring to the smoke-like 'ghost' of the deceased and corresponding to ILIB and 'M(M) of the preceding duty and distich.[23] The indirect object, introduced by the preposition L- "from", is ARṢ, lit., "earth", but here as elsewhere denoting 'Netherworld' (i.e., the earth's interior). The entire phrase refers accordingly to the act of drawing out – or raising up – the spirit of the deceased, his *'ĕlohîm* (1 Sam. 28:13), from the Netherworld, in the manner of Ulysses in *Odyssey* XI.

New light on this type of activity at Ugarit is shed by a recently published ritual text (1.161 = RS 34.126) whose caption reads: *spr. dbḥ. ẓlm* = "The Book for the Feast of the 'Shades' ".[24] In this text, the historical – and tribal! – ancestors, are 'invoked' or 'invited' (*qr' // qb'*), collectively and individually, to attend the feast (DBḤ). In lines 21–2, three of the six words of our *Aqht* text occur in close proximity to each other: AṬR. [b]*'lk.* ARṢ / *rd. wšpl.* 'PR. However we interpret this difficult text, the collocation of AṬR with ARṢ // 'PR can hardly be fortuitous. Together with our *Aqht* passage it suggests that the act of 'invoking // inviting' the ancestors by name – cf. Akk. *šummam zakāru* – is part and parcel of a ritual 'raising of the ghost (QṬR)' from the recesses of the earth by means of a trough or 'mundus' (Heb. *'ôḇ* [1 Sam. 28:7]).[25]

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context as a preposition, the former in the (otherwise unknown) sense of 'toward' the other in the sense of 'with'. Neither of the results can be considered persuasive.

[22] Cf. *e.g.*, Caquot–Sznycer, TO, 423, following (*e.g.*) Ginsberg (ANET) and in turn followed by (*e.g.*) Gibson (CML²) and Del Olmo Lete (MLC), where MŠṢU is given the sense of 'liberate' (Fr. 'deliverer'). From the footnote appended to this translation it is clear that the nuancing is quite deliberate, since the French scholars consider the entire verse to be a description not of an actual 'freeing' or 'releasing' but rather an abstract, figurative 'freedom from danger'. This filial duty is thus tantamount to physical protection of the father during his lifetime, rather than a posthumous act related to the ancestors-cult. This interpretation, I submit, is erroneous.

[23] Cf. the description of Aqht's death in 1.18:IV, where the exit of the 'soul' (*npš*) of 'life-breath' is compared to 'wind' (RḤ) and 'smoke' (QṬR). It may be of interest to note in this connection that the Heb. *ru'ăḥ* in post-biblical Heb. comes to mean 'demon'.

[24] Cf. P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, *Syria* 59 (1982): 121–28 (with literature). Add.: W. Pitard, BASOR 232 (1971): 65–75; R. M. Good, BASOR 239 (1980): 41 f.; B. Levine and J.-M. de Tarragon, JAOS 104 (1984): 649–59.

[25] Cf. Vieyra and Hoffner, *loc. cit.* [fn. 9, above]; B. Margalit, UF 8 [1976]: 145–50.

It is also clear that the *dbḥ. zlm* is nothing other than a feast of MRZḤ (or MRZ'Y) as described in the fragmentary 1.20–22 (cf. especially 1.22) and 1.114 (= RS 24.258 = *Ugar. 5*, V 1), a religious institution whose history spans more than a thousand years, from LB Ugarit to Hellenistic Palmyra, and which was at home in biblical Israel as well.[26] In 1.114, the DBḤ is explicitly equated with MRZḤ which in turn stands in synonymous parallelism with AṮR. The latter, which appears as the final word of our *Aqht* passage as well as in the aforecited 1.118, is also the (sacral) 'site' to which the RPUM are 'summoned' (√*šḥ*) by Dan'el in l. 20–22 and to which they repair (1.20:II:1–2, etc.). The AṮR is suggestively located in proximity to the 'granaries' (*grnt*) and 'plantations' (*mṯ't*), i. e., a place where food is likely to be plentiful, yet at some distance from the actual domicile of the living kin.

The word ḌMR, which in our text stands in construct relation with AṮR(-), is known as a synonym for ṢBU and MHR, both meaning 'soldier' or the like, with the latter, interestingly enough, also used as an epithet of the RPUM in l. 20–22. ḌMR occurs as well as part of a *hendiadys* expression *'z. wḏmr* in 1.108 (= RS 24. 252), corresponding to O.T. (Ex. 15:2, etc.). – עֻזִּי וְזִמְרָה*[27] – 'might and protection'. Here in *Aqht* it signifies "guardian (of the AṮR)". The deceased guards and protects from his Netherworld abode the terrestrial abode of his physical remains to which he will repair when summoned for MRZḤ. The AṮR is what the deceased 'leaves behind' (√*ṯr*) – elsewhere in *Aqht*: AṮRYT – at once a burial chamber (SKN) and a 'home' in eternity, hence the site where he and his living descendants – together with predeceased kith and kin ['M(M)] – partake of food in MRZḤ on the anniversary of his death.[28]

Duty #3: ṬBQ. LḤT. NIṢḤ

The priority given the filial duties pertaining to the posthumous existence of the deceased father is reflected not only in their place at the top of the list but also in the amount of literary 'coverage' which they receive. Each of the first two duties extends over a full distich. The

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[26] Cf. Am. 6:4–7; Jer. 16:5–9, the latter equating *bēt marzē'aḥ* with *bēt mište(ḥ)*!

[27] Cf. B. Margulis (Margalit), JBL 89 (1970): 292–304. Contrast S. E. Loewenstamm, VT 19 (1969): 464ff. (= AOAT 204: 333ff.); but cf. response by S. B. Parker, VT 21 (1971): 373–79.

[28] Contrast M. H. Pope (*Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, op. cit., 164) who takes AṮR in the *Aqht* passage as a preposition in the (otherwise unknown) sense of 'toward'. (AṮR as a preposition normally means 'following; after'). This interpretation is all the more surprising in view of the author's strong emphasis, in the cited article, on MRZḤ and its connection with the cult of the dead ancestors.

third, fourth, seventh, and eighth are limited to one verse-line ('hemistich') respectively. Only duties '5' and '6' – both with 'religious' significance! – are allotted a full distich each.

Determining the precise meaning of the third duty – the first of six to be performed in the father's (terrestrial) lifetime – is complicated by the uncertain meaning of the first and second words. The Arabic cognate of Ug. *ṯbq* has a relatively broad semantic range: 'place, heap upon; cover, shut', but more basically 'correspond to, be commensurate with'.[29] For Ug. LḪT, on the other hand, there are several options available from the known lexical stock; but none seems appropriate in a context dealing with 'detractors' or 'maligners' (√*n'ṣ* = 'despise' [Heb.]).[30] It seems therefore preferable to adopt the view of several scholars[31] which relates LḪT to Arab. *laḥā* 'abuse, insult' and Aram. √*lḥy* 'be evil'.

As for ṬBQ, it may be understood here in a somewhat figurative sense of 'cover' – 'meet; answer; neutralize', as in coll. English 'cover a bet'. The act thus described would be the counteracting or refuting of slanderous accusations, calumnies, or insidious rumours directed against the father by his detractors (or political rivals?), thereby damaging his reputation. It is just possible that we have here a hint of 'political' activity carried out by the son – a daughter would be home doing chores – on behalf of his father who, we may recall, is a member of the ruling nobility (ADRM) and a public servant (in his spare time!).

Duty #4: GRŠ. D'ŠY. LNH

The text remains obscure despite numerous proposals. Of the three words, only the meaning of GRŠ is certain, connoting a forceful act by the son in defense of his father's person or property. As such, it may be construed as standing in formal and complementary parallelism with duty #3, concerned, as we have seen, with the defense of the father's reputation by rhetorical means.

None of the solutions proposed hitherto for 'ŠY can be considered convincing, least of all the flaccid and unpoetic 'do something (to)',

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[29] Cf. Lane, AEL, 1825.

[30] Ugaritic knows a noun LḪT = Heb. לוחות = 'tablets (of a messenger)' [1.2:I:26]; a noun LḪ(M) = Heb. (ים)לחי = 'cheek(s); whiskers' [1.5:VI:9]; and a verb √*lḥ(ḥ)* [Š] 'liquify' = Heb. לח 'be moist' [1.4:I:26].

[31] *E.g.*, Gaster [*Thespis*], followed by Aistleitner [WUS], Dijkstra–De Moor [UF 7]. Of the views based on the known meanings [above, n. 30], cf. especially Dahood (*Bib* 45 [1961]: 410 = *Mél. Tisserand* I, 90), followed by Caquot–Sznycer [TO, 422], Gibson [CML², 104], and Del Olmo Lete [MLC, 369].

allegedly cognate with Heb. *ʿśh* (I), for which Ugaritic regularly uses *ʿdb* (I).[32] Other proposals for Ug. ʿŠY include:

(a) = Akk. *ešu* (var. *ašu*) 'embarrass' – thus (hesitantly) Aistleitner, WUS, s. v.[33]

(b) = Ar. *ġašiya* 'tarnish' – thus (with trepidation) Caquot–Sznycer (TO), despite the imperfect phonological correspondence.

(c) = Heb. *ʿśh* (II) = Arm. √*ʿsy* 'press. squeeze', understood here to mean 'attack, assail', etc. – thus already Albright, followed by Ginsberg, *et al.*[34]

Overlooked in the discussion – understandably owing to the fragmentary preservation of the context – is an occurrence of *ʿšy* elsewhere in *Aqht*, but in a setting very different from that of the filial duties. The text:].*yn. ʿšy. lḥbš* (1.17:VI:8) is part of a party scenario describing the effects of excessive alcoholic consumption on Anat's body: "the wine goes (up) [to her head]" – i. e., makes her head feel 'heavy' or 'swollen' (cf. Prov. 23:34) – and causes, in the lower part of her body, the *ʿšy* cinctured by her girdle (*ḥbš*) to 'swell' (restoring √*ḥbl*).

Now unless *ʿšy* of the filial-duties is only homonymically related, we must assume that a common semantic denominator links the usage of this word in the two contexts. This condition is satisfied by assuming that *ʿšy* is the Ugaritic word for 'spleen', a portion of the abdomen proverbially considered a 'seat of passion', usually distemper, as in Eng. 'splenetic'. As a possible etymological cognate for Ug. *ʿšy* thus interpreted, one might consider Ar. √*ʿs(s)* 'grumble, complain; be recalcitrant'.[35]

In col. VI, *ʿšy* is used literally (and metonymously) for 'abdomen', while foreshadowing the figurative usage which will emerge, by implication, in the ensuing confrontation with Aqht. Here, in the list of filial duties, the usage – if correctly interpreted – is entirely figurative: it designates those people, presumably 'plebians', who are 'splenetic', i. e., they come to voice a complaint or grievance to the Raphaite nobleman Dan'el. It is the duty of the son to keep such people at a distance from the father, who may be unwilling (or unable) to requite them.

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[32] Cf. *e. g.* Delekat, UF 4 (1973): 23, followed by Dijkstra–De Moor (Uf 7) and Del Olmo Lete (MLC). On Ug. ʿDB (I/II), cf. B. Margalit, UF 16 [1984]: 156–58; ZAW 99 [1987]: 391–404. – Even a Ugaritic cognate of Phoen. √*pʿl*, allegedly occurring *hap. leg.* in *Aqht* (1.17:VI:24) as √*bʿl*, is highly doubtful; read *yb*{ }*l* "he (= K-Ḫ) will produce" (cp. 1.17:V:2 *abl. qšt*). Cf. further discussion below, *ad loc.*

[33] CAD, vol. E, 378 ff.; AHw, 259, comparing Ar. *ġašiya*!

[34] Albright, BASOR 94 (1944): 35, n. 36; Ginsberg, ANET; Gaster (*Thespis*) and Driver (CML).

[35] Cf. Lane, AEL 2040; Hava, *Al-Faraid*, 471.

A not unattractive consequence of this interpretation is the sharp contrast effected between the formally parallel verse-lines: the A-line (*ṯbq... nišḥ*) refers to the *rhetorical* protection of the father from the calumnies of his *peers*, whereas the B-line refers to the *physical* protection from harassment on the part of the socially inferior and malcontent, the two types of protection forming a unity of merism:

– A –	verbal	peers – A –
PROTECTION		
– B –	physical	inferiors – B –

The foregoing interpretation of *ʿšy*, if correct, requires taking *lnh* as the augmented (and suffixed) preposition *ln*(*h*) 'to/for (him)'[36], other interpretations – such as √*l*(*y*)*n* 'rest, spend the night', and (subst.) *ln* = Akk. *lānu*(*m*) 'body, figure'[37] – precluded by reason of contextual incompatibility.[38]

Duty #5: AḪD. YDH. BŠKRN // MʿMSH. KŠBʿ. YN

It was Eissfeldt who first recognized that the drunkenness here referred to is the religiously sanctioned inebriation associated with the institution of MRZḪ.[39] He reached this conclusion at least two years prior to the publication of 1.114 (= RS 24.258) which fully confirmed his keen insight.

The decisive proof is furnished by the description of a drunken – later comatose – El returning home, supported by his son ṮKMN-w-ŠNM:[40]

yṯb. il. {*w*}[41]*l*[15]*aṯr*[*h*!]	3	"El sat at/in [his] AṮR
il. yṯb. bmrzḥh	3	El sat at/in his MRZḪ;

[36] Cf. Dijkstra – De Moor (UF 7); G. R. Driver, *Ugar.* VI, 184 (followed by Gibson, CML[2]). The augmented preposition *ln* is now attested in RIH 78/3 + 30:4 – 6: *...ln. b'ly. yšlm* "With my lord may it be well". Cf. D. Pardee, *AfO* XXXI [1984]: 215.

[37] Thus Caquot – Sznycer, TO, 422; cf. CAD, vol. L, 78 f., AHw, 534.

[38] It is worth remarking in this connection that if Dan'el were portrayed as a *bona fide* monarch, this as well as other duties would undoubtedly be performed by paid retainers, not by the crown-prince!

[39] *Syria* XLIII [1966]: 39 – 47.

[40] Cf. my discussion of this text in MAARAV 2 [1979 – 80]: 65 – 120. – Some have interpreted the DN *Tkmn-w-Šnm* as a pair of deities; but this is neither mandatory nor even likely. Telling against this interpretation is (a) the well-known phenomenon of binomial DN's which designate a single deity, e. g., *Kṯr-w-Ḫss* and *Nkl-w-Ib*; (b) in 1.39:6, in a list of animal-offerings, ṮKMN-w-ŠNM receive(s) the same quantity as do Baal, Anat, Reshef, etc., viz., one lamb (*š*).

[41] A scribal error (faute de dictée?): [ilu] > *il*(.)*w*.!

[16]*yšt.* [Y]*N.* *ʿd* – *ŠBʿ*	3	He drank [w]ine still sated
trṯ. *ʿd* – *ŠKR*	2	Must, till drunk.
[17]*il. hlk. lbth*	3	El departed for his house,
yštql(.) [18]*lḥzrh.*	2	He retired to his court;
YʿMSN. nn. ṯkmn(.) [19]*wsnm*	4	ṮKMN-ŠNM supported him.

The words capitalized in the Ugaritic emphasize the close literary relationship between the two texts: four of the six words in the *Aqht* passage have their precise equivalent in the MRZḤ text. To be sure, three of the four belong to any normal discourse on alcoholic consumption; not so the verb √*ʿms* and its association with one of El's sons (*bn. il*), possibly the eldest of them.[42] It is also clear, indeed self-evident, that the description in 1.114, albeit 'mythological', draws its inspiration from what must have been a fairly common occurrence in Raphaite society. The conclusion of 1.114, with its quasi-medical prescription for reviving a comatose drunk, is a sobering reminder of the this-worldly orientation of the text.

Text 1.114 accordingly does more than just clarify the cultic-religious background of filial duty no. 5. It gives sanction to the drunkenness of the father envisaged in *Aqht* whose behaviour is to be viewed as 'normative' rather than deviant or anti-social. Dan'el is no drunken sot! He is a normal, pious Raphaite nobleman who partakes in MRZḤ in honour, and for the benefit, of his deceased ancestors, the *rpum*. His rôle as their benefactor *requires* that he drink to satiety; for there are many ancestors who must be 'toasted'! And since inebriation is the inevitable result, he must have a son to help him safely home (and to revive him if he passes out cold!). In other words: a son is indispensable if one is to partake properly and dutifully in MRZḤ! Dan'el is the mortal counterpart of El and the as yet unborn Aqht will be the counterpart of ṮKMN-w-ŠNM. MRZḤ is definitely a 'father-and-son' affair!

Duty #6: SPU. KSMH. BT. BʿL // [w]MNTH. BT. IL[43]

This, the sixth and self-evidently cultic duty of the son presents a problem of general interpretation whose difficulty contrasts with the plain meaning of the text, viz., what rationale underlies and motivates

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[42] Cf. 1.40:8, also a ritual text, where ṮKMN-w-ŠNM is the first deity cited following the mention (in parallelism) of the 'generation' (*dr*)//'family' (*mpḫrt*) of the 'sons-of-El' (*bn. il*).

[43] Cf. UF 15 [1983]: 72, on which the following is based.

this 'substitution' for the father by the son in the performance of temple rites presumably incumbent on all adult male members of the community?

Caquot and Sznycer[44] surmise that the text is concerned alternatively with "sacrifices de communion auxquels il était obligatoire de participer mais où l'on pouvait se faire représenter par un de ses siens", or "un devoir fait au roi d'assister aux sacrifices pour recevoir des parts qui lui étaient reservés". However, both surmises – the latter based on a false assumption of Dan'el as a royal figure – fail to explain the principle of 'substitution'. For if, as seems likely, we are dealing with obligatory temple devotions, then it is not clear why Dan'el does not personally participate; nor is it readily apparent by what right, and under what circumstances, the son relieves the father of his religious responsibilities.

It may be surmised – tentatively, in the absence of more concrete evidence – that the class of noblemen (ADRM) to which Dan'el belongs is responsible not only for public administration – such as adjudication in the city-gates – but also for the correct conduct of the public cult. These priestly duties, carried out on a regular if not daily basis, would understandably prove onerous for a ruling class charged with public administration as well as with tending to their personal affairs. Under these circumstances, it is conceivable that the 'elders' should delegate some authority to their (matured) sons.

The 'eating of the portion' in the sanctuary may thus be viewed as a fairly regular, if not daily, priestly function performed by the son in lieu of his father. The appointment of sons to serve as priests is attested in the Hebrew Bible as well: cf. Ju. 17:5, 1 Sam. 7:1, and 2 Sam. 8:18.[45] If our interpretation of the *Aqht* passage is correct, then the biblical references may be similarly understood as involving the principle of 'filial substitution' for an otherwise preoccupied father in the performance of ritual duties incumbent on the male adult members of the community.

Duties #7 and #8: ṬH. GGH. BYM. ṮIṬ // RḤṢ. NPṢH. BYM. RṮ

It may or may not be coincidence that these two duties, skillfully combined by means of a common denominator into a single distich, are set apart prosodically, by means of strophic division, from the preceding

[44] TO, *loc. cit.*, 422, note v.

[45] To these examples one might add the 'institutionalized' delegation of priestly authority by father to son(s) which is reflected in the Pentateuchal priestly injunctions normally addressed to 'Aaron and his sons'.

duties, specifically from the cultic sixth, as if to suggest the separation of the 'holy' from the 'profane'.

That the seventh duty is 'profane' hardly requires demonstration.[46] Indeed, the menial nature of the task serves as important evidence for denying Dan'el the title and rôle of 'king' in *Aqht*. For the duty of plastering – or tarring – the roof of the family-dwelling so as to prevent leakage during the rainy winter season (October/November to March/April) can hardly be reconciled with the perception of Aqht as a royal prince or his family-dwelling as a palace. The essence of this duty is that the son, grown to adolescence, relieves his middle-aged and pot-bellied father of an arduous household chore considered to be beyond the physical capabilities of the women of the house.

The eighth and final duty is less easily comprehended, even though the text occasions no difficulty at the philological level. How is one to understand the duty of a son, a member of the nobility, to launder his father's dirty clothes! Surely this is a woman's chore, as El himself avers elsewhere (1.4:IV:61 f.): *hm. amt. aṯrt. tlbn. lbnt* "Lo, (am I) a hand-maiden of Asherah that bleaches whites?"

Again, for want of more tangible evidence, we are thrown back on surmise for an explanation. The garment referred to here is not the garment worn by the hero on a daily basis, but rather the *npṣ. ǵzr*, the 'battle/warrior-dress' which daughter Pughat will later don as part of her disguise as Anat (1.19:IV:44). The *npṣ. ǵzr* was presumably worn only on special occasions: either in actual combat or on ceremonial occasions. As such, the *npṣ. ǵzr* may be presumed to have had a sacrosanct quality which proscribed female contact with it. A sonless *ǵzr* would then be obliged to launder the garment himself. But a *ǵzr* blessed with an adolescent son could avail himself of the latter's services.

Some support for this interpretation may be forthcoming from an admittedly difficult O.T. passage. In 1 Sam. 21:6 we read: "Then did David reply to the priest [of Nob], saying to him: 'We [i. e., my men and I] have abstained from [sexual contact with] women as usual ... and the clothing [Heb. *k^{e}lē*][47] of the soldiers is ritually clean [lit., 'holy'], even though we are on a 'profane' mission..."

It is not immediately clear to the reader of this passage why the clothing of the soldiers should be considered 'holy' as a result of the soldiers having abstained from sexual relations (normally without cloth-

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[46] J. Gray [LC^{2}, 110, n. 9] appropriately observes that the rollers seen on the beaten-earth rooftops in Arab villages testify to the importance of this activity even in modern times.

[47] Thus HAL, 456a, citing Deut. 22:5, where כְּלִי גֶבֶר stands in quasi-parallelism with שִׂמְלַת אִשָּׁה. S. R. Driver [*Notes on Samuel*], *seq.* Robertson – Smith, renders 'gear', while the Jerusalem Bible takes it as a euphemism for the male genitalia.

ing!). Indeed, the very notion of 'holy clothing' or 'holy gear' in this context is somewhat baffling.[48] The implication seems to be – or, at the least, it may be inferred – that the soldiers' clothing is ritually clean as well for not having been in contact with women launderers, the soldiers themselves – or their obedient sons! – having laundered their own garments.

Concluding Remark

It remains to comment on the fact that the list of filial duties is repeated no less than four times within the space of one-and-a-half columns of text. Such a frequency of repetition is unknown elsewhere and must be considered excessive even by Ugaritic standards. It especially contrasts with the relative economy of language which characterizes the poem of *Aqht* in comparison with the two other major works of Ugaritic literature, *Baal-Mot* and *Krt*. How is this to be explained?

It should be noted at the outset that the list is nowhere else referred to in the poem (as extant!), not even by way of indirect allusion. Nothing in Aqht's conduct in the poem is relevant for comparison with the list,[49] and one searches in vain for even the slightest hint of ironic juxtaposition between the ideals of the list and the realities of the poem as revealed in the words and actions of the *dramatis personae*. The lengthy repetitions of the list thus appear to lack any literary justification and indeed tend to disturb the tight internal unity of the poem and to mar its structural compactness.

Consequently, one seems justified in concluding that in the exaggerated emphasis on the list of filial duties may be discerned the hand not of the poet but of the (priestly) tradents responsible for the present (and sole extant) recension of the poem. The tradents, less concerned with the subtle ironies and iconoclastic message of the poem, stressed the list of filial duties as a crude didactic means of instilling obedience in children and respect for the religious establishment. In fact, in addition to the fourfold repetition of what must originally have been a twofold account, one may even suspect a tampering with the internal contents

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[48] This difficulty has led some scholars to prefer the reading כל reflected in the Greek (LXX, cod. B) translation. But the כל is stylistically superfluous in this context and does not commend itself as original.

[49] Only the name AQHT, meaning 'most-obedient' (cf. B. Margalit, RB 94 [1988]: 211–14), harks back to the list. But this alone hardly justifies the fourfold repetition. Dan'el and DNTY hoped for an 'ideal' – i.e., obedient – son; and nothing in the poem suggests that they were disappointed on this score. It is the wanton cruelty of an immoral goddess which brings them to grief, not the misconduct or disloyalty of their beloved son.

of the list. In view of the tendency to list things in groups of typological numbers – three, seven, and ten – I suspect that the present list contains at least one commandment too many, with my suspicion falling on the sixth.[50] Such an assumption may also explain the somewhat curious circumstance that the prosodic division falls, in each case where the text has survived more or less intact, between the sixth and the seventh commandment, rather than at the conclusion of the list as a whole. Either the list, in its presumed expanded form, was felt to be too long for it to be contained within a single strophe, or else – as suggested above – a conscious desire to separate the 'sacred' sixth from the 'profane' seventh and (possibly) eighth duties motivated the decision.

§ 1.17:I:34–43. El's Benediction

The scene of El's benediction, wine-cup in hand, duplicates graphically as well as verbally the scene in *Krt* (1.15:II:11 ff.), a circumstance which allows us to correct the faulty text at hand.[1] We are obviously dealing with a 'type-scene' couched in formulaic language and reflecting a social ritual projected from the human onto the divine sphere. The result is a 'myth-ritual' construct.

The human version, implicit in the devotions of Dan'el described above, is best seen at the end of the (extant) poem, where the 'triumphant' Sutean, in the company of Pughat-Anat, raises his glass of wine in a 'toast' to his patron ILA, "the god who creates tent-camps". He thanks him for seeing him to victory over Aqht and – of relevance here – expresses the hope that "the hand which slew hero-Aqht will slay the enemies of the Suteans by the thousands."

The 'blessing over wine', which lives on in the Kiddush ritual of modern Judaism, involves originally a libation to the god(s) – Heb. *nesek* – who are proverbially and notoriously fond of wine in all religions of the ancient Near East. In exchange for the libation, the devotee utters a prayer expressing a wish for the future: 'may I (or PN) receive X (and Y...)'. The divine blessing is the mythic counterpart of this ritual wish: the god stands up, holding a wine-cup brimming with the wine ritually poured 'below' as libation, and pronounces a blessing

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[50] Cf. however, our comments in note 2 above. – By way of contrast, cf. 1.4:III:17–18: "For two (types of) feast(s) doth Baal abhor / Three, the-Rider-of-the-Clouds" (with three items). For O.T. parallels, cf. Prov. 30:15 ff., 18 ff., 21 ff., 29 ff. [3//4, with four listings]; Prov. 6:16–19 [6//7, with seven listings].

[1] Cf. H. H. P. Dressler and J. J. Jackson, JAOS 95 [1975]: 99–101; S. E. Loewenstamm, *Biblica* 56 [1975]: 105; D. Pardee, JNES 76 [1977]: 53–56. Contrast S. B. Parker, MAARAV 2 [1979]: 7–41, esp. 19–22.

in the form of prediction: 'you (or PN) will receive X (and Y...)'. The predictive nature of the blessing explains the high value attached to blessings uttered by prophets (*e.g.*, Balaam) who are endowed with clairvoyance. For the essence of the blessing is to confirm that its realization has already been fixed for the future. One blesses, in other words, by reading a favourable future for the supplicant.[2]

The contents of the blessing – apart from the repetition of the list of filial duties – fall into two unequal parts:

(1) El swears by his own life[3] that Dan'el will 'live on'[4], by which is meant that he will produce a life which will be an extension of himself, his own 'flesh-and-blood'. The implication is that only sons can be considered fashioned in the father's image, hence his continuity.

(2) The ever lascivious El envisages Dan'el's boudoir activity. The near-verbatim parallel of lines 39^b-40 with 1.23:51 is no mere coincidence. El is drawing on his own experiences! Nor is it without significance that El devotes three entire distichic verses to the details of Dan'el's lovemaking. El obviously dotes on such erotica. He is here, as elsewhere, portrayed as a 'dirty old man', but with a great sense of humour.[5]

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[2] The connection between prophecy and blessing is also implicit in the promises to the partriarchs given by God himself (*Genesis*, passim) as well as in the death-bed 'end-of-days' pronouncements by the patriarchs (Jacob and Moses) to their descendants, reflecting apparently a belief in the clairvoyant powers of people on the verge of death.

[3] NPŠ = [*napšī*], an apocopation of O.T. *ḥê(y) napšî* "as my soul liveth", in effect a euphemism for **tamûṯ napšî* "May my soul perish (if...)". We will encounter the same formula at the end of the poem, in connection with Dan'el's blessing of his daughter Pughat on the eve of her departure to 'redeem the blood' of Aqht (1.19:IV:36). Cf. below *ad loc.*

[4] Ug. YḤ. The G-form of the verb precludes taking this word as a D or Š causative meaning 'he will give life' (thus Aistleitner, WUS, s. v. 911). The expected form of the D factitive is **yḥw(y)*. Nor is there any basis for supposing – as do (e. g.) Gaster, Ginsberg, and Caquot–Sznycer – that this word implies a physical ailment from which the hero is now to be cured.

[5] Cf. *e. g.*, 1.4:IV:29 ff., where El greets his wife Asherah, who has just completed a long and wearisome journey, with a speech (partly) as follows: "Let food be eaten at the table / Wine drunk from goblets / From a golden cu⟨p⟩, the juice of trees. :: Then will the 'hand' (or 'penis') of El arouse thee / The love-making of the Bull will impassion thee". – El also loves a 'dirty' joke, at which he is expert. Cf. below, Excursus XVI, § 6. – In 1.23, El is himself the subject (or object) of ribald burlesque. His organ becomes enlarged the size of the sea – the background no doubt for Anat's remark in 1.18:I:25 f. (cf. below, *ad loc.*) – as he beholds the two women gyrating and crying out in a frenzy of sexual passion:

hlh. tšpl. hlh. trm	"Behold, one 'falls', the other 'rises',
hlh. tṣḥ. ad ad	One cries out: 'father, father'
whlh. tṣḥ. um. um.	And the other cries out: 'mother, mother'.
tirkm. yd. il. kym	El's 'hand' grows long as the sea

ACT I – SCENE 2 (1.17:II:24 ff.)

TEXT

[24]*dn. il.* ⟨*l*⟩*bth. ymġyn*	4	7	
[25]*yštql. dnil. lhklh*	3		
[26]*ʿrb. bbth. ktrt*	3	6	
bnt(.) [27]*hll. snnt*	3		
apnk. dnil(.) [28]*mt. rpi*	3	6	
ap. hn. ġzr. mt(.) [29]*hrnmy*	3		
alp. yṯbḫ. lkt[30][rt]	3	5	
yšlḥm kṯrt	2		9
wy[31]*šš̊q. bnt.* [h]*ll̊. snnt*		4	
[32]*hn. ym. wtn*	3	5	
yšlḥm(.) [33]*kṯrt*	2		9
wyššq. bnt. hl[l] (.) [34]*snnt*		4	
ṯlṯ. rbʿ(.) *ym*	2	4	
yšl[35]*ḥm. kṯrt*	2		8
ẘyššq(.) [36]*bnt. hll. snnt*		4	
ḫ̊mš(.) [37]*tdṯ. ym*	2	4	
yšlḥm. kṯrt	2		8
[38]*wyš̊š̊q̊. bnt. hll. snnt*		4	

wyd. il. kmdb El's 'hand' (becomes) like the ocean."
However, at the moment of truth, El loses his erection:
il. ḫṯh. nḥt "El's 'sceptre' falls (to the ground)
il. ymnn. mṯ. ydh El, the 'staff of his hand' lies aside".
[There is a marvellous word-play here on *mṯ. yd* 'walking-stick' which one 'puts aside' (√*mnn*) when one is at rest, and *yd* = 'hand'/'penis' which lies slack when not erect. The phrase *mṯ. yd-* recurs below in *Aqht* in its literal sense of 'walking-stick' which the hero 'raises up' (*ʿdb* [II]) when he sets out on a journey.]

The disappointed women now cry out in anguished frustration: "O man, man: thy 'sceptre' has fallen / the 'staff of thy hand' lies aside". El is here compared to a mere 'mortal' whose *vis virilis* is not always up to par, especially in advanced age. The entire effect is comical, and deliberately so. For El is very much a comic figure in Ugaritic literature generally.

[39]*mk. bšb*ʿ*. ymm*	3		
		9	
*tb*ʿ*. bbth*(.) [40]*kṯrt*	3		
bnt. hll. snnt	3	6	
[41]*ṁddt. n*ʿ*my.* ʿ*rš*	3		
*r*ʿ*t*(.) [42]*ysmsmt.* ʿ*rš*	3	6	
			11
ḫld(?)*n*(.) [43]*yṯb. dnil*	3		
[ys]*pr. yrḫḫ*	2	5	

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[44]*yrḫ. yrḫḫ*(.) *ṯṅ*(.) *y*(?)*ṣ*(?)*r*(?)	4		
[45]*ṯlṯ. rb*ʿ(.) [yrḫm]	3		10
[bʿšr](.) [46]*yrḫm. ymġy*	3		
.....	...		

Synopsis

Cut short by the break at the end of col. II, the scene depicts Dan'el at home, where he receives and feasts the divine KṮRT for seven days. By the end of the week, wife Dnty is pregnant and the elated Dan'el begins the nine-month 'countdown' of gestation.[1] The birth and naming of the man-child born to the happy couple must unfortunately be reconstructed immediately following the break in line 46.

General Comments

The scene is almost as noteworthy for what it omits as for what it contains. There is no official 'welcoming commitee' to greet the hero on his return home; even wife Dnty (and Pughat?) is conscpicuous by her absence. Nor is there any repetitive description of the love-making activity envisaged in El's benediction. A prurient interest is characteristic of El, not the poet-author(ess) for whom such matters are a private and discrete affair.

[1] Cf. *Job* 39:1–2, where the identical idiom 'count-the-months' occurs in the identical context of procreation; and *Atraḫasis* I, 278 f., where the divine Nintu sits counting the months of gestation [*wašbat. ummanu. arḫī*].

But there is more to the silence than mere modesty. It is a silence of mystery, corresponding to the mystery of the origins of life itself.[2] The sense of mystery is intensified, at least for the modern reader, by the absence of any explanation regarding the identity and function of the KṮRT who are the main attraction in this scene. But even the ancient reader, no doubt better informed than we, is kept in the dark with respect to the manner of their activity during their week-long visit. They eat and drink; that is all the poet is prepared to divulge. It remains for us to try to peek behind this veil of secrecy.

Excursus IV: The KṮRT[1]

The KṮRT are known from various Ugaritic sources as a 'band' (*ḫbl*) of 'goddesses' (*ilht*) closely associated with procreation and birth.[2] A multilingual text equates them with Akk. (< Sum.) *šassūru* 'midwife; mother's bosom'. But this equation should be seen as an approximation only: for the KṮRT are involved not only in the delivery stage but also – perhaps even primarily – in the earliest phases of the reproductive process. Their presence in Dan'el's home at the time of insemination

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[2] A similar *mysterium* is found in *Baal-Mot*, in the scene describing Baal's revival (1.6:III). His death at the hands of the ophidic Mot is related at length and in minute detail; not so the revival which takes place suddenly and is described indirectly in 'symptomatic' terms: the presence of rainfall and flowing wadis. This is the poet's way of saying that whereas death takes place before our observant eyes, the origins of life are shrouded in mystery.

[1] The following is based in large part on our discussion in UF 15 [1983]: 74–76. To the bibliographical references given there, add now U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin* (OBO 53 [1983]): 380ff.

[2] Some scholars have supposed – the present writer included – that the KṮRT are seven in number. This is based on a specific interpretation of the concluding lines of 1.24 where the poet says, "Behold, their numbers are in my mouth" – i.e., I am about to cite them – their count upon my lips". The problem is where to begin the count. If *ṯlḫ. wmlgḥ* are in fact PNN one and two, then the final count is indeed seven. But, contrary to my previous position, this seems a dubious assumption. I incline today to the view that the words *ṯlḫ. wmlgḥy*(!) should be emended to *ṯlḫḥ⟨n⟩. wmlgḥ⟨n⟩*, refering to the 'bridal gifts' and 'trousseau' which the KṮRT bring for the newly-wed bride (who is the speaking 'I' of the poem). This analysis also comports better with the structural-prosodic requirements of the text, viz., an introductory tristich of [3 + 2 + 2] – *ḥn. bpy*(.) *sprḥn / bšpty. mnthm / ṯlḫḥ⟨n⟩. wmlgḥ⟨n⟩* – followed by a [3 + 2] theme-determining 'torso' distich – *ṯtqt. ʾmḥ. bqʿt / tqʿt. ʾm - prbḫṯ* – and concluding with a monostichic '3' as closure: *dmqt. ṣġrt. kṯrt*. On this interpretation, the KṮRT number five rather than seven: (1) ṮTQT (2) BQʿT (3) TQʿT (4) PRBḪṮ (5) DMQT. The first four names are obscure – unless they refer to aspects of the post-nuptial coital act – but DMQT can be equated with Akk. *damiqtu* 'good-luck'!

and the beginning of pregnancy suggests that they are responsible for bringing the coital act to a successful conclusion in conception.

This reproductive rôle is reflected in their well-known stock epithets. The KṮRT are invariably spoken of as *bnt. hll. snnt*, "the daughters of the moon-crescent,[3] the radiant ones", or, in an expanded version, *bnt hll. b'l. gml* "daughters of the moon-crescent, he-of-the-curvature".[4] This association of the KṮRT with the moon-crescent – also cleverly evoked by the predicate SNNT[5] with its unmistakeable echo of the Sum.-Bab. moon-god SIN – is but a figurative way of linking them with the female menstrual cycle, roughly equivalent to the lunar month.

In the *Aqht* passage at hand they are further designated 'companions' (RʿT) and 'beloved lovelies of the (conjugal) bed'. The term RʿT has here, as in O.T. Hebrew,[6] the nuptial connotation of 'bridesmaid' or 'bridal attendant'. It is in this signification that the Ug. KṮRT make their solitary appearance in the Hebrew Bible.[7] The KṮRT are the patron goddesses of newly-wed girls who mythically – and mystically – arrange, bless, and watch over the conjugal bed so as to ensure conception in coitus. Their very name, derived from a root $\sqrt{k\underline{t}r}$ 'skillful, adroit', though possibly alluding to their dexterity as mythical midwives, is more likely related to their uncanny ability to effect pregnancy. It is they who know the secret and technique of rendering the coital act into one of procreation.[8]

This hypothesis explains the presence of the KṮRT – presumably at El's behest[9] – in Dan'el's home at the beginning rather than at the

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[3] Cf. Ar. *hilāl*. There is no connection with Heb. $\sqrt{hll}$ 'praise, glorify', whence allegedly 'sing, cheer'. The KṮRT are not 'song-and-dance' artists!

[4] Ug. *gml* = Akk. *gamlu* is cognate with the name of the third sign of the Phoenician alphabet (Heb. *gimmel*, Gr. *gamma*) as well as with Heb. *gāmāl* = Eng. 'camel' (lit., 'humper').

[5] Cognate with Ar. $\sqrt{sny}$ "shine, gleam" and JAram. $\sqrt{snn}$ "refine (metal); glitter".

[6] Cp. Ps. 45:14–15. The 'companions' of Jephtah's daughter (Ju. 11:37 f.) are would-be bridal attendants but for the tragic circumstances leading to her premature death (note the narrative's emphasis on her virginity).

[7] Ps. 68:7. Cp. B. Margolis (Margalit), JANES 4 [1972]: 52–61.

[8] Cf. similarly *Ruth* 4:13: Boaz inseminates Ruth, but it is YHWH who effects 'pregnancy' (Heb. וַתִּתֶּן־יְהוָה!). – E. Lipiński (*Syria* 42 [1965]: 65 ff.) compares the Ug. *kṯrt* to the 'seven Hathors' "qui jouait [en Egypte] le rôle de nos fées, fixant dès la naissance les destins de nouveau-né". However, there is no clear evidence for the Ug. *kṯrt* as 'Fates'; nor does Lipiński address the problem of the *kṯrt* as 'daughters of the moon (-crescent)'.

[9] Although designated "daughters of the moon-crescent" – more a figure of speech than a genealogical datum – the KṮRT are in fact subservient to El, the prototypal procreator (*ab. adm*; *bny. bnwt*), as we learn from 1.24:44–5.

end of the pregnancy, presumably to return nine or ten months hence.[10] They are here not as midwives but as agents of reproduction. Dan'el's lavish feasting of them[11] is in part payment for services rendered, viz., pregnancy, in part a 'down-payment' for services hopefully forthcoming, viz., the successful termination of the pregnancy in the birth of a healthy man-child.

ACT II – SCENE 1 (1.17:V)

TEXT

... [2][- - - -]			
abl. qšt. ṯmn	3		
[3]*ašrbt. qṣt*	2		
whn. šb[t](.) [4]*bymm*	3		9
apnk. dnil. mt(.) [5]*rpi*	3	6	
a⟨p⟩hn. ġzr. mt. hrnm[y]	3		
[6]*ytšu. ytb. bap. tġr*	3	6	
tḫt(.) [7]*adrm. dbgrn*	3		
ydn(.) [8]*dn. almnt*	3	6	
ytpt. tpt. y[tm]	3		9
[9]*bnši. nh. wyphn*	3		
bal[p](.) [10]*šd. rbt. kmn*	(2 : 2) 4		10
hlk. ktr(.) [11]*kyn*	3	6	
wyn. tdrq. ḫss	3		
[12]*hl.*(!) *k*{ }*qšt. ybln*	3	6	
hl. yš[13]*rbt. qṣt*	3		
apnk. dnil(.) [14]*mt. rpi*	3	6	
aphn. ġzr. mt(.) [15]*ḫrnmy*	3		9
gm. latth. kyṣḫ	3		

[10] A plausible inference from 1.24, where the KṮRT are cited before as well as after birth of the child.

[11] The lavishness is reflected in the choice of animal slaughtered in their honour, an ox (*alp*) no less! By contrast, KṮR-ḪSS will be served a *dqt*-animal, viz., a fatling lamb (*imr*). To be sure, he is a guest only for one meal, and he is alone. The KṮRT are several and they stay a full week. Nevertheless, several lambs are more expendable than a single ox; and the KṮRT cannot but have been impressed by this fact!

[16]*šmʿ. mṯt. dnty*	3		
		6	
ʿdb̊(.) [17]*imr. bpḫd*	3		
			9
lnpš. kṯr(.) [18]*whṯss*	3		
		6	
lbrlt. hyn(.) *d*[19]*ḥrš*(-)*yd*⟨*m*⟩	3		
šlḫm. šṯqy(.) [20]*ilm*	3		
		6	
sad. kbd. hmt	3		
			10
bʿl(.) [21]*ḫkpt. il. klb̊*	(2 : 2) 4		

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tšmʿ(.) [22]*mṯt. dnty*	3		
		6	
tʿdb. imr(.) [23]*bpḫd*	3		
lnpš. kṯr. whṯss	3		
		6	
[24]*lbrlt. hyn. dḫrš*(-)[25]*ydm*	3		
			10

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aḫr. ymġy. kṯr(.) [26]*whṯss*	4		
bd. dnil. ytnn(.) [27]*qšt*	4		
lbrkh. yʿdb(.) [28]*qṣʿt*	3		

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apnk. mṯt. dnty	3		
[29]*tšlḫm. tšṯqy*[.] *ilm*	3		
			9
[30]*tsad. tkbd. hmt*	3		
bʿl(.) [31]*ḫkpt*(.) *il. klh*	(2 : 2) 4		

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tbʿ. kṯr̊(.) [32]*lahlh*	3		
hyn. tbʿ.	2	7	
lmš[33]*knth*	2		

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apnk. dnil. m[t] (.) [34]*rpi*	3		
		6	
aphn. ġzr. mt(.) [35]*hrmmy*	3		
			11
qšt. yqb. [wyš][36]*rk*	3		
		5	
ʿl. aqht. kyq[m.]	2		

ʿn] (.) [37]*prʿm. ṣdk. ybn̊*	4		
		7	
[hln] (.) [38]*prʿm ṣdk*	3		
hn̊. p̊[rʿm. t][39]*ṣd*	3		
			10

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bhkl̊h. ... (ca. 11 lines)	...		

Synopsis

The scene describes the visit of Koshar-Ḫasis [= K-Ḫ], the artisan god, to Dan'el's home. He bears a present for Aqht, presumably on the occasion of the lad's 'coming-of-age'. The gift is a highly-prized and valuable 'composite-bow' specially fashioned by the god himself. Dan'el and his wife reciprocate the guest's generosity with a display of Oriental hospitality reminiscent of the biblical patriarch in Gen. 18: an invitation to partake of a meal. After eating his fill, the divine guest takes his leave. Dan'el then presents the bow to his son, together with wishes of 'good-luck' in the manly sport of hunting.

General Comments

(1) Although strictly speaking a god, K-Ḫ as a 'dramatic person' is in most respects undifferentiated from the mortal actors with whom he mingles and interacts. Like Anat, he is an 'immanent' rather than a 'transcendent' god. His appearance occasions no surprise, nor is it accompanied by any special effects.

(2) There is a debate in the scholarly literature as to the intended recipient of the bow, with several scholars persuaded that it is Dan'el, rather than Aqht. There are at least three good reasons for rejecting this interpretation:

(a) Dan'el hands the bow to his son *immediately* following the departure of his guest and without Aqht having asked for it in any way.

(b) It never occurs to Anat later on to try and obtain the bow from Dan'el, which might have been expected if Dan'el were the rightful owner.

(c) There is no credible pretext for K-Ḫ to present Dan'el with such an impressive – and as far as we know, unsolicited – gift. Dan'el has already received his 'gift' in the form of a son. On the other hand, Aqht's 'coming-of-age' provides the most plausible reason for a 'birthday present', and precisely such a one, with its obvious masculine symbolism.

(3) It should be noted that Aqht is here – as elsewhere – presumed to be a novice rather than an experienced practitioner of the art of hunting in the image of Orion. He has much to learn in handling a composite-bow. Indeed, it is precisely this deficiency of skill with this 'high-tech' instrument which provides the devious Anat with an excuse for inviting, and then killing, the lad.

§ *1.17:V:2–3*

It has long been recognized that the sixth colum of *Aqht* provides the earliest written record of composite-bow manufacture in the ancient Near East.[1] Indeed, so early is this record that a child-like fascination and excitement by this new technological 'toy' is still very much in evidence, and serves to elucidate the motive for (childish!) Anat's cupidity, a cupidity which fuels the entire drama.[2]

What has not been observed is that the first clues for determining the character of the marvellous bow are to be found already in col. V. The bow is described as ṮMN (= Ar. *ṯamīn*), denoting an object of great value.[3] Even more significant is the verb AŠRBʿ used as a B-word (// YBL) to describe the production or manufacture of the bow.[4] The word is to be understood as a Š-causative of a root $\sqrt{rb^{\epsilon}}$, identical in meaning and (*mutatis mutandis*) in form with Heb. HRBʿ which occurs in connection with the mating of animals (Lev. 19:19) and which the Aram. Targum Onqelos appropriately renders by the causative of $\sqrt{rkb}$ 'ride (upon)'. For the technique of composite-bow manufacture consists

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[1] W. F. Albright and G. E. Mendenhall, JNES 1 (1942): 227–29; Y. Yadin, BASOR 107 (1947): 11–15.

[2] Cf. H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926): 118–179; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (London, 1963): 6–8, 47–48; G. Rausing, *The Bow. Some Notes on Its Origin and Development* (Lund, 1967), esp. 70 ff. – The introduction, if not also the invention of the composite bow in the ancient Near East dates to the end of the IIIrd millennium B.C.E. [Naram-Sin] – thus Yadin, *Art of Warfare*, 47, 150, though others put it as far back as IVth millennium Uruk (cf. D. Collon, *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 53 f.) However, only in the era of the New Kingdom in Egypt was the primitive bow supplanted by the composite type (thus B. Couroyer, RB 88 (1981): 13–19, noting further that *apud* J. Bérard (REG 68 [1955]: 1 ff.), the composite-bow was still the exception at the end of the Bronze Age in the Greek-speaking world; W. Decker, in: *Lexikon d. Ägyptologie* (edd. W. Helck and E. Otto), Bd. I (Wiesbaden, 1975): 842–44, who credits the Hyksos with having introduced the composite bow into Egypt.) This suggests that, at least as far as the Egyptians were concerned, the composite bow was sufficiently perfected only ca. 1550 for it to replace the older type as an instrument of combat. It is probably this technical 'breakthrough' of the 16th cent. B.C.E. (or thereabouts), more or less contemporary with the date of composition of *Aqht* (ca. 1500 B.C.E.) which underlies and explains the centrality of the composite-bow theme in *Aqht*.

[3] Cf. B. Margalit, UF 15 (1983): 77 f. – The reason for the costliness and preciousness of the composite-bow was not the high cost of the materials used in its manufacture but rather the inordinately long time – five to ten years! [*apud* W. E. McLeod, AJA 62 (1958): 297–401] – for its completion (to be sure, when produced by a human craftsman...).

[4] Cf. B. Margalit, *ibid.*, 76 f., idem, ZAW 99 [1987]: 391–404.

precisely in superimposing layers of wood, animal horn and sinew – exactly the materials described by Aqht in col. VI below! – and gluing them together.[5]

The conclusion of the present scene provides another, if less tangible clue to the nature of the bow in question. Before presenting the bow to Aqht, Dan'el 'bends' [$\sqrt{qb(b)}$] and 'braces' [$\sqrt{šrk}$] it.[6] A normal teenager could be expected to brace a regular, 'old-fashioned' bow by himself. Not so a composite-bow which, owing to its peculiar 'back-bending' (Gr. παλίντονον) shape (the concave extremities pointing outwards when unstrung), required considerable strength and experience. This circumstance will resurface in col. VI to find expression in Aqht's candid astonishment that a 'weakling-woman' (TINṮT) should express an interest in such an object intended for 'he-men' such as himself!

§ *1.17:V:13 WHN. ŠBʿ. BYMM*

This expression normally comes as a climactic conclusion to a sequence of routine and/or preparatory actions carried out during the preceding six days.[7] However, there is not a trace of such a narrative sequence here, nor can such a sequence be tacitly assumed. Dan'el certainly did not spend six days in judgement prior to the arrival of his divine guest. For Dan'el is not a 'professional judge', but rather a 'gentleman-farmer' who takes part in public administration in his spare time.

This circumstance provides the basis for a surmise – to my knowledge, proffered here for the first time – that the action about to be described occurred on the seventh day of the *week*, i. e., on the 'Sabbath'. Such a supposition allows us to explain why Dan'el is sitting in the gateway rather than working in (or supervising) his fields. May we see here a hint for the existence of a Canaanite 'Sabbath' which proscribed strenuous, everyday labour – Heb. מלאכה – on the seventh day of the week but which allowed, even encouraged, one to do one's duty as a public official? – A tantalizing thought which bears further inquiry.

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[5] Cf. W. E. McLeod, *loc. cit.*; *idem.*, AJA 66 (1962): 13–19; Y. Yadin, *Art of Warfare*, *op. cit.*, 7; G. Rausing, *op. cit.*, 70 ff., and *passim.*

[6] Cf. the illustration in Yadin, *Art of Warfare*, p. 6; already Bonnet, *op. cit.*, 133 f., now also HAL, 222a.

[7] The convention, well-known in Ugaritic as noted above (§ 1.17:I:1–33) and with reflexes in the Bible, seems to have reached the Ionian bards of Greek epic fame as well. Cf. *Iliad*, XIV: "For six days my good men gave themselves up to festivity and I provided beasts in plenty.... On the seventh day we embarked...".

§ *1.17:V:6–8*

The contents of these lines is of special interest to the student of the Hebrew Bible. The formula 'adjudicate the widow and the orphan' is a legal cliché which has its verbatim counterpart in the code of Hammurabi as well as in the biblical Book of Covenant. It is a beautiful figure of speech denoting the abstract concept of legal 'justice'. Furthermore, the picture of Dan'el administering justice in the city-gates cannot but conjure up the biblical 'elders' (Heb. *z^{e}qēnîm*) who administer justice in identical conditions.

The recurrence of the 'widow-orphan' formula in the *Krt* epic, as part of a list of criteria for 'ideal kingship', and the oft-cited comparison with the biblical account in 1 Kgs. 22:10//2 Chron. 18:9 – where the 'threshing-floor [*goren*] located, as in *Aqht*, beside the city-gateway provides the scene of a royal *palabra* – have been used to support the hypothesis that Dan'el is, after all, portrayed as a royal figure in *Aqht*. Nothing could be further from the truth.

(1) It is of no small significance that Dan'el is referred to as adjudicating "among the notables". He is not conceived as a sole and absolute ruler like King Krt.[8]

(2) Neither the *Krt* text in 1.16:VI:22 ff. nor the aforementioned O.T. text(s) proves that Dan'el's activity as here described is typically that of a king:

(a) the O.T. parallel is interesting for its reference to the 'threshing-floor' – obviously some form of public square or *piazza*[9] – as located at the entrance to the city-gateway. But the general circumstances of the event described in the Hebrew text(s) are not those of adjudication, nor are they typical for kingship. Kings, unlike city 'elders', adjudicate in the royal palace (cf. 2 Sam. 15:1 ff.), exactly as portrayed in the aforementioned *Krt* text.

(b) the appearance of the 'widow-orphan' formula in a list of prerequisites for legitimate or effective kingship in *Krt* proves only that ancient Near Eastern kings in Syria-Palestine were wont to appropriate the judicial function to themselves, superseding or overriding the local judiciary system in their bid for centralized control and power. To legitimize this 'usurpation', they would vaunt their capacity for justice

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[8] This argument assumes that the Ug. phrase *tḥt. adrm* means in fact "among the notables" rather than "under the mighty (trees)" as some scholars believe. But one doesn't expect to find tall trees growing on the 'threshing-floor' outside the city-gateway.

[9] Cf. J. Gray, PEQ 84 (1952): 112, n. 16; *idem.*, PEQ 85 (1953): 118–23; Caquot-Sznycer, TO, 427, note s; Dijkstra–De Moor, UF 7 (1975): 181.

and their faithful adherence to the laws of the forefathers by co-opting this traditional formula.

The appearance of this formula in *Aqht* – here and again in 1.19:I:23–5 – provides us with the original and authentic *Sitz-im-Leben*, reflecting a pre-monarchic social order and an autonomous local judiciary made up of the city's 'great-ones' (*adrm*), viz., the well-to-do propertied class of Raphaite noblemen, alias 'warriors' (*ǵzrm*).

§ *1.17:V:20–21*

The association of K-Ḫ with Memphis – Eg. *ḥ(w)t. k}. ptḥ*, EA *ḫikuptaḫ* – points to a syncretistic identification of the artisan-god with his Egyptian counterpart Ptaḥ whom the Greeks in turn identified with their own Hephaistos.

There may however be an 'organic' historical connection between these three mythical personalities. Elsewhere, Ugaritic literary tradition connects K-Ḫ with KPTR, biblical Kaphtor, i. e., Crete. The *Baal-Mot* epic concludes with a reference to K-Ḫ who lives "in the sea of the *whale* and the sea-serpent" (*bym. arš. wtnn*) [1.6:VI:51]. The continuation of the same text implies moreover that the artisan-god is lame: "K-Ḫ limps (about) // Bound does K-Ḫ" (*kṯr. whṩss. yd // ytr. kṯr. whṩss*), the verbs *yd* and *ytr* presumably cognate with Heb. $\sqrt{ddh}$ and $\sqrt{ntr}$ respectively.[10] If correctly interpreted, we have here a most striking correspondence between K-Ḫ and the Greek Hephaistos, whose stock epithets include "lame-one" (κυνώπιδος) and "crook-footed" (κυλλοποδίον), the origins of which are recounted in *Iliad* XVIII, 388 f.[11] A deformity in the feet of Ptaḥ of Memphis is also reported by Herodotus.[12]

The assumption of a lame or hobbling K-Ḫ may also cast some light on, and enhance our appreciation of, lines 9–11. Dan'el espies – and recognizes – the artisan-god from a distance of "a thousand ŠD / / ten-thousand KMN", a formulaic figure of speech denoting 'long distance'. The text makes specific mention of the 'gait' (HLK) along with, and in parallelism to, the 'pack' (TDRQ)[13] which he presumably

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[10] Cf. B. Margalit, MLD (AOAT 206): 200 f.

[11] Cf. also *Iliad*, I, 584 ff.

[12] *Histories*, III, 36. – Herodotus' report receives indirect confirmation from the fact that the Egyptian Ptaḥ, like Bes, was thought to be a 'dwarf-god'. Already in the New Kingdom era, the leonine Bes was associated with music and dancing; cf. similarly K-w-Ḫ in 1.108, suggesting that Ug.-Can. tradition fused Bes and Ptaḥ to create the image of K-w-Ḫ.

[13] Presumably a *tqtl* formation of an otherwise unknown Ug. $\sqrt{drq}$, this word, occurring twice elsewhere in the poetry, always in 'fixed parallelism' with *hlk*, has been generally understood as synonymous with the latter in meaning. However, the frequently cited

carries on his back. At the risk of reading too much into the text, one may venture the surmise that Dan'el recognized the artisan-god from afar by his characteristic limp and the baggage typical of the itinerant smith (cf. immediately below).

§ *1.17:V:32–3*

K-Ḫ's domicile is here referred to as a 'tent' (*ahl*) or 'mobile home' (*mšknt*).[14] Only one other character in *Aqht* is so described, viz., the 'Sutean warrior' YṬPN who resides in a 'tent-camp; (*ahl//ḏd*)) at ABLM (= Kh. Kērak). To be sure, it does not follow that we are to conceive of K-Ḫ as a pastoral nomad like YṬPN. Rather, the reference is to be understood as part of K-Ḫ's image as an 'itinerant smith' who carries his mobile home together with his technical equipment in his pack.[15]

Excursus V: Tent-dwellers in Ugaritic literature

'Tent-dwelling' implies temporary settlement and is usually associated with 'nomadism'.[1] This basic fact is easily demonstrated from the

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Arabic etymology *daraqa*, allegedly 'walk with haste' (thus UT § 19.708, etc.) is very dubious. This meaning for the Arabic is unknown to Lane (AEL, 872, s. v.) or to Dozy (*Supplément*, I, 435), though it is recorded by Freytag (*Lexicon...*, 178: *festinavit*). – It is here suggested, apparently for the first time, that Ug. TDRQ is cognate with Akk. *darāku* II (so AHw, s. v.) – though both *darāgu* or *darāqu* are equally valid readings (cf. AHw, *ibid.*) – meaning 'pack up' (cf. J. Lewy, *Orientalia* 15 (1945: 396, n. 5; reading *darāgu*!). On this interpretation, the B-word TDRQ signifies the baggage which a person may be carrying when he sets out on a journey. In the case at hand, it is the back-pack of the itinerant smith which is intended. The situation in 1.3:IV:39 (with Anat as subject) is indeterminate. However, in 1.4:II:13–16, we know that Anat and Baal are bringing expensive gifts of gold and silver to Asherah. It may also be noted that $\sqrt{drq}$ is never used as a verb in Ugaritic in parallelism with $\sqrt{hlk}$, but rather $\sqrt{\text{'}tw}$, while conversely $\sqrt{\text{'}tw}$ is never substituted for TDRQ in the formula under discussion. These considerations tend to support the conclusion that HLK and TDRQ are not synonymous terms.

[14] Cf. immediately below, *Excursus* V. – The parallelism of AHL // MŠKNT, attested also in 1.15:III:18–19, is well-known from the Hebrew Bible as well (cf. Num. 24:5, Isa. 54:2, Jer. 30:18; cp. also Job 21:28). This indicates that we are dealing with a conventionalized 'word-pair' of the Canaanite poetic tradition common to Ugaritic and O.T. poetry, as noted long ago by Cassuto, Ginsberg, Held and others. The mistake of these pioneers in Ugaritic studies was that they limited their purview to the 'superstructural' manifestations of this common tradition.

[15] Cf. R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950): 77.

[1] With all the caution and reserve necessitated by recent research into the phenomenon of ancient Near Eastern nomadism – cf. *e.g.*, M. B. Rowton, in (G. Buccelati, ed.),

Hebrew Bible where מִשְׁכְּנוֹת (Ug. *mšknt*)[2] occurs in conjunction or parallelism with the typically nomadic term נָוֶה, plu. נָאוֹת, corresponding to Mari-Akk. *nawûm* and denoting 'grazing-land'. It is also to be inferred from the name מִשְׁכָּן given to the portable shrine of the Desert-Period, as well as from the emotionally charged ideological distinction between בית 'house' and 'tabernacle/tent' in the national debate concerning the construction of a permanent Temple sanctuary for YHWH in the 10th cent. (2 Sam. 7:6).[3] Indeed, one can take it as a 'rule-of-thumb' that the notion of 'temporary habitation' is at least implicit in most if not all of the usages of *škn* in O.T. Hebrew. The few exceptions tend to be poetic usages of $\sqrt{škn}$ determined by considerations of metre and/or alliteration.

The same picture emerges from 'classical' Ugaritic literature. With one exception, the gods (El excluded!) are consistently lodged in 'houses' and 'courtyards' (*bt//ḥẓr*).[4] Indeed, the central theme of texts 1.3 and 1.4 is the construction of a palace' (*bt/hkl*) for Baal "like the (other) gods".[5]

The notable exception is El, who resides in a royal QRŠ (*qrš. mlk*), a term whose approximate meaning can be determined from its synonymous parallelism with ḌD, the latter a B-term synonym for AHL in

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Approaches to the Study of the Ancient Near East (Fs. Gelb), 1973, 247–58 – there is still room for a basic distinction, at least in Bronze- and Iron-Age Syria-Palestine, between those who *normally* dwell in permanently fixed structures in well-defined geographical locations (= 'sedentaries') and those who live in mobile dwellings in geographically ill-defined regions (= 'nomads'). We may note further that the Akk. *ašibūt kultari* 'tent-dweller' is still a metonym for 'nomad' in the Neo-Assyrian period (cf. R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 58) specifically designating the 'Suteans' or the 'Arameans'. Already in Ur III sources (ca. 2000 B.C.E.) the phrase 'house-ignorant' (é-nu-zu) is used to describe the MAR.DU nomads. Note also the disparaging description of the prototypal nomad Ishmael in Gen. 16:12: "a wild-ass of a man (is he) / his hand into everything (i.e., theft) / and everyone's hand (raised) against him / *and upon the face of every meadow* (!) – reading אַחוּ for MT's אֶחָיו – he doth camp ($\sqrt{škn}$)". (Gen. 25:18 is a later interpretation of an already disturbed JE text).

[2] Corresponding to Akk. *maškanu* (MAŠ. GANA) '(tent-)camp', located in the case of nomads or brigands, "hors d'attente de l'autorité constituée" (Bottéro, "Entre Nomades et Sédentaires...", in: *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 6 [1980]: 202). Cf. also CAD, vol. M-1, § 4 (p. 372).

[3] Cf. B. Margalit, UF 8 (1976): 184, n. 137.

[4] The one exception, in 1.15:III:18 f. [Krt], is motivated by literary considerations, viz., 'alliteration': *tity. iLM, LahLM. // dr. iL. LMšknthM.* Cf. B. Margalit, UF 11 (1979): 537–57; *idem.*, JNSL VIII (1980): 57–80.

[5] Cf. O.T. מִקְדַּשׁ מֶלֶךְ 'royal shrine' (Am. 7:13, probably also to be read in Ex. 15:17, the change to אֲדֹנָי prompted by the possible confusion with the Canaanite, actually Transjordanian/Bashan, DN MLK/'Milkom').

Aqht. But this is a parade example of the exception which proves the rule. For El's tent-residence is to be understood in traditio-historical terms as a fossilized residue of an earlier era in 'Ugaritic' religion, the equivalent of the 'patriarchal age' in Israel and the MAR.DU era of the early West-Semitic dynasties in Mesopotamia, "when kings dwelt in tents".[6] This is the era when El wielded the *real* power of a dynamic demiurgos, *ab. adm* and *bny. bnwt*, rather than the nominal power of a pensioned deity.

To the foregoing data needs to be added the insufficiently appreciated references in *Aqht* to the Sutean Ytpn – the name itself (< √*tp* = Ar. *ṭāfa*) denoting 'wanderer' – residing in a 'tent-camp' in the vicinity of Kh. Kērak, along the southern shores of the Kinnereth, an area of nomadic habitation throughout history, up to and including modern times. The references to Ytpn's tent-dwelling contrast sharply and significantly with the several references to Dan'el's abode, always *bt//hkl*.

ACT II – SCENE 2 (1.17:VI:1–46)

TEXT

... (ca. 9 lines) ...	...		
[l]*ḫm*. [blḫm. ay]	[3]	[6]	
[wšty(.) [3]bḫmr. yn]. *ay*	[3]		[12]
[lḫm. mrǵṯm. ṯd]	[3]	[6]	
[4][bḥ]*rb. mlḫ* [t. qṣ(.) [5]mri]	[3]		
[tšty. krpnm]. *yn*	3	[6]	
bks. ḫr[ṣ(.) [6]dm. ʿṣm]	3		10
[dkrt. y]*n. krpn. ʾl. krpn*	(2 : 2) 4		

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[7][lšty. ʿnt. lš]*q̊ym*	[3]	[6]	
wtʿl. trṯ(.) [8][lrišh.]	[3]		[10]
[lyḥbl]. *yn. ʿšy. lḫbš*[9][h]	[4]		

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[6] Cf. F. R. Kraus, *Könige, die in Zelten wohnten* (1965).

[aqht. qšt. yn]*ḫtn* [3]
qn. yṣbt(.) [10][wyqb.] [3] [6]
[tṣb. qšt] [2]
bnši. ʿnh. ẇẗphn [3] [5] [11]

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[11][ʿnt. kqrḫ. yṣ]*ml. kslḥ* [4]
kbrq(.) [12][tbrqn. ʿnh] [3] [7]

[ky]*m̊*(.) *ỷg̊*ʿ(*p̊*/*t̊*). *thmt* [3]
brq[13][m. kyprq. yʿrm] [3] [6]

tṣb. qšt. bntḫ [3]
[14][qṣʿt. bnṣbḥ] [2] [5]
[8]
ʾnh. km. bṯn. yqr [3]

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[15][krpnh. tplm.] *larṣ* 3
ksḥ. tšpkm(.) [16][lʿpr] 3 6
9
[tšu. gh.] *ẇtṣḥ* 3

šmʿ. mʿ(.) [17][laqht. ǵzr] 3
[i]*rš. ksp. watn̊k* 3
[18][ḫrṣ. waš]*l̊ḥk* 2 8

wtn̊. qštk. ʾ*m̊*(.) [19][btlt.] ʾ*n̊*[t] 4
q̊ṣʿtk. ⟨*ʿm.*⟩ *ybmt. limm* 3 7
9
[20]*wyʿn. aqht. ǵzr* 2

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adr. ṯqbm(.) [21]*ḫlbnn* 3
adr. gdm. brůmm 3
[22]*adr. qrnt. byʿlm* 3 6
9

[23β]*adr. bǵl*(.) *il. qnm* 3
[22β]*mtnm*(.) [23α]*bʿqbt. ṯr* 3 6

[24]*tn. lkṯr. wḫss* 3
yb{ }*l. qšt. lʿnt* 3 6
[25]*qṣʿt. lybmt. limm* 3

wtʿn. btlt(.) [26]ʿ*nt* 3

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irš. ḫym. laqht. ǵzr	4		
[27]*irš. ḫym. watnk*	3	7	9
blmt(.) [28]*ẇašlḫk*	2		
ašsprk. ʿm. bʿl(.) [29]*šnt*	3		
ʿm. bn(.) *il. tspr. yrḫm*	3	6	
[30]*kbʿl. kyḫwy*	2		
yʿšr. ḫwy .	2	6	
yʿš[31]*r. wyšqynh*	2		
ybd. wyšr. ʿlh	3		
[32]*nʿm*[y?.y/t]*ʿnynn*	2	5	
			8
ap(.) *ank. aḫwy*(.) [33]*aqḫt.* [ǵz]*r̂*	3		

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w{ }*yʿn. aqht. ǵzr*	2		9
[34]*al. tšr̂gn. ybtlm*	2		
dm(.) *lǵzr*(.) [35]*šrgk. ḫḫm*	3	7	
mm. uḫryt	2		
mh. yqḫ	2		
[36]*mh. yqḫ*	2	6	
mt. aṯryt	2		12
spsg. ysk(.) [37][l]*riš*	3		
ḫrṣ. lẓr. qdqdy	3	6	
[38][dk]*mt. kl. amt*	3		
wan. mtm. amt	3	6	
			9
[39][ap. m]*ṯn. rgmm. argm*	3		

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qštm(.) [40][nṯq.] *m̂hrm*	3		
ht. tṣdn. tinṯt	3	6	
			11
[41][bpn]*m̂. tṣḥq. ʿnt*	3		
wblb. tqny	2	5	

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[42][hln.] *ṯb. l!y. laqht. ǵzr*	4		
ṯb(.) *ly*(.) *wlk*(.) [43][bn. l]*ḫm*	3	7	
laqryk. bntb. pšʿ	3		
[44][(l)alqk]. *bntb. gan*	3	6	
			11
ašqlk. tḫt(.) [45][pʿny]	3		
[lḫ]*tk. nʿmn*	2	5	
ʿmq. nšm	2		

[46][td^{c}ṣ. p^{c}]*nm. wtr. arṣ* 4

Synopsis

A 'coming of age' (Bar-Mitzva) feast in honour of Aqht and attended by Anat is the scene of an unexpected confrontation and battle-of-wits between the lad and the goddess. Passionately coveting the bow expertly fashioned by K-Ḫ, Anat attempts to bribe Aqht, first with wealth and then with immortality. Both offers are rejected by the lad in a remarkable display of precocity and wit. The scene ends with the infuriated exit of the goddess and a presumably stunned audience who had taken the entire affair to be good sport.

General Comments

1. The case for viewing the feast as a 'coming-of-age' party for Aqht rests on three arguments:

(1) If not a birthday party for Aqht, it is presumably a party for Dan'el and/or Dnty and their social peers. But children do not normally get invited to such affairs, especially if such parties resemble that of 1.114 (RS 24.258).

(2) Aqht is not only present at this party, but he has brought along his bow, a rather strange companion unless it is one's birthday and the bow is the *pièce de résistance* among the presents.

(3) The composite-bow is clearly an insignia of Aqht's newly acquired manhood and maturity; and its symbolic significance as initiating his membership into the order of Raphaite *ǵzr*hood is underscored by his adamant refusal to relinquish it under any circumstances.

2. The missing ten or so lines at the beginning of the column make it impossible to establish who precisely is in attendance. We naturally assume family and friends, perhaps also the mystical presence of the ancestral *rpum*. Of the divine coterie only Anat's presence is assured. El, however, is certainly not in attendance, an inference to be drawn from the scene which follows. Baal's presence too may be doubted in view of Anat's 3rd person reference to him in lines 29–30 and the absence of a reaction. In fact, it is one of the unique features of *Aqht* that Anat and Baal are never brought together, as if the poet(ess) did not wish to tarnish Baal's 'good-guy' image by association with the villainous Anat. From *Aqht* alone one could never guess that a special relationship existed between Baal and Anat.

Anat's presence may be viewed on two complementary levels: (1) she represents the 'divine council' (*pḫr. ilm*), especially Baal and El, whose intervention was instrumental in Aqht's birth. Aqht's 'coming of

age' is, in a sense, a second birth; (2) Anat is almost certainly the patron-deity of the warrior-aristocracy known individually as *ǵzrm* (or *mhrm*), and collectively perhaps as *rpi. arṣ* "Raphaites-of-the-land" and *qbṣ. dtn* (var. *ddn*) "the order of Ditānu".[1] Her presence at Aqht's 'coming-of-age' party is at once symbolic of Aqht's initiation into the order and of Anat's high, if not exclusive standing in that order.

3. The scene as a whole is of extraordinary importance for the subsequent unfolding of the story,[2] and certainly one of its several high-points in terms of dramatic force. After the peaceful and slow-moving dinner-scene in col. V, the drama abruptly shifts into high gear, as party merriment and raucous laughter give way suddenly to a stunned silence of fear and foreboding with the enraged exit of the rebuffed Anat.

4. Anat is here portrayed as the slave of her passions and driven by an uncontrollable desire unbridled by any moral sanction. She possesses quintessentially that quality of deviousness which the poet tactfully attributes only to her eyes: the eyes of a snake. Such a comparison with this most abhorrent of animal creatures will occur but once elsewhere in the poem, viz., in the description of a drunken Sutean, *Anat's 'hired sword'*, about to forfeit his life at the hands of Aqht's sister Pughat. It may be recalled in this connection as well that the snake is the characteristic image of Mot, the god of death, as it is of the biblical Leviathan, God's archenemy.[3]

Aqht, by contrast, is here portrayed as an exuberant adolescent, flushed with excitement, possessor of a sharp mind and a quick tongue, as he 'shows off' for the assembled guests his grasp of technical as well as philosophical matters. His performance is doubtless greeted by cheers of 'bravo' and uproarious laughter by an audience convinced until the very last moment that the entire confrontation is a mock contest initiated by Anat as sporting entertainment intended to test the youngster's mettle and combative spirit. Even the hard-bitten Anat cannot suppress a smile at the end of Aqht's second speech, no doubt in response to the thunderous applause from the audience. It is a mark of the poet(ess)'s consummate art that the general air of conviviality is maintained up to the very last moment, when Anat's deadly earnest attitude finds its expression in blood curdling threats hurled at Aqht.

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[1] A reflex of this 'patron-deity' status may be seen in the statuary inscriptions of Ramses II at Tanis: cf. R. Stadelmann, *Syr.-Pal. Gottheiten...*, 91 ff.

[2] In the history of *Aqhtiana* as we have seen above, it is the clarification of this scene by Ginsberg which paves the way for an understanding of the story, at least in broad outline.

[3] Cf. B. Margalit, MLD (AOAT 206), *passim*. The snake (*'ap'*) is also the 'porter' of the Netherworld, guarding the entrance to the walled city. Cf. below, § 1.19:I:11 – 14.

Aqht is certainly not guilty of sinful hubris, as commonly thought. He is in fact something of a Promethean figure[4] who naively, and suicidally, challenges an immoral and unscrupulous goddess who would abuse her divine privilege and shame her divine birth by depriving a mortal lad of a cherished birthday present. Aqht, we can safely assume, speaks here for the poet(ess). His words are words of wisdom and truth, of instruction 'from the mouth of babes and sucklings'. That he ultimately pays for his youthful 'insolence' with his life does not prove that he is a sinner, only that he dared too much.

§ *1.17:VI:7–16*

The section falls into two parts: the opening lines, apparently the concluding part of Dan'el's peroration inviting his guests to 'eat, drink and make merry', are followed by a description of the enormous quantities of alcoholic beverage consumed by the guests, among them Anat, of whom the poet poignantly observes that 'the wine went to her head', and at the same time distended her spleen. This is intended as a foreshadowing of Anat's conduct in the dialogue portion: Anat is clearly 'under the influence' and is suffering from the distemper occasioned by excessive imbibing of alcohol prior to outright intoxication.

The second part, beginning line 9, portrays Aqht first stringing the bow, then standing it erect, presumably against the table where he is sitting as guest-of-honour.[1] Shortly thereafter a distempered Anat catches sight of the bow. The next four lines – 11–14 – are devoted to a hyperbolic description of Anat's visceral reaction: muscles taut, eyes like a turbulent sea flashing like lightning, and staring snake-eyed, culminating (lines 15–16) in her losing the grip on her wine glass, it and its contents falling to the ground.

These lines constitute the node of dramatic action about to unfold. The descriptive powers which the poet evidences in these lines is of the highest order. There can be little question moreover as to where his/her sympathies lie: hardly with the splenetic goddess now in the grips of an uncontrollable passion[2] to take possession of the young Aqht's 'birthday present'.

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[4] Cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 331 f.

[1] Cf. W. E. McLeod, AJA 62 (1958): 399, according to whom the bows of Tutankhamun – who died very young! – range from 44 to 49 inches (= ca. 112–125 cms.) But other exemplars are longer, ranging from ca. 135 to nearly 150 cms. Cf. G. Rausing, *op. cit.*, 70 ff.

[2] Cf. UF 15 [1983]: 82 f. This identification of TṢB as deriving from $\sqrt{ṣby}$ "desire strongly" rather than $\sqrt{nṣb}$ "stand erect" was first suggested (with some hesitation)

A word may be said on the hyperbolic description in lines 11 – 14. Here as in *Krt* [1.14:III:41 – 45] the Ugaritic poet reveals a fondness for women's eyes, particularly Anat's. He refers to Anat's eyes both at the beginning and at the end of the strophe. At the beginning her eyes are seen as a reflection of the turbulence in her breast; one can read Anat's emotions by looking at her eyes: the turbulence of a tempest at sea and the heat and aggressiveness of lightning as it strikes a tree, demolishing it entirely and setting off a conflagration. Here too there is subtle foreshadowing of events to come. At the conclusion of the section, Anat has calmed somewhat. She is now staring like a wily snake. She is contriving a 'smooth talk' to convince Aqht to relinquish his bow. The comparison with the snake, a universally detested and feared creature, is not without significance. It tells us something about the poet's estimate of the goddess. He will resort to such a comparison in connection with Yṭpn, Anat's 'hired (Sutean) sword', as he slides into the arms of Bacchus on his voyage to eternity. No creature better epitomizes the nature of Anat, and her detested Sutean accomplice, than the snake.

§ *1.17:VI:16 – 19*

Anat begins the first of her two orations by addressing Aqht as ĠZR, at once flattering his burgeoning Raphaite ego and confirming his new station in life. But her insight into the mind and feelings of the lad fails beyond this point. She apparently believed that unlimited quantities of gold and silver would tempt a lad still under parental care and maintenance whose main objective at this juncture in his life is to prove his manliness and his right to be called a ĠZR. The offer is so uninteresting to the lad that it doesn't receive a mention in his initial response (in contrast to the second offer which, though dismissed as a fairy-tale, nonetheless excites the lad's fancy).

Nevertheless, the offer is of interest as illustrating the values of Raphaite society. Next to the unattainable immortality, gold and silver are the *summa bona*, the standards of highest value in terms of which all things, material and spiritual, are evaluated. Everything – and

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by Ginsberg [BASOR 98 (1945): 16] and is accepted by most scholars today (cf. however Dijkstra – de Moor, UF 7:185n.) This interpretation – which can claim the support of cognates in the major Semitic languages [cf. HAL, 936] – is the key to understanding the entire scene (and ultimately the entire epic story). The root $\sqrt{ṣby}$ is semantically akin to $\sqrt{{}^{\circ}rš}$ (= Akk. *erēšu*, etc.) which, not by chance, is the very first word which issues from the mouth of Anat after the formula of address. As if to say: I will satisfy your (putative) craving for gold and silver (subsequently, immortality) if you will satisfy my craving for the bow.

presumably everyone – has its/his price in this ancient yet so uncannily modern society. It is only a 'naive' adolescent who can resist such a lure...[3]

§ *1.17:VI:20–25*

The recognition that Aqht, in his first response to Anat's offer, lists the materials necessary for fashioning a composite bow – thus 'showing-off' his technical expertise – provided the first major breakthrough in understanding the poem after Virolleaud's *editio princeps*.[4] Several years later, Y. Sukenik (Yadin) would observe that "all the materials mentioned in lines 20–23 are needed for the creation of the bow and are not merely a poetical exaggeration."[5]

One such composite-bow, of Egyptian origin (ca. 1400 B.C.E.) now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, answers to the following description:[6]

> "the length unstrung is close to 150 cms. (59 in.). The central nucleus of the bow is a [rectangular] strip [of yellowish wood]. Outside this strip is glued, at right angles to it, a pair of (wood) strips... This serves as a rail on either side of the central nucleus to keep the next element in place. The next element on either side (of the wood nucleus) is a layer of [black antelope] horn exactly filling the space between the rails. Over this and outside the rails is a layer of [sinew]. The exterior surface is covered with [reddish] birch-bark [probably European white birch]".

Comparing this description with the Ugaritic account, we arrive at the following correspondences:

(1) wood nucleus (or 'core') = TQB(M). *blbnn*, the exact botanical definition of the Ug. TQB remaining uncertain.[7]

(2) Antelope horn = QRNT. BY'LM.

(3) layer of sinew = GDM. *brumm*

(4) the bowstring (unmentioned above) = MTN(M). *b'qbt. tr.*

Unaccounted for is the item designated QNM and said to derive from (a) ĠL. IL. Usually rendered indefinitely as 'great marsh' or the

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[3] Cf. King Krt's pledge to Asherah-of-Tyre: twice his bride's weight in silver, thrice her weight in gold (1.14:IV:40–43). The failure to honour this pledge nearly costs the king his life, a sign that the gods too fancy the shiny metals! (In fact, texts 1.4:I:26–44 and II:22–30 leave no doubt on this matter, especially where Asherah is concerned!).

[4] W. F. Albright and G. E. Mendenhall, JNES 1 (1942): 227–29.

[5] Y. Sukenik (Yadin), BASOR 107 (1947): 11–15. Quotation from p. 13.

[6] G. Rausing, *The Bow*, op. cit., 71; W. G. McLeod, AJA 66 (1962): 17. I have combined the two reports, the additions in square brackets deriving from McLeod.

[7] Cf. De Moor, UF 3 (1971): 349 f.; Caquot–Sznycer, TO, 431. But the results remain inconclusive.

like, the latter is in fact a precise reference to the 'river-valley' (Ar. *ġail*[8]), the 2nd millennium Canaanite precursor of Aram. חולתא רבתא, Hellen. *Oulatha*, Talmudic (*ym' d*) *ḥwlt'*, modern *el-Ḥuleh/Ḥula* Valley.[9] Yadin, followed by scholars generally, took *qnm* to mean 'reeds' and understood it to be an allusion to 'arrows'. The equation *qnm* = 'reeds' is undoubtedly correct,[10] not least because of its association – partly anticipated by Yadin! – with the Ḥuleh valley, famous already in antiquity for its reeds and rushes. However, there is good reason for doubting the connection of *qnm* and 'arrows' in this context, despite the impressive evidence marshalled by Yadin.[11] We are persuaded that, like the other materials listed by Aqht, the reeds were used for constructing the composite bow, although admittedly such a material is thus far unconfirmed by archaeological finds.

§ *1.17:VI:25*^{b}*–33*

Anat's second speech not only contains a more attractive offer – immortality – but represents a determination to persuade the youngster by means of rational argument as well as enticement. Aqht's response has gained him a measure of respect for his intellectual ability; he is not someone to be trifled with.

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[8] Lane (AEL, 2318 f.) defines *ġail* as "any valley in which are flowing springs; ... a place ... in which water is running on the surface."

[9] Cf. *Gen. Apochryphon* (ed. Fitzmyer [*Biblica et Orientalia*, vol. 18 (1966)]), col. XXII: 4; *Enc. Judaica* (M. Avi-Yonah), vol. 8, s. v. Ḥuleh; F. M. Abel, *Géographie*, vol. I: 492 f. – Fitzmyer (*op. cit.*, 150) identifies חולתא רבתא with the Jordan Valley generally, noting that in the Targumim Aram. חולתא renders Heb. גיא.

[10] Unless of course one concurs with the restoration [q]*nt* in KTU 2.33, interpreted to mean 'reeds' (thus Lipiński, OLP 12 [1981]: 103; Pardee, AfO XXXI [1984]: 218). However, no evidence is brought in support of such a form, which is masculine in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Akkadian, with Arabic attesting both *qanā* and *qanāt* (cf. HAL, 1039 f.).

[11] (a) The alleged description of the materials for the arrows is curiously deficient when compared to the pedantically detailed list of the materials for the bow. The reed is the main part of the arrow; but there are also feathers and, usually, a metal arrowhead, neither of which receive any mention here. Contrast *Myth of (An)Zu*, apud ANET^{3} [1969]: 516.

(b) Yadin did not try to decide the question as to what is meant by QṢ'T. Nor did he presuppose a particular meaning in his argumentation. Yet as he himself recognizes, his case gains in cogency if QṢ'T means 'arrow(s)' rather than 'arc'; and vice versa if QṢ'T is – as I believe – a B-word synonym for QŠT. One should bear in mind, moreover, that the technological advance represented by the composite bow did not entail a corresponding innovation in the manufacture of arrows. There would thus be no reason for Aqht to send Anat to the atelier of K-Ḫ in order to obtain arrows: Anat could be counted on to supply her own.

The 'sales pitch' consists of two parts:

(a) a promise that Aqht will never die. This is the Utnapištim-Adapa model of immortality aspired to by Gilgamesh and presupposed in the opening chapters of *Genesis* (J source). It involves an eternal life-span like the gods, but the recipient remains a creature of flesh-and-blood, and without such divine privileges as participation in divine council, jurisdiction over a sphere of cosmic activity, and – above all – the right to be an object of worship and receive sacrifices. But these inherent limitations belong to the 'fine print' which the slick-tongued Anat has no intention of revealing. Nor is the naive Aqht expected to ruminate on the long-term prospects for happiness which such a state entails. Utnapištim, in his monologue to Gilgamesh, does not give the impression of being the happiest of mortals!

(b) As a human become immortal, Aqht will be the heroic subject of epic verse. His name will ever be on the lips of troubadours who will spread his fame far and wide.[12] This aspect of the promise is remarkable not least for its indication of the epic poet's self-awareness as someone who effectively immortalizes the heroes of his poems, as well as for the ironic insinuation that this type of immortality is all that one can realistically aspire to: Utnapištim, like Gilgamesh, lives eternally in poetry, but nowhere else.

§ *1.17:VI:33^b–40*

1. Aqht's second discourse is a rhetorical masterpiece worthy of a Cicero. It is constructed of three parts:

(a) a flat rejection of Anat's second offer, labelled a 'fairy-tale'[13] and harshly characterized as 'thorns'[14] and 'a pointed shaft'[15] in the posterior of a *ǵzr*-warrior such as he.

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[12] Admittedly, not all scholars would agree with this interpretation of YBD. WYŠR. ʿLH. To be sure, a virtually identical construction in 1.3:I:14–21 is better understood as 'singing over' – i.e., in the presence of – PN. However, despite the close literary connections between 1.3 and *Aqht* – attributable to the fact that Anat is a major figure (perhaps *the* major figure) in both (cf. also her significant presence at the end of 1.20–22 [Rephaim]) – this need not be the sense of the usage here. As a human become immortal, Aqht will not be merely serenaded – this is a pleasure which, as the son of a nobleman, he could enjoy at home, without special divine favours – but he will be the subject of heroic ballads and epic verse. He will be what the Bible calls 'a man of name' (Gen. 6:4; 11:4; Deut. 26:19 = Jer. 13:11; Zeph. 3:19; Job 18:17, etc.), i.e., men whose names are preserved in tradition and legend. – For similar views, cf. e.g., C. H. Gordon, *Berytus* 25 [1977]: 16; Gray, LC^2, 112; Caquot–Sznycer, TO, 432. Contrast Del Olmo Lete (MLC), following Driver (CML), Gaster, Ginsberg, et al.

[13] Ug. ŠRG, cognate with Arabic *saraga* 'lie, deceive, delude' as first recognized by U. Cassuto (*Rendiconti ... Reale Accad. Naz. dei Lincei*, vol. XIV, fasc. 3–4 (1939): 266).

(b) some philosophical *obiter dicta* on the subject of human mortality, including most interesting and highly significant allusions to funerary practices dating to pre-pottery Neolithic (!) times.

(c) a concluding after-thought which questions the utility of a manly composite-bow for a 'weakling-woman' such as Anat, rendered as a rhetorical question and no doubt accompanied by suitable facial expressions of disdain.

2. (a) The word ŠRG by which Aqht characterizes Anat's proposition denotes deception by means of a 'tall tale', the kind of tale which Aqht heard, and doubtless enjoyed, as a child. But now that he is a 'man' (Ug. MT), he bristles at the mere insinuation that he still believes in such stories. Aqht is irked by the fact that Anat takes him for a gullible 'kid'. At the conclusion of his speech, added as an after-thought,

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However, Ar. *saraga* also means 'shine, be beautiful', as does the Syriac cognate $\sqrt{šrg}$ (Aram. שְׁרָגָא) meaning 'light, lamp' (alongside *šragraga* meaning 'deceive' [Payne–Smith, *Thesaurus*, 4326]). This suggests that Sem. $\sqrt{šrg}$, unlike $\sqrt{šqr}$, means 'lie' in the sense of 'tell a tall tale', a 'fantasy'. Of all the commentators, only Th. Gaster (*Thespis*[2], 348) seems to have caught the precise sense when he renders *al. tšrgn* by "spin me no fancy tales".

[14] Most of the recent commentators consider this word related in meaning and in etymology to Akk. *ḫaḫḫu* 'spittle, slime' (CAD, vol. H, 28), with renderings varying from 'unseemly' (Driver) to 'filth' (Dijkstra–De Moor) and 'rubbish' (Gaster, Gray). This etymological analysis, first suggested by Albright [BASOR 50 (1933): 18, n. 55; JPOS 14 (1934); 132, n. 166] originates elsewhere, viz., in 1.4:VIII:13 [*Baal-Mot*], in connection with, and as an attribute of, the Netherworld domicile of Mot, the god of death.

However, subsequent study has cast legitimate doubt on the validity of this translation of the *Baal-Mot* text. Thus M. Held, JANES 5 (1973): 189, observes "Akk. *ḫaḫḫu* is never attested in any simile or metaphor relating to the Netherworld, nor does it ever denote 'filth' as such". In fact, the word ḪḤ in *Baal-Mot* is best understood in terms of, and as related to, either Ar. *ḫawḫ(at)* = Heb. *ḥo'ḥ* (II) "hole, pit" [cf. HAL, 284] – thus Caquot–Sznycer, TO, 220 – or to Akk. *ḫaḫḫu* (III) 'thorn(-bush)' [AHw, 308] = Heb. *ḥo'ḥ* (I) [cf. HAL, s. v.], with preference to be given the former, in view of the parallelism with *mk* (< $\sqrt{m(w)k}$ 'be lowly') and *ǵr* "bottom" in the A- and C-lines respectively, as well as by the general consideration that 'hole, pit' (Heb. *bôr*, *šaḥat*) are natural designations for the Netherworld (cf. discussion in my MLD (AOAT 206), 80 f.) – There exists acordingly no proven case of Ug. *ḪḤ* = 'spittle, slime'.

In the present context we must surely prefer a connection with the Heb. and Akk. cognates meaning 'thorn(s)', first suggested by Aistleitner as a solution for the above *Baal-Mot* text (WUS s. v. 1015), but with explicit reservations regarding its applicability here. In addition to being contextually congenial – especially in light of our understanding of the parallel MM and the collocation with UḪRYT understood as 'rump' – this interpretation allows us to explain the final *-m* of ḪḤM as a simple masculine plural (contrast TO, 432, note a: "enclitique adverbialisant").

[15] Cf. Excursus VII below.

he will repay the condescending goddess by insinuating that she is, after all, a mere woman.

(b) The 'philosophy' enunciated by Aqht may be described as 'realistic'. It is a philosophy shared by another great Ugaritic epic, *Baal-Mot*; by the Edomite Job of the dialogues;[16] and by ancient Near Eastern 'Wisdom' literature generally. It is a philosophy which eschews comforting illusions and which tends to treat 'myth' as poetic metaphor rather than as 'history'. It affirms the truth of that which one experiences with one's senses – 'empiricism' – and gives its assent to that which stands to reason on the basis of such experience. Specifically: all men are mortals, hence all men – good and bad – must eventually die! "I", says Aqht, "am a man; therefore I too must die." This is a truth of logic as well as of experience, and must therefore form the point of departure for any 'philosophy of Life'. Death rules the Universe, or at least that part of it which is of interest to us. Even the mighty Baal-Haddad, provider of live-giving and life-supporting precipitation, is a regular if unwilling visitor in the realm of "El's beloved" Mot. In the short-run, and on the microcosmic plane of existence where individual lives – animal and vegetable – are played out, life is an insignificant and momentary flickering in an endless continuity of non-existence.[17] Only in the long-run, and on the macrocosmic plane, is Life an enduring process, balanced in precarious equilibrium with the forces of Death, intermittent yet (hopefully) never-ending, a cyclical process integrated in a predetermined and dialectically regulated Universal Order.

The unique feature of Aqht's second oration lies in his description of 'that which remains behind' (*aṯryt*) after the individual mortal's death. The reference to a head covered with a substance designated SPSG // ḤRṢ long proved puzzling to students of Ugaritic literature. Understood by some as an elaborate metaphor for 'aging' – the presumed 'glaze' (SPSG) of white 'potash' (ḤRṢ) interpreted as an allusion to the whiteness of old-age prior to demise – it is (or ought to be) clear today that the general context is funerary and that the lad Aqht is here describing, with the same pedantic precision seen earlier in connection with the composite-bow, the pre-historic (VIIth millennium!) PPNB so-called 'plastered skulls', covered with quicklime, which have been discovered in the Jordan Valley and Transjordan, with – in the present context – noteworthy finds in the Ḥuleh Valley (Beisamun) adjacent to the Sea of Galilee.[18]

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[16] Cf. e.g. *Job* 3:17–19; 14:1–12; 21:23–26.

[17] Cf. Ps. 90:9–10; and my monograph, MLD (AOAT 206), *passim*.

[18] H. de Contenson, CRAIBL [1966]: 531–36; J. Perrot, IEJ 16 [1966]: 271–72; D. Ferembach, AAAS 19 [1969]: 94–170; K. Kenyon, ADAJ 16 [1971]: 5–30; O. Bar-Yosef, in: *Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S.*, no. 598: "Préhistoire du Levant" (edd. J. Cauvin and P. Sanlaville), [1981]: 555–69; D. Rollefson, *Paléorient* 9 [1983]: 29–38.

This hypothesis of a 'Neolithic connection' in *Aqht*, first adumbrated some thirty years ago,[19] is now confirmed by two distinct yet converging lines of evidence:

(a) the literary relationship between what Aqht *says* here in 1.17:VI:36 f. and what Anat *does* – to the dead Aqht! – in 1.19:I:8 – 10, as she prepares his cadaver for descent to the Netherworld.[20] Aqht's declaration, that

ḤRṢ. (*ysk*) LẒR. QDQDY
"Quicklime (will deck [$\sqrt{skk}$]) the top of my skull"

has its precise if not verbatim counterpart and equivalent in Anat's activity, described as

BQMM. TŠT. ḤRṢ
"On (his) crown she put quicklime".

(b) a minutely detailed examination of the PPNB skulls carried out by professional anthropologists in recent years[21] has revealed a remarkable fact, providing a still more remarkable connection with the aforecited Ugaritic text in 1.19:I:8 – 10, viz., the absence of teeth in the lower-jaw (mandible) of the skulls, the result of a *post-mortem* avulsion prior to the plastering of the skulls. This fact, which came to light some fifteen years after the discovery of the first PPNB skulls by Kenyon at Jericho, finds truly uncanny literary expression in the following description (1.19:I:8^{b} – 9):

p(!)*ḥrṣ. ad*(!)*n. ph // tiḫd. šnth. p*!*t*!*n*!*kl*[22]
"Then she incised (*ḥrṣ* II) the gums of his mouth
She grasped his teeth and extracted (them)".[23]

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[19] E. M. Good, JBL 77 [1958]: 72 – 74. For typical reactions to this hypothesis by Ugaritic scholars, cf. A. F. Rainey, UF 3 [1971]: 154; Caquot – Sznycer, TO, 433.

[20] Note well the skillful use of irony: in 1.17:VI Aqht philosophizes on human mortality, unwittingly anticipating his own imminent demise; and the person with whom he shares these thoughts is soon to translate theory into practice using his cadaver as material!

[21] D. Ferembach and M. Lechevallier, *Paléorient* 1 (1973): 223 – 30; E. Strouhal, *ibid.*, 231 – 47.

[22] The text reads *wakl* which makes poor sense and is grammatically suspect as well. The seemingly drastic emendation proposed actually involves nothing more than a redivision of the wedges comprising the W and A signs, resulting in a (*ḥap. leg.*) $\sqrt{nkl}$, cognate with Ar. *nakala* "draw back". It should be noted however that the emendation is not crucial to the general discussion here.

[23] Cf. B. Margalit, *Paléorient* 9 (1983): 93 – 97; *idem*, UF 15 (1983): 84 – 86; *idem.*, UF 8 (1976): 169 – 72, the latter written without benefit of the knowledge derived from the anthropological examinations noted above!

The funerary practice here described was clearly no longer in use at the time of the poem's composition, this VIIth millennium practice having been discontinued by the beginning of the VIth.[24] This circumstance of a practice no longer in use, hence not understood, may also be reflected in the text of 1.19:I, in the quasi-editorial comment, or explanation, that Anat is acting "in accordance with the will (lit., 'heart') of the chthonic gods // and the instruction of the pit-dwellers (*klb. ilnm // wṯn. gprm*)", i. e., these are practices ordained by the netherworld (as conditions of admission) but defying rational explanation.[25]

The explanation of this at-first-glance improbable reflex of a neolithic funerary practice in a poem composed in LB Canaan – with a Jordan Valley *mise-en-scène* to be sure! – lies, I submit, in a twofold recognition:

(a) that the PPNB skulls discovered in modern times, especially at Beisamun and at t. Ramad on the Golan Heights (near Mt. Hermon), have been recovered fairly close to the surface. It is not straining credulity to suppose that similar skulls were dug up by the MB and LB inhabitants of the Jordan Valley and Golan/Bashan, either by chance or in the course of building and/or burial excavations. Such finds could not but have aroused curiosity, becoming for some 'collector's items', while stimulating the imagination of others, particularly local savants and singers-of-tales.

(b) that *Aqht*, like the Patriarchal narratives of the Bible, evidences deliberate archaizing tendencies. Apart from the archaic language characteristic of the Ugaritic poetry generally (use of mimation, nunation, etc.), we can identify these tendencies in *Aqht* by:

(i) the geographical setting of the story in the Jordan Valley, near the putative 'ancestral homeland' in Bashan;

(ii) the informal and pre-monarchic social organization, epitomized by the 'notables' who administer justice in the city-gateway (although no cases are actually adjudicated!);

(iii) the occasional terrestrial encounters of men and gods, and the sporadic 'wonder' which defies the 'laws-of-nature'. For in the 'pre-historic' world of Dan'el as of Abraham, the separation of heaven from earth and the miraculous from the mundane is still somewhat fluid, not fully 'hardened' (though more so than in the antediluvian era);

(iv) the co-option of ancient relics, such as the Dolmen graves and (as we suppose) the modelled skulls, and their identification with

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[24] K. Kenyon, ADAJ 16, loc. cit., n. 25.

[25] A similar 'explanation' by the Talmudic sages was evoked by the biblical laws pertaining to the 'red heifer' (Nu. 19). Cf. Rashi (and Nahmanides) to vs. 2: "... therefore is it written *'ḥuqqā(h)*: it is a 'decree' [*g^{e}zērā(h)*] of mine (saith the Lord) and you are not permitted to speculate about it!"

the heroic *dramatis personae.* The biblical account of (*Raphaite and Bashanite*) Og's 'iron bed', on exhibit in the Ammonite capital, furnishes an illuminating parallel, as do the various 'historical' landmarks (e.g., the 'pillar-of-salt' in Sodom) cited by the biblical writers as existing 'to this very day'.

§ *1.17:VI:41–46*

Aqht concluded his speech with a rhetorical flourish which no doubt brought him a thunderous ovation accompanied by gales of appreciative laughter from the partying company. Even the frustrated goddess, now also mortally offended by the insinuated disparagement of her manly virtues, could not repress a smile on her taut face. She – who constantly went about her business rouged and attired as a professional warrior; honoured and revered by Raphaite heroes for her glorious record of manhandling mythological monsters as well as wading knee-deep in the gore of slain mortal warriors (enemies of the Raphaites, no doubt!)[26] – has just been ignominiously associated with "weakling-womankind"[27] and deemed – by a novice-*ǵzr* handling his first bow! – incapable of wielding a composite-bow even for *hunting*, not to mention fighting. "As far as he (= Aqht) is concerned", ruminates Anat, "my place is in the kitchen, together with his mother and sister, no doubt."

Anat's reply to Aqht is itself a rhetorical masterpiece, in no way inferior to Aqht's, as if having failed in her primary objective of obtaining the bow, she were determined not to be outclassed in this department. The sweet-talk and velvety voice give way however to blood-curdling threats hissed through pursed lips, their murderous intent barely concealed beneath the elaborate metaphor. 'Anat means business', comes the belated recognition from the party-crowd, now seized by a feeling

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[26] Cf. 1.3:II:5 ff.; III:37 ff.

[27] TINṮT. The root is the well-known $\sqrt{\text{'nṯ}}$ "be weak" (Heb. *'anuš*, Ar. *'anuṯa*), whence the common word for 'woman' *aṯt* (< **anṯt*) = *'iššā(h)* < **inšā(h)*. However, the form represented by TINṮT, with preformative T and preserved second radical N, is unique here. Scholars interpret it, correctly no doubt, as a designation of genus: 'womankind' (cf. UT § 19.274; TO, 433; MLC, 634). But there remains a question generally not addressed by these scholars, viz., why did the poet choose precisely this form when, grammatically and semantically, the ubiquitous AṮT "woman" would have done just as well? – Aside from considerations of alliteration – *hT. Ṣdn. TinṮT* – we should assume that the poet(ess) is here motivated by the desire to emphasize the 'weakling' in 'woman'. The word AṮT has lost the N-radical, and with it the acoustic connection with *anāšu* 'be weak'. By choosing the form TINṮT, the poet could be sure that the desired connotation of 'weakling woman' would not be missed by Anat and audience alike.

of dreadful apprehension. Aqht is still too young and naive to realize that he is in deep trouble with the goddess, having gone too far in his (as he thought) sporting repartee. The experienced adults know better. Aqht may be clever, but he is not yet wise.

Anat leaves the scene with a 'bang', figuratively and literally. But not before she has snarled a sarcastic compliment at the now somewhat daunted lad who bested her in a battle of wits. For Aqht really is precocious (*ʿmq*), and apparently very handsome (*nʿmn*) as well. Small wonder that his doting parents have spoiled him with too much love and attention, leaving him a bit too conceited and self-assured for his own good.

Excursus VI: The Meaning of KBʿL...WYŠQYNH (Lines 30–31)

It is generally agreed that YʿŠR derives from √*ʿšr* and denotes an act pertaining to a banquet or to the preparations made in advance thereof.[1] This determination is based on a presumed Ethiopic cognate *ʿaššara* 'invite to a feast' as well as – and especially – the occurrence of √*ʿšr* in two relatively clear contexts:

(a) 1.3:I:4–11: The 'servant of Baal' is seen preparing a meal for his master, then setting down the meat repast (*ybrd. ṯd. lpnh...qṣ. mri*) and concluding by handing him the beverage (*ytn. ks. bdh* etc.). Prior to setting the meat on the table, the servant is said to have "set up (table) to serve him food" (*yṯʿr. wyšlḥmnh*), while prior to handing him the cup we read: *yʿšr. wyšqnyh*, the very same words used by Anat in the *Aqht* passage.

(b) 1.16:I:61 f.: the text, though fragmentary, evidences a parallelism between *dbḥ dbḥ* and *ʿšr. ʿšrt*. Since DBḤ, lit., 'sacrifice', can also refer to the meat repast enjoyed afterwards by the offrant(s), so does ʿŠRT presumably denote the drinking aspect of the feast.

There exists nevertheless considerable disagreement among scholars as to the precise meaning and rendering of the *Aqht* text in question. In fact, some scholars have gone so far as to question the textual integrity of the passage. The following three translations may be taken as representative:

(1) H. L. Ginsberg, ANET[2], 151: "And Baal, when he gives life, gives a feast / Gives a feast to the life-given and bids him drink". This rendering reflects the 'textus receptus' scanned as a 3 + 3 distich:[2]

kbʿl. kyḥwy. yʿšr // ḥwy. yʿšr. wyšqynh

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[1] Cf. the detailed discussion by De Moor, *Seasonal Pattern* (AOAT 16) [1971]: 71 f., with extensive bibliography; Caquot–Sznycer, TO, 154, note j.

[2] Cf. similarly D. Marcus, JSS 17 (1972): 80; M. Dahood, *Orientalia* 41 (1972): 138.

(2) Caquot – Sznycer, TO, 432: "Quand Baal donne la vie / il sert à manger celui qu'il a fait vivre / il lui sert à manger et à boire (litt., il sert et l'abreuve)". This rendering also follows the received text but it differs in the scansion, reflecting a 2 + 2 + 2 tristich as in our text-layout above.

(3) Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 377: "Como *Baʿlu* de cierto de la vida / al que le invita [...] y le ofrece de beber". This reflects an emended text scanned as a 2 + 2 distich:

kbʿl. kyḥwy // yʿšr {...} wyšqynh

In seeking to arrive at an acceptable rendering we must first establish the relationship of the passage to its wider context.

(1) Baal has just been mentioned in lines 28 – 29, obliquely and as a basis of comparison. It is Anat, not Baal, who is to grant immortality to Aqht; thus explicitly, and with great emphasis, in lines 32 f.: "Verily shall I give (immortal) life to hero-Aqht".[3] What could be Anat's interest in suddenly extolling the life-giving pleasures of Baal in lines 30 – 31? Such a statement might well cast doubt on her own ability to do so, and might even bring the lad to accept her offer, but subject to a ratification of the agreement by Baal. Anat cannot possibly be interested in such a conditional acceptance which would postpone the ultimate transfer of the bow, and give the lad time to reflect, perhaps even to consult with his parents, and thus conceivably change his mind. It is surely more logical, accordingly, to understand KBʿL as the equivalent of *ʿm. bʿl* in line 28, viz., as a *tertium comparationis*, rather than as a temporal clause with Baal as subject.

(2) Just as Anat has no interest at this point in extolling the powers of Baal, so too it can hardly be imagined that in her desire for the bow she would be satisfied to praise the culinary delights of the divine dinner-menu. As the son of a well-to-do landowner, Aqht cannot be enticed to part with his bow for the sake of the proverbial 'mess of potage' even if prepared by a divine chef. It is immortality as such that is the bait, neither more nor less.

The conclusion seems inescapable that both $\sqrt{\text{ʿšr}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{šqy}}$ must be understood here metaphorically: he who 'counts years with Baal' and 'who lives like Baal' drinks of life as though it were a beverage set down before him, like a potion or an elixir.[4] This interpretation is very notably

[3] We remark in passing that the verb $\sqrt{\text{ḥwy}}$ occurs further on in *Aqht* in the sense of 'forcibly dispossess' (= $\sqrt{\text{ḥwy}}$ II). This ambiguity was probably not intended by Anat nor sensed at the moment by the audience. But it most certainly was intended by the poet and will have been appreciated retrospectively by the audience.

[4] Such figurative usages of drinking are well known from biblical literature. *E.g.*, the 'cup-of-wrath' (Isa. 51:17,22; Jer. 25:15, etc.); the 'cup-of-victory' (Ps. 116:13); the 'cup

supported by precisely that part of the text which several scholars have found so difficult as to suggest emendation, viz., *y'šr. ḥwy*, lit., "he is served-up life".[5]

The usage is metaphorical; but the resonance and associations are of course mythological. Surely there lurks in the background the vision of Paradise, a garden of delicacies (√*'dn*)[6] and fruit-trees which sustain immortal life, as does the unending supply of cool fresh-water which passes through it (Gen. 2:8 – 10).[7]

Excursus VII: Philological Notes

§ 1: MM. uḫryt (1.17:VI:35)

The very existence of a Ug. word MM is not generally admitted, owing to a reading error by Virolleaud[1] perpetuated – at first unawares – by scholars of the calibre of Ginsberg and Gordon, and subsequently acquiesced in by all. The first to note the discrepancy between the accepted reading and the epigraphic data was Herdner (CTA). She signalled the problem by attaching an emendational exclamation sign after the second sign, now read as MT!. However, so certain was Herdner of the correctness of this *emended* text, that it did not lead her, as is her custom, to comment in footnote on the proposed emendation.

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of destruction and desolation' (Ez. 23:33), and – most notably – the 'cup-that-runneth-over' of him who dwells "in the house of YHWH (mythically = The Garden of Eden!) for a long time".

[5] Taking the word ḤWY either as a nominalized usage of the inf. abs., or as a variant fem. form (with -y ending) of ḤWT. Cf. Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 546, s. v.

[6] Cf. A. R. Millard, VT 34 (1984): 103 – 06, citing t. Fekh. *m'dn*, rendered by Akk. *muṭaḫḫidu* 'enrich, make abundant'. To this equation should be added Ug. √*'dn* as used in 1.4:V:6 f.: *wn. ap. 'dn. mṭrh. b'l // y'dn. 'dn. ṯr*(!)*t* "Indeed, when Baal pours out abundantly his precipitation // He will pour out an abundance of water" (cf. B. Margalit, RB 91 (1984): 108). This mythological usage of *'dn* as denoting the celestial reservoir of the fertility god is preserved in Ps. 36:8 – 9: "Gods(!) and mankind" – i. e., all intelligent beings – "... are saturated by the rain (lit., 'fat') from your household (= Heaven!) / You give them drink from your stream of abundance (*wnḥl. 'dnyk. tšqm*)."

[7] The imagery of eating and drinking with the gods, and Baal/Haddad in particular, occurs in the Samalian-Aramaic inscription of Panamu(wa) [KAI 214:17]: *t'kl. nbš. pnmw. 'mk. wtšty. nbš. pnmw. 'mk* "May the 'ghost' of Panamu(wa) eat and drink with you (Baal-Haddad)". However, this imagery cannot be used to illustrate *directly* the *Aqht* text at hand, since it is the ghost of the deceased king who partakes of divine delicacies. This is not what Anat has in mind when she offers Aqht immortality!

[1] *Danel*, 207.

The present writer was, it seems, the first to question the validity of the emended reading.[2] The doubts were the result of a dissatisfaction with the consequences of the emendation for understanding the text on the literary-thematic as well as – and in particular – the literary-prosodic level. Prosodically considered, it was clear to us that *mm/mt*!. *uḫryt* did *not* stand in parallelism with *mt. aṯryt* (l. 36) but rather with the preceding (*lġzr.*) *šrgk. ḫḫm.* But as emended and rendered by scholars generally, the parallelism did not yield satisfactory sense. The *a priori* advantage of the unemended but otherwise incomprehensible MM was that it at least left open the possibility for a conjectured meaning suiting the contextual requirements.

In the aforecited publication (of 1976!) we surmised a possible etymological connection between a Ug. MM and Akk. *mummu* (II) which von Soden hesitantly rendered 'ein Schaber?' [AHw, 672], *i. e.*, a grating instrument not unsuited one would think as a B-word parallel for ḪḪM, understood to be sure as 'thorn(s)' rather than, as usually, 'mire, slime' or the like. However, the publication of the M volumes of the CAD shortly thereafter was sufficient to daunt all but the most indomitable spirit. For this prestigious work does not recognize an Akk. *mummu* (II) meaning 'grater' or the like, suggesting instead – and without reservation! – a meaning 'curved stick or beam', attested allegedly in OB, Nuzi, and late-Babylonian.[3] It should be noted however that the CAD does not cite the Akkadian texts which AHw used to support its surmise, a text to which we shall refer momentarily.

We shall argue in what follows that a re-examination of some of the Akkadian evidence for *mummu* (II/B) indicates rather clearly – especially when viewed in the light of a possible Ugaritic cognate MM – that the basic notion of this word in Semitic (if that is its origin) is 'a pointed instrument, normally of wood'.

(1) One of the proof-texts, and likely the most significant one, cited by AHw s. v. *mummu* II is a *Namburbi*-ritual text published by Ebeling in RA 48 (1954): 130–41. There we read (p. 136) as follows: *ana lumni šu-tu-qí ina mu-me-i* [ša ^{iš}] *ṣarbati* KA-*tar* (*katarra*) *ta-ḫal-la-aš-ma*, which Ebeling rendered, "um das Böse vorübergehen zu lassen, sollst du mit einer Nadel (?)" – footnoted comment: "Bedeutung erraten" – "aus Maulbeerbaumholz (?) das KAtar abheben (?)..."

This rendering was altered, and presumably improved, by AHw at several points. The word KA*tar* is read as *katarra* and rendered 'fungus' (p. 465, s. v.; CAD, vol. K, p. 303), while the verb *ḫalāšu* is rendered (p. 311, s. v.) by 'aus-/abkratzen', whence the surmise that the instrument

[2] UF 8 [1976]: 163–66.

[3] CAD, vol. M-2 (1977): 198.

designated *mummu* is a type of grater used to remove fungus (from a wall).

However, the entry s. v. *ḫalāšu* distinguishes between the meaning of the G form, 'aus-/abkratzen' and that of the D form, rendered, albeit with question-mark, 'etwa stochern?'. This meaning is based on a neo-Babylonian text similar to the *Namburdi*-ritual text cited above, viz.: *...ina libbi KA.TAR* (*katarri*) *taḫallaš* "... you shall pierce(?) the center of the fungus."[4] What seems to have escaped the notice of AHw is that the Ebeling text *ina mu-me-i...ta-ḫal-la-aš-ma* also employs the geminated D form of *ḫalašu*, thus suggesting that Ebeling's original conjecture of 'Nadel' is a more likely meaning for *mummu* than 'Schaber'.

This brings us to consider CAD's *mummu* B 'curved stick'. The idea was apparently suggested to the editors by the principal literary attestation which they cite for this word, viz., *Myth of (An)Zu*, a text to which we have referred previously in another connection: *mu-um-mu qašti ana qišātiki*, which they render "(return) frame of the bow to your forests". The same text is rendered by Grayson, following Speiser, "Stave of the bow (return) to thy wood".[5] There is nothing however in the text to suggest 'curvature'. In fact, the staves of most bows when unstrung are more or less straight *and tapered at the ends.*[6] Thus, combining the evidence of AHw *mummu* II with CAD's *mummu* B, one arrives at a definition of 'pointed-stave' or 'lance', used *inter alia* for lancing a fungus and for making a bow.

This conjectured meaning for Akk. *mummu* II will do splendidly for the *Aqht* passage in question, where it stands in parallelism with 'thorn(s)' and in collocation (st. cstr.) with UḪRYT, the latter, for quite independent reasons, to be understood as the anatomically posterior portion of the human body, corresponding to Heb. אֲחֹרַיִם* (Ex. 33:23).[7] What Aqht is saying here comes close both in meaning and in tone to coll. (and somewhat unrefined) American-English 'pain-in-the-ass'.[8]

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[4] Contrast CAD, vol. K, 303, s. v., where $\sqrt{ḫlš}$ is rendered identically in the G and D forms, and *ina libbi* of our citation is rendered "with (them)", i. e., the 'seven blades' (GIR. MEŠ) mentioned in the immediately preceding portion of the text. (Parenthetically, I note that AHw does not render *ina libbi* in the lexical entry. But the normalization *katarri* for KA.TAR suggests that it is understood as we have rendered, rather than as in CAD (where KA.TAR, though unnormalized, can only be the acc. *katarra.*)

[5] Cf. ANET[3] [1969]: 516, and footnote 89 *ibid.* – The article by A. Heidel in JNES VII (1948): 98 – 105, although devoted to "The Meaning of MUMMU in Akkadian Literature", distinguishes "two or possibly four distinct homonyms" (p. 105), none of them however relevant to our discussion (with the possible exception of the 'some kind of household object' mentioned in passing).

[6] Cf. conveniently the abundant illustrations in G. Rausing, *The Bow*, op. cit., § 'Plates'.

[7] No doubt related is the word UḪRY which we shall encounter in 1.19, as part of a formula used to describe the manner in which Dan'el 'picks up' (*ʿdb* [II]) his 'walking-

§ 2. *SPSG // ḤRṢ (1.17:VI:36f.)*[9]

The Ug. word SPSG is much celebrated. It owes its renown – as do most things Ugaritic – to a remarkable contribution which it has made towards clarifying an old *crux interpretum* in the Hebrew Bible (Prov. 26:23) involving the recovery of an old Hebrew word – of foreign origin to be sure – which was garbled in transmission and consequently lost to posterity until our own times.

Nevertheless, the precise signification of the Ug. SPSG *in situ* remains moot, as does its B-word counterpart ḤRṢ.[10] In the brief discussion which follows, we shall attempt to clarify both of these terms in light of the 'Neolithic hypothesis' assumed as valid for the context as a whole.

For purposes of presentation, we begin with the B-word ḤRṢ.

The renowned Semitist H. L. Ginsberg who, following a lead by Virolleaud, firmly established the connection between Ug. SPSG and (reconstructed) Heb. (יִם)סַפְסֵג*, was the first to suggest relating Ug. ḤRṢ in the present context to Ar. *ḥur(u)ḍ* = 'potash, gypsum, quicklime', with the comment: "Any one of these three substances, or anything similar, would be suitable [here]".[11] But the scholarly reception which greeted this proposal was decidedly less enthusiastic than that accorded his interpretation of SPSG as 'glaze'.

We need not rehearse the various alternatives subsequently proposed[12] since the correctness of Ginsberg's original proposal is now brilliantly confirmed by the 'Neolithic hypothesis', the word ḤRṢ characterizing with uncanny scientific precision the white alkaline substance – 'quicklime' as it turns out – used by Neolithic man on the modelled skulls.[13] We may note in this connection that the early Neolithic era witnessed the mastery of lime (calcium oxide) and gypsum-plaster ('plas-

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stick' (*mṭ. ydh*) – with its 'spiked' ($\sqrt{šbr}$) tip! – prior to setting out on a journey. It is tempting to think that the choice of the form UḪRY is intended to evoke an association with UḪRYT here. But this may be 'hyperexegetic'.

[8] If we can assume that Ug. MM, like Akk. *mummu*, could also be used to designate the pointed stave of *the bow*, we can better appreciate the cleverness of this adolescent (and the poet) in his choice of words!

[9] Cf. already UF 15 [1983]: 84–86 which this note partly summarizes.

[10] The word is attested elsewhere in Ugaritic, exclusively in non-poetic texts and with some spelling variations: KTU 4.182:8, 4.205:14, 4.459:4. Cf. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, UF 8 (1976): 37–40. We shall have more to say on one of these texts shortly below.

[11] BASOR 98 [1945]: 21, n. 55.

[12] Cf. the survey of opinions in UF 15 [1982]: 85.

[13] It is therefore gratifying to see that S. Segert, in his new (elementary) Grammar [BGUL, § 93, s.v. ḤRṢ] has returned to Ginsberg's suggestion. Contrast Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7 (1975): 190.

ter-of-paris') for plastering as well as for the manufacture of vessels, earthen pottery being still unknown.[14]

We now turn to SPSG.

There is a broad consensus bordering on unanimity that this Ugaritic word is a foreign borrowing related to Hittite *zapzak(a)i*[15] and Akk. *zabzagu*[16], the ultimate origins of the word remaining obscure. But differences of opinion persist on the semantic level, reflecting fundamental disagreement as to what in fact the Ugaritic text is describing thematically.

Ginsberg, who rendered 'glaze' with a question-mark, surmised that the description was but an elaborate metaphor for 'old-age'. But Albright[17], who endorsed enthusiastically both of Ginsberg's proposals, and Goetze who dissented, argued (or rather assumed) that the general context dealt with some form of 'punishment'. Most scholars subsequently followed Ginsberg rather than Albright. But some few have preferred to see here a description of funerary practice. The precise understanding of SPSG // ḤRṢ thus hinges on whether the context is understood as metaphorical, penalogical, or funerary in intent.

The view associated with Goetze[18] and recently endorsed by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz[19], whereby Ug. SPSG is understood as a '(fine) bowl' and ḤRṢ as an elliptical reference to 'fine oil' (= Akk. *šamnu ḫ(!)arṣu*), is of interest here only insofar as it questions the by-now widely accepted translation – without Ginsberg's question-mark for the most part! – of SPSG by 'glaze' in the sense in which this word is used in ceramics. Although Friedrich differed with Goetze in allowing that Hittite *zapzak(a)i* could denote the raw-material 'glass' as well as the finished-product made from it, and despite his stated partiality to the Ginsberg – Albright interpretation of the *Aqht* passage, he never suggested – nor has anyone – that the Hittite word could refer to 'glaze' as applied to earthen pottery vessels. Even Albright, who was actually the first to draw on the Hittite cognate in support of Ginsberg's proposal, subtly altered the latter's 'glaze?' to 'molten glass'.

In fact, the main if not only support for Ug. SPSG = 'glaze' is the reconstructed Hebrew text of Prov. 26:23, with its collocation of (reconstructed) סַפְסִג(ים) and חֶרֶס 'pottery' linked by the verbal predicate √*śph*

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[14] Cf. H. de Contenson and L. C. Courtois, *Paléorient* 5 (1979): 153–76. A laboratory analysis of the Neolithic plaster has since confirmed that the substance used was 'lime' (CaO) [private communication (31. X. 86) by F. Valla, *apud* H. de Contenson].

[15] J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (1952): 260; A. Goetze, JCS 1 (1947): 311–15.

[16] CAD, vol. Z, p. 10; AHw, 1502.

[17] BASOR 98 (1945): 24 f.

[18] *Loc. cit.*, 314 f.

[19] *Loc. cit.* (n. 10).

'cover over; coat'. Ginsberg was quite explicit on this matter: he cites no evidence for Ug. SPSG 'glaze' other than the belief that the Ugaritic and O.T. passages "elucidate one another".[20]

The same is apparently true for Akk. *zabzagu*, rendered both by CAD and AHw as 'glaze'. The word is known however only from neo-Babylonian lexical texts, which provide no information as to its meaning, except to imply that it is of foreign origin. The rendering 'glaze' appears to be an inference drawn by the editors of the respective dictionaries on the basis of the presumed cognate evidence in NWS.

There is however inner-Ugaritic evidence unknown to both Albright and Ginsberg in the forties and seldom if ever adduced. In an inventory text (KTU 4.182:8), unfortunately fragmentary, we find the phrase [*ś*]*pśg. iqni* "SPSG (with variant /*ś*/) of lapis-lazuli". This usage of SPSG, when considered together with the *Aqht* as well as the (reconstructed) Hebrew text of Prov. 26:23, strongly suggests that the Ugaritic word denotes something akin to, but broader in scope than, ceramic 'glaze', and that it can be used for *any* kind of superimposed application or 'coating' – as in Eng. 'coat of paint'. To be sure, we may be dealing with a semantic development unique to Ugaritic – or at least unknown for Hittite *zapzak(a)i*; but it is this Ugaritic usage that is relevant for clarifying the *Aqht* passage. Moreover, it is supported by the correlation of the Aqht text with the Neolithic plastered skulls which, though possibly burnished on occasion, show no signs of 'glazing'.[21]

Accordingly, we may conclude this note with the observation that in the *Aqht* text 1.17:VI:36 f., the A-term SPSG is the more or less *general* term for the superimposed 'covering' (|/*skk*!)[22] or coating, whereas the

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[20] *Loc. cit.* (n. 11). – We avail ourselves of this opportunity to make a few observations on the biblical text. (1) The verse in question is the fourth in a series of moralizing similitudes and comparisons in which the *tertium* is the prodosis and the moral is the apodosis. (2) The similitude in v. 23 is built on the antithesis of outer *appearance* and inner *substance*: the mundane clay is the inner material covered (*sph*) by the *SPSG(YM) just as the heart is the inner organ whose thoughts and desires are camouflaged by the painted (lit., 'flashy') lips. Thus, if *SPSG(YM) does not denote something 'shiny' and colourful such as 'glaze', the correspondence between it and the 'flashy lips' suffers accordingly. (3) The degree of emendation required to produce a Heb. cognate with Hittite *zapzak(a)i* and Ug. SPSG (= [*sapsagi*?]) is truly minimal, even less than surmised originally by Ginsberg, as yet unaware of the Hittite congener. Aside from repointing and combining the present two words, the only consonant which needs to be deleted is the final *-m*, easily explained as a dittographic repetition of the beginning of the adjacent word. The *-y* can be retained, yielding Heb. **sapsag(a)i* = Hittite *zapzak/g(a)i* = Akk. *zabza(b)gu* = Ug. SPSG.

[21] J. Perrot, private communication [cf. *Paléorient* 9 [1983]: n. 29 (p. 96)].

[22] Thus correctly, Dietrich and Loretz, *loc. cit.* (n. 10). Even those who take SPSG as 'glaze' in the strict sense are better served by this interpretation of the verb, rather

B-term ḤRṢ is the *specifying* term, denoting the white lime plaster actually applied to the skulls.

ACT II – SCENE 3 (1.17:VI:46 – 1.18:I:19)

TEXT

idk(.) [47][lttn. pn]*m*	3		
ʿm. il. mbk!. *nhrm*	3	8	
[48][qrb. apq]. *thmtm*	2		
tġly. ḏd(.) *il*	2		
[49][wtbu. qr]*š. mlk*	2	6	
ab. šnm	2		
[50][lpʿn. il. t]*ḥbr. wtql*	3		
tštḫ[51][wy. wtkbdn]*ḫ*	3	6	
tlšn(.) *aqht. ġzr*	2		12
[52][ltmk. kdd. dn]*îl. mt. rpi*	4	6	

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wtʿn(.) [53][btlt. ʿnt]	3	
[tšu. g]*ḫ. wtṣḫ*	3	
ḫwt[54][h. wtqr(a/u)]	2	
[aḫl. an.] *aqht. ẏš*[pl]	...	
[55][- - - - - - ...]*n. ṣ*[...]	...	

... (ca. 10 lines)

(18.I)

... (Lines 1 – 6[a] missing or unintelligibly fragmentary) ...

wtʿn. [btlt. ʿnt]	3	

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than $\sqrt{nsk}$ "pour". This is true *a fortiori* for ḤRṢ = 'potash, lime' or the like, which are applied or smeared but not 'poured'. By contrast, $\sqrt{s(w)k}$ or $\sqrt{skk}$ means precisely 'provide (overhead) cover'. One can hardly think of a verb more suited to describing the plastering of *bare* skulls with quicklime.

[7][bnt. bt]*k. yilm̂*	3		
[bnt. btk] (.) [8]*al. tšmḫ*	3	6	
al. tš[mḫ. brm (.) [9]hklk]	3		9
[al.] *åḫdhm* [.bymny]	2		
[bklat(.) [10]ydy.]	2	6	
[b]*ǧdlt. ar*[kty]	2		
[amḫš(.) [11]qmm. qdq]*dk*	3		
ašhlk[. šbtk. dmm]	3		9
[12]*šb*[t. dq]*n̂k. mmʿm*	3	6	
w[tqra.][13]*aqht. wyplṭk*	3		
bn[. dnil](.) [14]*wyʿḏr̂k*	2	5	
byd. btlt. [ʿnt]	2		
[15]*wyʿn. lṭpn. il*(.) *dp*[id]	4		
		7	10
[16]*ydʿtk. bt*(.) *kanšt*	3		
wi[n. bilht(.)] [17]*qlṣk̂*	3		
tbʿ. bt. ḫnp. lb[k]	4		
[ti][18]*ḫd. diṯ. bkbdk*	3	7	10
tšt. ḏ[iṯ. b][19]*îrtk*	3		
		6	
dṯ. ydṯ. mʿqbk	3		

Synopsis

The scene describes Anat's visit to the abode of her father El following her dramatic exit from Dan'el's house. Maligning Aqht, she seeks the aged deity's permission to 'humiliate' (restoring $\sqrt{špl}$) the lad. El's initial response to Anat's request is lost in the lacuna of ca. 10 lines. But from Anat's second speech immediately thereafter it is clear that her father's reply did not satisfy her, to say the least. Only after threatening him with violence, to his person as well as to his property, does Anat succeed in extracting from the intimidated El an unqualified authorization to act as she pleases.

General Comments

The visit *per se* reflects El's supreme position in the divine hierarchy. But the scene underscores the fact that this is a nominal supremacy only. El is here portrayed, even more than in 1.17:I–II, as a caricature of

authority. In sociological terms, Raphaite society pays mere lip-service to the supremacy of the kindly 'god-of-the-fathers'. For all practical purposes, the ancestral cult of 'loving-kindness' (|√*ltp*) has been replaced by a cult of 'hate'[1] and 'violence'[2]. Anat is here the bratling daughter whose flagrant disrespect for her father is more broadly representative of the Raphaitic attitude towards the traditional ancestral values and mores epitomized by El and his 'old-fashioned' nomadic abode. Nowhere in *Aqht* is Raphaite society so clearly and so forcefully condemned for its brutality and irreverence as in this scene; and nowhere is the poet's identification of Anat with her Raphaite devotees so starkly unequivocal. The Raphaites love and adore the violent and bloodthirsty Anat, says the poet, precisely because they have become her mirror-image.

§ *1.18:I:7–14*

The words have their literal parallel in 1.3:V:19 ff., but Anat's state of mind as she utters these words here is more nearly that of col. II:9 ff. of that same text. Apparently in reaction to her father's lighthearted response to her complaint (lines 55 ff.), a seething Anat replies, in effect: 'Quit joking, old man! Unless you want to see your tent-house collapse on your head!'. El's domicile is basically a tent propped up by huge, yet removable wooden poles. Anat threatens to 'seize them' (*aḫdhm*) and collapse the structure, the allusion to her 'lengthy reach' (*bgdlt. arkty*) referring to her birdlike ability to reach by flying even the uppermost part of the center beam. This accordingly is no vain threat; and El knows it!

§ *1.18:I:15–19*

The frightened patriarch now realizes how very seriously his daughter regards the affair which he was inclined initially (good-humoured god that he is) to dismiss as trivial if not funny. El does not have the strength, or courage, to resist and refuse her request. Instead, he tries to

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[1] *ḫnp. lb*, lit., 'pollution of the heart': cf. *e.g.* Num. 35:33; Ps. 106:38; and especially Job 36:13: *ḫnpy. lb*, to be rendered 'polluted-of-heart' rather than 'impious' or the like. This rendering reveals a clever word-play by the poet: "The polluted-of-heart (i.e., 'disbelievers; cynics, etc.') hold (lit., 'place' or else emend to *y⟨r⟩ymw* 'lift up') their noses (in disdain) // They do not pray (lit., 'cry out') when...(?)".

[2] √*qlṣ* = Ar. *qalaṣa*, 'rise up, heave; be agitated'. The verb √*qlṣ* makes two appearances in the *Baal-Mot* story (1.4–5–6); both are instructive here. In 1.4:III:12 f., a morally offended Baal leaps to his feet (*ydd*) and rages (*wyqlṣn*). In 1.4:VI:13 f. a deliberating Baal muses on the jealousy and piqué of his archenemy Yamm who, upon learning of Baal's new palace, "will really storm ([wqlṣ. y]*qlṣn*)." Anat's nature is that of a stormy sea (cf. 1.17:VI:12 above); one had best take shelter from her fury.

assuage her wrath and soften her heart. The brash and, in retrospect, foolish Aqht had offended Anat, quite unintentionally to be sure, by reminding her of her affiliation with the (so-called) 'weaker sex' (√*ʾnṯ*). The worldly-wise El resorts to 'psychology' in his efforts to counteract Aqht's unfortunate words, citing Anat's 'manliness' (√*ʾnš*), the roots √*ʾnṯ* and √*ʾnš* pronounced in virtually identical fashion in LB Ugaritic.[3] El needs little prompting to determine Anat's manliness as she stands before him, her face redolent with 'war-paint' and her military uniform (*npṣ. ǵzr*) clearly visible beneath her feminine attire.[4]

El's tone, accordingly, is pleading rather than scolding, patient rather than abrupt, as he tries to mitigate the severity of the punishment to be meted out to Aqht by Anat.[5] Anat has apparently not disclosed to El precisely what she plans to do to Aqht in retaliation; her father is being asked, in effect, to sign a blank cheque! But El is obviously very concerned for his 'godson', the initiate *ǵzr*-hero, lest he share the fate of those hapless *ǵzrm* and *mhrm* in 1.3:II. By speaking gently to Anat, El hopes to reduce the intensity of her anger and thus save the boy's life. His concluding words – constituting a formal authorization for Anat to deal with Aqht as she sees fit – show that he has few illusions about his daughter's homicidal nature: "he who impedes thee will be trampled (to death)". El utilizes an agricultural metaphor of total annihilation as well as a 'biblical' inf. abs. construction to impart emphasis.[6]

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[3] Three basic meanings of √*ʾnš* must be distinguished in Ugaritic: (1) the cognate of Ar. *anisa* 'befriend; be familiar; companion', as in the formulaic *anš. dt. zrḥ* "together-with those (*pnt*) of his/her back", and (1.16:VI:35//51): *anšt. ʿrš. zbln*, "a companion art thou of a sick-bed"; (2) the cognate of Ar. *anisa* (IV), 'see, perceive', as in 1.18:IV.10 (cf. shortly below); (3) the cognate of Heb/Aram. (etc.) √*ʾnš* 'be a man; person', in Ugaritic attested only in the plural *nšm* (cf. above, 1.17:VI:45), with *mt* preferred for the singular. Cf. already UF 15:93.

[4] Anat's external appearance can be precisely reconstructed from the end of our poem, where Pughat disguises herself as Anat (cf. discussion *ad loc.*). Anat's outfit was a sort of internationally recognized 'trademark', as we learn from the Egyptian *Chester Beatty Papyri* (VII, § 1:5 ff.).

[5] Note well the triple-parallelism (a-b-c//a'-b'c'//a"-b"-c") embodied in the tristichic structure, reflecting a deliberateness of speech commensurate with the desperation of the plea. A similar deliberateness, but the polar antithesis in tone, can be seen in the icy threats of Anat, consisting of no less than four tristichs!

[6] *dṯ* < √*d(w)ṯ* 'thresh' is used metaphorically to denote acts of destruction and annihilation in O.T. as well as in Akkadian literature. Cf. (e.g.) Ju. 8:7; Mic. 4:13; Hab. 3:12. From Akk. sources, cf. (e.g.) *māssu kima rīmi adiš*, "I trampled his country like a wild-bull"; *daiš muštarḫi* "he-who-crushes the haughty" (references *apud* CAD, vol. D, 121). – The inf. abs. construction is not by chance. It is intended to evoke an association with *mtm. amt* (1.17:VI:38) = (according to one interpretation) O.T. *môṯ*

No sooner do these words leave El's lips than Anat is off and away, leaving her father to fret, perhaps also to pray!

ACT II – SCENE 4 (1.18:I:19–32)

[tbʿ(.) [20]bt]*l̊t. ʿnt*	3		
idk. lttn. [pnm]	3		9
[21][ʿm. a]*qht. ġzr*	2		
balp. š̊[d]	2	6	
[22][rbt.] *ḳmn*	2		
w⟨t?⟩ṣḥq. btlt. [ʿnt]	3	6	
[23][tšu.] *ġḥ. wtṣḥ*	3		
šmʿ. *m*[ʿ. laq[24]ht. ġ]*žr*	3	5	
at. aḫ	2		7
wan. å[ḫtk]	2		
[25][ahbt]. *šbʿ. ṯirḳ*	[3]	[6]	
ṣ[byn(.) [26]kṯr(.)il.] *aby*	[3]		
ndt. ank̊. [lk]	[3]	[6]	
[27][ank. lk]*l̊t. lk*	[3]		[9]
tlk. bṣd[y. mt]	[3]		
[28][ištmʿ. l]*mt. išryt*	[3]	[6]	[8]
[wqġ(.) [29]udnk. ġz]*r*	[3]		
almdk. ṣ[dm]	[2]		
[30][laqryk.] *b̊qrt. ablm*	[3]	[6]	
a[blm(.) [31]qrt. zbl.] *ỷrḫ*	3		
dmgdl. [ṣ][md(.) [32]wnhrm. ly]*mn*	[4]		
ʿ*rḥm*[. ---(-) [33] ---(-)			
... (ll. 33[b]–35) ...			

Synopsis

The scene transpires in Aqht's home, whither Anat arrives following her meeting with El. Whether by chance or by design, Dan'el and Dnty

amûṯ and, more generally, the formulaic *mt. ymt* of criminal-law legislation, for which *dṯ. ydṯ* is probably a metaphoric 'substitution'.

are absent (as is sister Pughat). The purpose of the visit is, first, to feign a reconciliation with Aqht, and so to disarm him of any suspicions which may have lingered from the previous encounter at the lad's 'coming-of-age' party (1.17:VI); thereafter, to persuade him to come, composite-bow in hand, to a rendez-vous away from home, ostensibly for a lesson in hunting.

General Comments

(1) The scene, worthy of a Boccaccio, falls into two main parts:

(a) lines 19 – 27, which describe the goddess' arrival, the feigned reconciliation, and the seduction.

(b) lines 28 – 32, which depict the post-coital relaxation, during which Anat offers to teach Aqht the art of hunting with a bow – cf. 2 Sam. 1:18! – at a place designated *Ablm*, described (formulaically) as "the city/fort (*qrt*) of his-majesty (*zbl*) Yariḫ".

(2) The text is poorly preserved epigraphically and must be extensively restored for it to yield its remarkable contents.[1] The non-formulaic nature of the restorations makes them 'conjectural'. But enough material survives to enable a considerable degree of confidence in their accuracy. The reader can judge this matter for himself.

§ *1.18:I:22 – 27*

The scenario should be imagined along the following lines:

(1) A beaming Anat, smiling (√*ṣḥq*) from ear-to-ear, makes a declaration of reconciliation couched in vaguely erotic language, recalling at once Egyptian love-song lyrics and the language of diplomacy.

(2) Harnessing words to action, she approaches the lad and embraces him tightly, her body pressing against his.

(3) The adolescent Aqht is quickly overcome with sexual desire. Anat feels his powerful erection, which she euphemistically refers to as the "fulness" (*šbʿ*) of his "passion" (*ṯir*)[2], and – playing on the lad's impatience to 'grow up' – flatteringly compares it with that of her 'Bull-father', El, the comparison recalling El's 'exploits' in 1.23:33 – 35.[3]

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[1] Cf. my article "Two *Aqht* Passages", OLP 19 [1989] (forthcoming), where this scene is analyzed in detail.

[2] Cf. Excursus VIII below.

[3] The mostly restored word for 'erection' is from the same root √*ṣby* 'covet, desire' encountered earlier (1.17:VI). Morphologically, it is identical with MHeb. *ṣiḇyôn* 'desire, pleasure' (Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1258), the abstract-nominal formation **qitlōn*. However, in the present context, and in view of the parallelism with √*šbʿ*, we should

(4) Adopting the language of sacred matrimony, Anat declares herself to be – implicitly, forever – his *nadītu*, his 'bride', and his 'companion'.

(5) An hiatus in the narrative, as the 'mock-wedding' gives way to a very real 'consummation'.

NDT. ANK. [LK]

Ug., *ndt*, attested here *hap. leg.*, is cognate with Akk. *nadītu*. Literally 'fallow-land',[4] the Akk. term denotes "a woman dedicated to a god, usually unmarried [and] living in a *gagû*[-cloister]".[5] The *nadītu* is the ancient Near Eastern equivalent of the Roman Catholic 'nun'.[6]

The use of the term here is metaphoric as well as symbolic, connoting 'selfless devotion'. Anat is saying to Aqht, in effect (tongue-in-cheek, to be sure): 'I will be as devoted to you, my "husband", as a *nadītu* is to her god'. But here too the erotic overtones are unmistakeable: by referring to herself as a *nadītu*, the proverbial 'virgin Anat' (*btlt. 'nt*) is insinuating that she comes to Aqht as to a first lover, pristine and unsullied.

[ANK. LK]LT. LK

Anat's assertion that she is Aqht's 'bride', following the earlier declaration of 'sisterhood', calls to mind the expression *'aḥôti kallā(h)* in *Canticles* 4–5. The parallelism of NDT and [K]LT is not without more general interest. Students of Akkadian literature have commented on the 'betrothal' imagery which characterizes some descriptions of *nadītu* dedications.[7] Although the Akk. cognate *kallātum* does not explicitly occur with *nadītu*, the latter can be described – much like the Roman-Catholic nun with marriage-band on her finger – as "Braut des Gottes".[8]

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assume a deliberate punning on a possibly homonymic $\sqrt{ṣb(w/y)}$ = Heb. $\sqrt{ṣbh}$ (II) 'swell, enlarge' (HAL, 936), employed (non-sexually) in Num. 5:27 where it describes the distention of the 'errant-woman's abdomen. (There is food for thought in considering whether the semantic significations 'desire (sexually)' and 'swell, enlarge' require an assumption of homonymity. We may be dealing with one and the same etymon.) The English 'lustiness' captures the double sense of 'desire' and 'enlargement'.

[4] B. Landsberger, OLZ [1926]: 763, n. 3; AHw, 704; J. Renger, ZA 58 [1967]: 150.

[5] CAD, vol. N-1, 63 f.

[6] Cf. R. Harris, "The *Nadītu* Woman", in: *Studies presented to A. L. Oppenheim* [1964]: 106–135; *idem.*, *Ancient Sippar* [1975]: 305 ff.

[7] R. Harris, *Fs. Oppenheim*, 110 ff.

[8] The phrase is Renger's, *loc. cit.*, 154, n. 302.

TLK. BṢD[Y.]

Anat's promise to walk 'side-by-side' with Aqht seems to contradict the ancient custom whereby a married woman walked behind, rather than alongside, her husband.[9] This custom, which underlies the metaphoric allusions in Jer. 2:2 – "I remember ... your love as a bride// How you *followed me* (Heb. *leḵtēḵ aḥaray*) in the wilderness..." – explains the etymology of the DN Asherah, the wife of El, viz., 'she-who-walks-behind' – lit., 'in-the-footsteps-of' – her husband'. Like the term *il*, *aṯrt/asherah* is a common- as well as a proper-noun.[10]

Anat, however, is too proud, even in jest (or treachery), to walk behind Aqht (or any 'man' for that matter!). Her promise to 'walk together', in addition to connoting 'companionship', represents a compromise between the force of her personality and the constraint of social convention. As for Aqht, he is at once too immature and too physically distracted to notice this encroachment on his marital prerogatives.

Anat's three-fold declaration – "I am your *nadītu*, I am your bride; you shall walk at my side" – is presumably imitative of the threefold 'marital vows' that we find, as theological metaphor, in Hos. 2:21 f.

[MT]

The restored word 'man' bears here the full connotative significance of Eng. '(he is) my man', spoken by a wife and/or lover. Anat thus exploits the adolescent Aqht's impatience to 'grow up' and be a full-fledged Raphaite 'hero' (*ǵzr//mt*). The acquisition of the composite bow was the tangible evidence for his 'manhood' as 'warrior' and 'hunter/provider' ($\sqrt{ṣd}$). Anat will now provide him with an opportunity to demonstrate his biological manhood as well.

§ 1.18:I:28–32

After an hiatus motivated presumably by considerations of propriety,[11] the narrative ends with Anat turning to a spent but contented

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[9] Manoah's apparent disregard of this custom (cf. Ju. 13:11) led some Talmudic sages to conclude that he was a 'boor': cf. TB *Berakhot* 61a = *Erubin* 18b.

[10] This interpretation may also prove helpful for resolving the well-known crux in the *Kuntillet Ajrud* inscriptions: ...(l)*yhwh*. (*wl*)*ašrth*, which may be rendered, "...(to) YHWH... (and to) his consort", the identity of the consort possibly, but not necessarily, Asherah. Cf. my article on "The Meaning and Significance of 'Asherah' ", VT 39 [1989], forthcoming. An unimpeachable case of Ug. *aṯrt* as common-noun – in synonymous parallelism with *aṯt*! – is 1.3:I:15.

[11] Though perhaps not propriety alone. The dramatic qualities of the story of *Aqht* are there for any and all to see. But we have no tangible evidence in the body of the text

Aqht whom she addresses with a fawning "my happy man", the word 'man' no doubt enunciated with special emphasis (cf. comment above). Happy indeed is the lad Aqht.[12] At the tender age of 13 or 14, and barely pubescent, Aqht has experienced 'the real thing', and with a goddess no less! What a story to tell his school chums!

Of course, the contented Aqht, his suspicions by now fully allayed, becomes an easy victim as Anat unfolds 'stage 2' in her plan. Having learnt from Anat the art of loving, Aqht is now invited by the teacher to learn the art of hunting. It is an offer that he can hardly refuse.

The place of rendez-vous is designated *Ablm* (Heb. *Abēl*), the "city/fort (*qrt*) of his-majesty Yariḫ". To facilitate Aqht's arrival and ensure that he doesn't jeopardize her plan by going astray, Anat provides the lad with some identifying points of reference: an erect (√*ʿmd*) tower (*mgdl*) and "a river to the right/south" of it. This description lends additional, and decisive, support to our hypothesis that the 'city/fort' in question is the (ruined) EB, later also Hellenistic site of Sennabris, Talmudic *Beṭ-Yeraḥ* (preserving, at least in part, the 2nd millennium Canaanite toponym of **Ablm-bt-Yrḫ*), modern Kh. Kērak, situated along the southwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee.[13]

It follows from Anat's instructions: (a) that Aqht's residence (and that of his parents) is located within moderate walking-distance from *Ablm*/Kh. Kērak; (b) that this residence, as we learn also from 1.19:IV:46–50, lies to the east of *Ablm*, presumably on the slopes of the Golan plateau overlooking the sea.[14]

The fracture of the tablet at line 32 abruptly curtails the scene as it draws to a close. The final, fully legible word – *ʿrḫm* – suggests that the naked (√*ʿry*) lovers proceeded to dress, which they then followed perhaps with a light repast. Anat then took her leave of Aqht, no doubt bestowing an affectionate kiss on his lips as she whispered a treacherous 'au revoir'. The parting conversation must also have included the setting

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for a staged performance. The silence of the text at this point in the narrative is perhaps an indication of a libretto origin for the present recension of the story, the narrative silence corresponding to a scene of love-making hidden from the audience. The resumption of the narrative would correspond to the curtain rising *post-factum*.

[12] The notion of sexual relations as a source of supreme happiness in youth underlies the O.T. imagery in Isa. 62:5 and Ps. 19:6.

[13] The Can.-Heb. *qrt*, derives from √*q(w)r* 'be round' (= Ar. *qāra* 'dig-a-hole'), whence also (*m*)*qr* 'well, source, etc.', and probably denotes originally a 'walled-in area'. Eventually it comes to denote an 'acropolis', i. e. the fortified 'upper-city' with a portal entrance (cf. Prov. 8:3; Job 29:7; *Azit.* II, 9, etc.; III:15), ultimately dovetailing with *qryh* (< *qryt*). QRT is thus the precise semantic equivalent of Aram./MHeb. *kᵉrāk* (whence Kērak). By contrast, *qryh*/*qryt* derives from III-y /*qry* 'meet, come together' (cf. Ug. *laqryk* in 1.17:VI:43).

[14] Cf. Excursus IX, below.

of a date for the rendez-vous at Ablm, viz., – as we learn from the following, so-called 'col. IV' (actually the more or less direct continuation of col. I) – the approaching 'new moon', when Aqht presumably had the day off from school.

Excursus VIII: The phrase ŠBʿ. ṮIRK

The initial word cannot be the word for 'seven' modifying a noun *ṯir* (with pron. suffix) – thus (e.g.) Dijkstra–De Moor, *loc. cit.*; for in that case we should have expected the masculine form of the numeral *šbʿt*, as in ...*šbʿt. ġlmk* (1.5:V:8–9). We must concur with the conjecture by Caquot–Sznycer (TO), that ŠBʿ is here the well-known Ugaritic cognate of Heb. √*śbʿ* 'be full (with food); sated', in Ugaritic however occurring with 'drink' (especially of the intoxicating kind) rather than with solid food. Cf. 1.114:3//16) as well as earlier in *Aqht*, 1.17:I:31, etc.

The word ṮIR, attested elsewhere (1.2:III:16//21), also with reference to El designated (as here *ex hypothesi*) 'Bull-El...father', is cognate with Ar. and OSA *ṯaʾara* 'blood-feud'.[1] But of the commentators, only Caquot and Sznycer,[2] citing Ar. *ṯaʾir* 'anger', correctly construe the meaning as 'passion' (italicized as uncertain), though failing to note (no doubt because of the broken context) that the connotation of 'passion' here is necessarily 'sexual'. Note how in the choice of ṮIR, as of ŠBʿ, the connotation of 'blood' and 'red' is not far from the poet's mind (recalling that *yn* occurs in parallelism with *dm. ʿṣm*). The basic meaning of √*ṯʾr* would appear to be 'redolent-with-blood'.

Not without interest in this connection, at least as a comic aside, is a Talmudic adage which plays on the sexual connotations of 'hunger' and 'satiety': TB *Sanh.* 107a = *Sukkah* 52b:

אֵבֶר קָטָן יֵשׁ בָּאָדָם : מַשְׂבִּיעוֹ רָעֵב וּמַרְעִיבוֹ שָׂבֵעַ

the literal translation of which is: "A man has a small organ (which behaves paradoxically): when 'full', it is hungry (for sexual activity); and when 'hungry' (i.e., deprived of such activity) it is 'full'.[3]

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[1] Cf. UT § 19.2631; WUS, s.v. 2825.

[2] TO, 436, note j.

[3] The bawdiness of what must have been a bar-room aphorism is somewhat mitigated in the traditional commentaries and translations, such as the *Soncino Talmud* (seq. Rashi): "There is a small organ in man which satisfies him (= man) in his hunger but makes him hunger when satisfied". This translation misses the paradox of 'hungry-when-full' and 'full-when-hungry'.

Excursus IX: The Location of ABLM

The allusions in these (restored) lines can be properly understood only in light of the topographical and archaeological history of the area.[1] As late as the (early) Middle Ages (ca. 1100 C.E.), the Jordan River still flowed out of the Sea to the north of the *tell* before turning southward, with the river-bed hugging the *tell*'s northern and (north)western perimeter. This contrasts with the situation today in which the Jordan issues south of the *tell* and flows directly southward. Accordingly, the fortifications of the EB as well as of the Hellenistic city were built along the southern and southwestern perimeter; the sea and the river provided natural boundaries and protection to the east and north/northwest respectively.

In the course of excavations carried out (mainly) in the late forties and early fifties by B. Maisler-Mazar and P. Bar-Adon, a massive EB wall was unearthed, together with the remains of two superimposed gateways. The wall was built of mudbrick; but the doorjambs of the gateway were of basalt stone.[2] It is not difficult to imagine that much of this gateway survived the destruction of the last EB city at the end of the third millennium, and that it continued to serve as a landmark in a landscape otherwise undifferentiated topographically for several centuries thereafter, during which the once illustrious city became a meadow for sheep-herding nomads. This condition lasted for some 1500 years, and is uncannily reflected in the poem of *Aqht*, composed in the mid-second millennium B.C.E., as we shall shortly have occasion to see.[3]

It stands to reason, therefore, that the *mgdl* alluded to by Anat, as she gives directions to the inexperienced traveller Aqht, is the gateway-tower (or the remains thereof)[4] of EB Kh. Kērak, and that the "river to the right" is the Jordan. We should recall in this connection that $\sqrt{ymn}$ in Semitic means 'south' as well as 'right', though only the latter is attested thus far for Ug. *ymn*. Both significations however are appropriate

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[1] Cf. Y. Ben-Aryeh, PEQ (1965): 54–65; *idem.*, *The Central Jordan Valley* [Jerusalem, 1965]: 45–52 (in Hebrew); R. Hestrin, *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Land of Israel* [1971]: vol. 1: 253–262; M. Avi-Yonah, Encyclopedia Judaica [1971]: 778–781; D. Esse, *Beth Yeraḥ and Northern Palestine in the Early Bronze Age* (Ph. D. Dissertation [unpublished], U. of Chicago, 1982): Chap. § 2 (80 ff.).

[2] Cf. R. Hestrin, *loc. cit.*

[3] Cf. below, Excursus X.

[4] We may note in this connection that the primary connotation of MGDL is apparently 'massivity' or 'strength' rather than merely 'height'. Accordingly, it is logical that a massive construction would serve primarily for purposes of defense. The MGDL would thus be either part of the walled fortifications (cf. e. g., 2 Chron. 14:6) or an 'acropolis' in the middle of the (unfortified) city (Ju. 9:51). – For a general discussion, cf. B. Mazar, *Enc. Miq.*, vol. 4 (1962): 633–35.

here: from a vantage point on the slopes of the Golan/Bashan heights overlooking the eastern shoreline of the sea, where Aqht and his family reside, the Jordan River would be flowing to the right of the gateway as well as to its south.

ACT II – SCENE 5 (1.18:IV:5–42)

TEXT

[1][----]*p̊s̊*[...]	...		
[2][---]. *yṯbr*[. ...]	...		
[3][---]			
uṭm. ḏr[qm. (y/t)mt.]	[3]		
[lṣmt] [4][btl]*t. ʿnt*	[3]		9
lkl⟨y⟩. [ybmt. limm]	[3]		
[5][tt]*b́ʿ. btlt. ʿnt*	3		
[idk. lttn. pnm]	3	6	
[6]*ḫm. yṭpn. mhr. ṯ*[t]	3		
[tšu. gh](.) [7]*wṭṣḫ*	3		
yṯb. yṭpn̊[. mhr. št]	4	7	
[yṯb] (.) [8]*qrt. ablm*	3		10
ablm. [qrt. zbl. yrḫ]	3		
[9]*ik. al. yḥdṯ. yrḫ*	3		
bn̊[yr. qṣh]	[2]	7	
[10]*bqrn. ymnḥ*	2		10
banšt. [nrt. ap] (.) [11]*qdqdḥ*	3		
⟨*aqht. lqrt. ablm. ymġy*	4		10
yiḫd. qšt. bydḥ	3	6	
qṣʿt. bm. ymnḥ	3		
[imḫṣh. kd ʿl. qšth	3	6	
imḫṣh. ʿl. qṣʿth. hwt	3		

laḫw.] *lnʿmn. ǵzr* 3
[ap. qšth. ỉttn. ly]⟩ 3 6
10
wyʿn. yṯpn. ṁ[hr. št] 4

---

[12]*šmʿ. lbtlt. ʿnt* 3

at. ʿ[l. qšth] (.) [13]*tmḫṣḥ* 3
tmḫṣḥ. ʿl. qṣʿth. ḥwt 3 6 9 12
lṯḫ[wy] (.) [14]*nʿmn. ǵzr* 3

št. ṯrm. w[brd] 3
[15]*ištir. bḏdm* 2 7
wn(.) ʿ*rs*[. byn ?] 2 10

[16]*wtʿn. btlt. ʿnt* 3

ṯb. yṯp⟨*n*⟩*. w*[dm] (.) [17]*lk* 4/3 9/10

aštk(.) *km. nšr. bḫb*[šy] 3
[wn] [18]*km. diy. btʿrty* 3 6

aqḫt. [(w/k)yṯb] (.) [19]*llḫm* 3
wbn. dnil. lṯrṁ 2 5

[ʿlh(.)] [20]*nšrm. trḫpn* 3
ybṣr. [ḥbl. d][21]*iym* 3 6
11
bn. nšrm. arḫp. an[k.] 3
[ʿ]*l* (.) [22]*aqht.* ʿ*dbk* 2 5

hlmn. ṯnm. qḏqd 3
[23]*ṯlṯid.* ʿ*l. udn* 2 5
10
špk. km. šiy(.) [24]*dm* 3
km(.) *šḫṭ. lbrkh* 2 5

tṣi. km(.) [25]*rḥ. npšh* 3
km. iṯl. brlth 2 7
km(.) [26]*qṭr. baph* 2
11
b![...]⟨*ṣmt*⟩*. mprh. ank*(.) [27]*laḫwy* 4

---

tqḫ. yṯpn. mhr. št	4		
[28]*tštn. knšr. bḫbšḥ*	3	5	9
km. diy(.) [29]*bt ʿrtḥ*	2		
aqht. km. yṯb. llḫ[m]	3	5	
[30]*bn. dnil. lṯrm*	2		
ʿlḥ. nšr[m] (.) [31]*trḫpn*	3	6	
abṣr. ḫbl. diy[m]	3		11
[bn] (.) [32]*nšrm. trḫp. ʿnt*	3	5	
ʿl[. aqht] (.) [33]*tʿdbnḥ*	2		
ḥlmn. ṯnm[. qdqd]	3	5	
[34]*ṯlṯid. ʿl. udn*	2		10
š[pk. km] (.) [35]*šiy. dmḥ*	3	5	
km. šḫ[ṭ. lbrkh]	2		
[36]*yṣat. km. rḥ. npš*[h]	3	5	
[km. iṯl] (.) [37]*brlṯḥ*	2		7
km. qṭr. ḫ[aph]	2		
[wtʿn] (.) [38]*ʿnt. bṣmt. mp!rḥ*	4	7	
[wtʿn. bmt(.)] [39]*aqht*	3		10
wtbk. yl̊ [d. ʿl. umt]	3		
[40]*abn. ank. wʿl.* [qštk]	4	7	
[abn. ? wʿl] (.) [41]*qṣʿtk*	3		
at. lḫ[wt. aqht]	3	6	
[lqṭp](.) [42]*wḫlq. ʿpmm*	3		

Synopsis

The scene describes the planning and execution of a plot to kill Aqht. Following some incidental violence, Anat visits the domicile of a character, newly introduced, answering to the name – actually pseudonym – of YṬPN and bearing the fixed eipthet *mhr. št*. The domicile is at ABLM, the site of Anat's rendez-vous with Aqht. The plan involves transforming YṬPN into a hunting-bird to be released by an airborne Anat, concealed among a flock of birds, over a repasting Aqht. The execution of the plan is telescoped with the presentation, in the manner of 'command-fulfillment'. At the end of the scene a remorseful Anat is standing over the lifeless body of the young hero and crying.

General Comments

(1) From the conclusion of the poem we learn that Yṭpn's domicile is a tent or tent-camp – *ḏd//ahl(m)* – and that he (and his company) was 'hired' (*'gr*) by Anat as mercenary accomplice. Analysis of his name as well as his epithet reveals that we are dealing with a 'nomad', specifically a 'Sutean', residing among the ruins of EB Kh. Kērak/*Bet-Yeraḥ* (cf. below, Excursus X).

(2) The poet takes pains, here as well as in the (extant) conclusion where Yṭpn makes his second and final appearance in the story, to give expression to the stereotyped characteristics of west-semitic 'nomadism' as well as to the equally stereotyped attitudes of the sedentary population living in close proximity with such nomads. Our scene reveals:

(a) The condescension of sedentaries (here represented by Anat) towards the illiterate, supposedly dim-witted 'beduin';

(b) the nomad's supposed indifference to (precise) time coupled with his attachment to a lunar cycle and, possibly, lunar worship;

(c) the nomad's traditionally lavish hospitality.

(3) The rôle of the Sutean mercenary is seemingly extraneous. Anat is surely capable of murdering Aqht without hiring the services of a mortal accomplice. But further reflection suggests otherwise; Yṭpn's rôle serves two important objectives of the poet:

(a) in terms of the narrative structure, the introduction of the Sutean enables the poet to work out a plot of revenge – or rather: 'blood-redemption' – with Pughat, who bears the positive message of the story, cast in the rôle of heroine. There is no credible way for a mortal to 'get even' with an immortal such as Anat.

(b) the Sutean is at once a foil for Anat and a deliberately distorted mirror-image of an increasingly decadent and depraved Raphaite society. Anat, and her cultic devotees, are condemned by association with this murderous brute, whose ignominious death at the hands of the young heroine is a broad hint of the fate which lies in store for them, and which they so deservedly merit. The Sutean, metamorphosed as a trained killer-hawk (reflecting a sport still very popular in beduin society), is the alter-ego of Anat, the embodiment of her ruthless spirit and a model of her immoral conduct. The poet accepts the basic premise that Raphaite culture represents 'civilization'; and that this 'civilization' is inherently superior to the nomadic way of life represented by Yṭpn. Indeed the thrust of his/her argument in *Aqht* is that Raphaite society, enthralled by the cult of Anat, is in danger of reverting to a Sutean barbarity.[1]

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[1] Parenthetically, I would draw attention to the interesting, and not fully resolved ambiguity (or ambivalence) in the poet's attitude to the phenomenon of 'nomadism'.

§ *1.18:IV:1–4*

The implication of this fragmentary, partly restored portion of the text is, that following her leave of Aqht, but prior to her meeting with the Sutean, Anat killed someone or something, the victim's identity remaining unknown. Not improbably, the victim was an innocent and unsuspecting wayfarer whom Anat chanced to meet and with whom she decided to 'pick-a-fight'. For Anat, as we learn from 1.3:II:5 ff., kills for pleasure and relaxation. Full of disgust and self-loathing at having had to demean herself so with Aqht – the price even gods pay for hypocrisy! – Anat may have felt a need to 'let-off-steam' by clobbering someone, or something, to death.

§ *1.18:IV:5–11[a]*

The section divides into two parts, structurally as well as thematically. In lines 5–11[a] (*...qdqdh*) Anat belabours a point: the date-of-execution is stated four times, in four different ways: 'when the month is new' (*al. yḥdṯ. yrḫ*); 'when [its tip glo]ws'; 'when its right-side shines'; and 'when [the light of] its '[fore]head' appears.' As if this weren't enough to suggest the nomadic indifference to chronological precision, the Sutean will forget to mention the date in his succinct summary of Anat's instructions in lines 12–14.

Setting the date for 'new moon' is another detail reflecting nomadic culture. To offset the desert heat, Yṯpn will have normally travelled – and 'operated' – by night, under moonlight. The day of a moonless night would hardly bode well for the success of the operation.[2] In addition, the loose social structure permits the Sutean to live his life entirely by a lunar calendar: the nomad's life-style is determined by the succession of lunar months, not by solar 'weeks' or 'years'. Dan'el, by contrast, sits-in-judgement "on the seventh day", and he will mourn for Aqht "seven years".

§ *1.18:IV:11⟨...⟩–15*

In this partly restored and mostly reconstructed section, Anat informs Yṯpn of her strategy – i. e., defining the operation and its purpose – but is unable to explain the tactical aspects because she is interrupted.

On the positive side stands the tent-dwelling El, a relic of the people's nomadic past and symbolizing the ancestral values discarded by contemporary Raphaite society, to their shame and detriment. On the negative side stands the barbarity of the mercenary Sutean, a threat to life and property, and an enemy of 'civilization'.

[2] Cf. T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (²1961): 352, and our criticism in UF 15:99, n. 3.

The Sutean grows impatient with Anat's longwinded speech and its condescending tone (he doesn't share Anat's low estimate of his intelligence quotient...). Disregarding the 'time-fix', he quickly summarizes the essential points: to slay Aqht and acquire (√*ḥwy*) his bow.[3] The Sutean thus serves his 'boss' notice that he is not as dumb as his stereotype might have led her to believe. But he plays true to form in preparing and serving his guest a lavish meal. Now it is Anat's turn to grow impatient (and ill-mannered) as she bids her host to 'sit down and shut up'!

There is nothing in the text, or in the logic of the narrative, to suggest that Aqht's death was the result of Yṯpn having bungled the job.[4] To the contrary: it is Anat who first used (*apud* reconstruction!) the crucial word √*mḫṣ* in defining the objectives of the operation. When he repeats the instructions, he uses the 2 f. s. *tmḫṣh*, thus emphasizing that the initiative is hers. He is an accomplice taking orders from the goddess who is, and will remain, in charge of the operation from beginning to end. Yṯpn's subservience to Anat also finds expression in the tactical aspects, as yet unrevealed: Yṯpn is transformed into a hunting-bird unleashed (or unmasked) by the goddess at the place and moment of her choosing. Indeed, so minor is Yṯpn's rôle in the operation, to the point of redundancy in fact – Anat could have 'bombed' Aqht utilizing any one of the flock of birds in whose midst she was flying – that his inclusion in the story makes sense only when considered within the larger framework of the poem's overall literary design and message.

§ *1.18:IV:16–37*[b]

Much of the terminology and imagery of this section is rooted in the art and tradition of 'falconry', i. e., the use of specially trained birds, usually falcons, to hunt other birds.[5] Hunting in this manner was a well-established practice in the ancient Near East, and endures to this very

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[3] It ought to be clear from the context that the verb √*ḥwy* in lines 11 (reconstructed) and 13 (restored) cannot be analyzed as (G) 'to live' or (D) 'resurrect; bring back to life'. The same conclusion is valid, though not as self-evident, in line 27. The idea of resurrecting the victim whose murder she had so meticulously planned could never have crossed Anat's mind, certainly not at this stage of the plan. Why go to so much trouble if the end-result is to put Aqht back on his feet (without the bow!)? We must therefore assume for Ugaritic a homonymous √*ḥwy* II '(forcibly) dispossess', cognate with Ar. √*ḥwy* 'grasp; take forcible possession of' (cf. Hava, *Al-Faraid*, 151[b]).

[4] So (e. g.) Gaster, *op. cit.*; cf. also J. Gray, LC[2], 116; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 345.

[5] Cf. Caquot – Sznycer, TO, 439, and especially W. G. E. Watson, JNSL 5 [1977]: 69 – 75, but noting criticism by Pardee, *Bib Or* [1980]: 288 ff., and our discussion in UF 15:100 f. For falconry in ancient Mesopotamia, cf. A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im Alten Mesopotamien* (1973): 82 f. Cf. also below, Excursus XI, § 1.

day in Persian Gulf states comprising beduin populations. Anat, be it recalled, is a huntress *par excellence* (cf. e.g., 1.22:I:10 f.). It is *qua* huntress that Anat so passionately covets Aqht's composite bow: she wants it for her sporting collection. For killing mortals she has more effective alternatives. Now the poem at this juncture is concerned with hunting in general and with the young Aqht's rôle as fledgling hunter in particular. It stands to reason that a plan for murder, conceived against this background and involving a 'beduin' as accomplice, would itself contain elements of a hunting scenario.

But Anat's strategem does not involve 'orthodox falconry', though it contains elements thereof. Anat's plan is a compôte of realia and fantasia. An airborne goddess, armed with a Sutean-turned-falcon, first locates her target and then releases the falcon as a bomb upon the unsuspecting victim and kills him. Yet this seemingly straightforward narrative raises a question never as yet considered, viz., with a seemingly infinite number of 'realistic' strategems available for perpetrating the homicide, why does the poet resort to 'fantasy'?

The answer, necessarily conjectural, is I believe twofold:

(a) though intended as social criticism of contemporary (15th cent. B.C.E.) Raphaite culture, the story itself is set in 'prehistoric', or 'protohistoric' antiquity, the age of the forefathers as well as the age of at least occasional 'miracles'. This setting serves the author as literary camouflage in an era not yet accustomed to social criticism. The 'fantasy' in Anat's scheme provides a flavour and texture of 'long ago', and is only one of several devices and motifs used by the poet to impart 'authenticity' to his narrative.

(b) the plot to kill Aqht is a vehicle for transmitting an ideological message. The poet is not a pacifist; nor is (s)he in favour of abolishing hunting as 'inhumane' to animals. But (s)he is most definitely against the 'perversions' represented by Anat who stands values on their head, so to speak. A sophisticated form of hunting developed by man for his pleasure and benefit is perverted by a goddess who turns the sport, literally and symbolically, 'upside-down': instead of men hunting birds, we now have birds hunting, and killing, men! Anat emerges as a menace not only to the specific individuals who do her honour, but to the entire moral and natural order of the universe.

All that transpired from the presentation of the plot by Anat until its execution – the 'price' of the 'contract' with Yṭpn; Anat's departure; the interval until 'new moon'; Aqht's journey to *Ablm*; the events leading up to the moment he sat down for a 'lunch break'; the presence or absence of Anat prior thereto – is omitted. Whether this omission is the result of compositional design, lax scribal practice, or – as I incline to believe – a faulty 'recension' based perhaps on inadequate oral

transmission by an inexperienced 'singer of tales', cannot be determined. It is not the sole instance of 'telescoping' or 'abridgement' in *Aqht* (though probably the most extreme case).

§ *1.18:IV:37^{c}–42*

Anat's remorseful weeping is a telling comment by the poet on the goddess' lack of foresight – she had apparently grown quite fond of the lad in spite of herself – and, not least, an ironic allusion to Anat's distaff nature. Despite her best efforts, in dress as well as in deportment, to conceal and deny her femininity, Anat is and remains, by nature, a 'weakling-woman' just as Aqht said she was.

Excursus X: YṬPN, *mhr. št*[1]

There are two prevailing interpretations of the phrase *mhr. št*, both unquestionably mistaken: (1) = 'drunken soldier', with *št* explained as √*šty* 'drink'; (2) = 'soldier of the lady', with *št* interpreted as cognate with Ar. *sitt* 'woman, mistress', and understood as a reference to Anat.

The first interpretation takes its inspiration from the (extant) conclusion of the poem (1.18:IV:53 ff.), where Yṭpn is portrayed holding a wine-cup in his hand as he toasts his god Ila, and thereafter partaking of wine with his guest Pughat-alias-Anat. However, there is no evidence for a drinking, much less intoxicated, Yṭpn here in 1.18:IV; nothing either in his speech or conduct suggests that he is acting under the influence of alcohol. The sole reference to wine in (our restored) line 15 merely indicates the Sutean's fondness for French *cuisine*. Even in 1.19:IV, Yṭpn is not intoxicated when Pughat first arrives, though he will soon be so. Accordingly, there is no sufficient basis for conceiving Yṭpn as a 'lush', which alone would justify a fixed epithet in the sense presumed by this interpretation. Also telling against this interpretation is the general, *a priori* consideration that Anat would hardly have engaged the services of someone with a 'drinking problem'.

The second interpretation fares no better. Nowhere in Ugaritic literature is Anat ever referred to as *št*. The alleged restriction of its use to *Aqht* generally, and to the phrase *mhr. št* in particular, defies explanation as well as reason.[2] Furthermore, the alleged Arabic cognate is of

[1] Cf. already UF 15:96–99, upon which the present Excursus is based and partly reproduces.

[2] The word *št* in the meaning 'lady' is alleged by some scholars to recur in 1.23:61: *ynqm. bap. ḏd. št.* However, as indicated by (the unemended!) line 59, the word *št* in line 61 begins a new verse-line and can only be the verb √*š(y)t* 'place, set down'. The correct stichometry and interpretation can be found in (e.g.) Caquot–Sznycer's TO, 377 (contrast Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 466).

dubious status; it is probably an inner-Arabic corruption of **sayyidati.*[3] The etymon is not otherwise known in Semitic.

Considered in itself as well as in its wider literary context, there can and should be no doubt that the phrase *mhr. št* means, literally, 'warrior of the Sutū', i.e., Sutean warrior', the word *št* corresponding to Eg. *šwtw*, Heb. (Num. 24:17) (*bny*) *š(ē)ṯ*, and Akk. *sutū*.[4] The Egyptian term refers, not insignificantly for our purposes, to a large tract of central and *northern* Transjordan (the later Bashan!) in the first two centuries of the second millennium B.C.E. The Hebrew Bible similarly attests the phrase *bny. š(ē)ṯ* – the erroneous vocalization probably due to contamination with the masculine PN 'Seth' (Gen. 4:25, etc.) – in connection, indeed synonymous parallelism, with the Transjordanian Moabites, alleged by the O.T. poet to be descendants of the (little-esteemed?) Suteans.

The Suteans are well-known from Akkadian sources dating to the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E., including sources roughly contemporaneous with the Ugaritic literary texts and deriving from approximately the same area. Kupper describes the portrayal of the Suteans in the El-Amarna archives, as well as in the earlier Mari texts, as "à la fois ... pillards et ... mercenaires ... la menace barbare, jaillisant du désert".[5] Both feared and loathed by the sedentary populations, they are execrated as a people who "from east to west are to be exterminated".[6] By the middle of the second millennium, the *terminus a quo* for the composition of Aqht, the word 'Sutean' "seems to have become ... a general term for West-Semitic nomads".[7] The Sutean is thus the historical successor of the prototypal MAR.DU/'Amorite' nomad who "knows no house, no city; the man ... who dwells on the steppe."[8]

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[3] Lane, AEL, 1304; Freytag, *Lexicon*, II, 282.

[4] The basis for the equation of Akk. *sutu* with Eg. *šwtw*, first advanced by Albright (BASOR 83 [1941]: 34, n. 8), is the correspondence of the PN Š-m-'-b-w, a prince of Upper Šwtw in the Execration Texts, with his Amorite namesake Sumuabum, founder of the first Amorite dynasty at Babylon (and Hammurabi's father). The equation reflects the well-known phonetic correspondence of Amorite S with (P(NW)S *Š. The Hittite spellings show a variation in the early texts between *z/s* and *š*, but are standardized in the later texts as ŠU.TU, precisely as in Ugaritic *št*. Cf. H. A. Hoffner, in: *Studia Mediterranea* (ed. O. Carruba) [1979]: vol. I: 261–66.

[5] J.-R. Kupper, *Les Nomades en Mesopotamie au Temps des Rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957): 100, 145.

[6] H. Klengel, *Zwischen Zelt und Palast* (1972): 73.

[7] R. Zadok, OLP 16 [1985]: 59–70. Quotation from p. 59. Zadok further observes that "Sutu consists of Šut (Amor [OB] Su-tu-um...) and the Akk. gentilic suffix *-u* < *-iy(y)u*" (*ibid.*, n. 2).

[8] S. Lieberman, JCS 22 [1972]: 58; H. Klengel, *op. cit.*; *idem*, UF 13 [1981]: 274; G. Buccellatti, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples, 1966): 102–123; M. Heltzer, *The Suteans* (Naples, 1981).

A most significant attestation of the Suteans is to be found in the 15th cent. inscription of the fugitive king Idrimi of Alalaḫ who refers (line 15) to "the land of the Sutu warriors" (ERIN^{meš} (*ṣābê*) Su-tu-u^{ki}), situated on the western fringes of the desert between Emar (Meskene) and Canaan.[9] The correspondence of the Akk. *ṣābe sutu* and the Ug. *mhr. št* is all the more striking given the common chronological and geographical settings and the poetic synonymity of *mhr* and *ṣbu* in Ugaritic.[10]

Within this historical and sociological framework, the following data and allusions, culled entirely from *Aqht*, take on a special significance:

(a) The residence of Yṭpn is explicitly designated *ahlm* and *ḏd* //⟨*a*⟩*hlm* – 1.19:IV:50 ff. – in marked contrast to the several references to the *bt*//*hkl* (var. *ḫẓr*) of Dan'el and family. Moreover, in toasting his god Ila – the phonetic complement *'a* very likely reflecting the speaker's 'Amorite' dialect – Yṭpn refers to him as "... the god of the Su[teans] // the god who creates tent-camps (*ḏdm*)" [*ibid.*, lines 57 f.].

(b) The relationship between Anat and Yṭpn is 'commercial', not religious. Yṭpn and company are 'swords for hire' (√*'gr*), at least in their spare time.

(c) Yṭpn and company reside at *Ablm*, which we would identify with modern Kh. Kērak. By the mid-second millennium, this site had been in ruins for some 500 years, and would stay that way for another thousand. The explanation for this protracted gap in occupation is implied in our story: up to and including the (beginning of the) present century, the area in and around Kh. Kērak, with its perennial vegetation and abundant supply of fresh water, has been much beloved by 'beduin' tribes. A ruin such as Kh. Kerak, providing shelter for man and beast during the occasional winter-storm, is an added attraction. For 1500 years, roughly the biblical period, sixty generations of nomadic tribes succeeded in controlling this important site straddling the major thoroughfare linking the Bashan area with the Plain of Acco. The poem of *Aqht* captures a moment in that lengthy process.

(d) Finally, the name YṬPN, formally structured as a hypocoristicon of a theophoric **yqtl-DN*, admits of analysis as a G impf. of a middle-weak verb √*ṭ(w/y)p*, cognate with Ar. *ṭāfa* 'one-who-walks-about'.[11] The name is thus a literary sobriquet or pseudonym intended

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[9] For the text of Idrimi's inscription, cf. E. L. Greenstein and D. Marcus, JANES 8 [1976]: 59–96; Dietrich – Loretz, UF 13 [1981]: 201–269.

[10] Suteans are also mentioned in the royal correspondence from Ugarit as highway robbers who hold the king's diplomatic envoy for ransom: cf. J. Nougayrol, PRU 3, 7 f.

[11] Cf. Lane, AEL, 1892 ff.; Freytag, *Lexicon*, III, 79.

as a cryptic allusion to the character's identity, with the particular form intended perhaps to evoke an association with √*ṯpn* (Ar. √*ṯfn*) 'commit murder'.

Excursus XI: Philological Notes

§ 1. *ḤBŠ // T'RT*[1]

The word *ḥbš* derives from √*ḥbš*, attested in several Semitic languages in the related meanings of 'bind; confine'.[2] In Ugaritic it occurs in the meanings 'belt; girdle' and 'bag, pouch', both fastened at the waist. The former usage was seen in 1.17:VI:8, which describes Anat's girdle, or waistband, under pressure from her enlarged spleen. In 1.19:IV:45, describing Pughat's disguise as Anat, the identical object (as here, in 1.18:IV, with *t'rt* as B-word parallel) is designated *nšg* (< √*nšg* 'weave'). Pughat places the dagger (*ḥrb//ḫ*[lpn]) in her waistband or girdle so that she can carry it easily on her person without it being observed. The context implies a tight-fitting article of clothing worn beneath an outer garment (in this case, a woman's dress [*npṣ. aṯt*]).

The second usage of Ug. *ḥbš* is illustrated by 1.3:II:12 ff., describing a massacre of (Raphaite?) warriors by Anat: *šnst. kpt. bḥbšh*, "she ties (√*šns*) hands (together) in(side) her pouch".[3] The bloodthirsty goddess uses the *ḥbš* to collect human limbs in order to record later the number of slain; but under 'normal' circumstances, implied here in 1.18:IV, the *ḥbš* would be used to store the trained hunting-bird and, presumably also (in a separate pouch?) the 'bagged' (!) prey.[4]

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[1] Based on, and partly reproducing, UF 15:100 f.

[2] Cf. HAL, 277.

[3] Cf. De Moor, SP, 91 f.

[4] It is thus clear that *ḥbš*, when used in a hunting context, cannot denote the falconer's glove or 'wristlet', used for holding the (blindfolded) hawk. Apparently this development in the art of falconry was still unknown in the mid-second millennium B.C.E. To judge from the text of *Aqht*, the trained hawk (*nšr*), like the bagged prey, was kept in a pouch fastened at the hunter's waist, probably on the opposite side. – We may note in this connection that the common rendering of Ug. *nšr* as 'eagle' (*aquila*) or 'vulture' (*gyps fulvus*), in accordance with the accepted semantic values of Heb. *nešer* and Akk. *našru*, can hardly be correct here in *Aqht*. Eagles do not fly in a pack (Ug. *ḥbl*) and cannot be trained to hunt (much less stuffed – alive! – in a gaming pouch). Outside of *Aqht*, we note 1.2:IV:13 f., where a hurled (or whirled) 'club' (*ṣmd*) is compared to a *nšr* flying out of one's hand, surely a reference to the trained hunting falcon rather than to an eagle or vulture (cf. the rendering "épervier" in TO, 137, and note *ad loc.*). The likelihood is that Semitic *nšr* was originally a generic term for any carniverous bird belonging to the hawk or falconid family. Here in *Aqht*, perhaps in

As for T'RT, though obviously the identical word as Heb. *ta'ara*(h) 'scabbard', its uncertain etymology makes it difficult to determine its precise meaning independent of its usage in parallelism. Here in 1.18:IV, as well as in 1.19:IV (despite the collocation with *ḫrb*), the rendering 'scabbard' is improbable if not altogether precluded. We can do worse than assume that *t'rt* reflects the basic meaning of √*'ry* (from which 'scabbard' is usually, though not convincingly derived) 'be naked'. The *t'rt* would then be an article of clothing which concealed the area of one's 'nakedness' (Heb. *'erwa*[h]), i.e., one's private parts, or at least an object worn on the bare skin.

§ 2. *ŠIY*[5]

This word (like ITL [§ 3]) is a long-standing crux interpretum. The varied renderings in the scholarly literature are mostly educated guesses based on the apparent requirements of context and parallelism.

An exception must nevertheless be made for a recent (1978) suggestion proffered (*en passant*) by S. E. Loewenstamm, to see in ŠIY a Ugaritic borrowing of the Hurrian *šiye*, 'water'.[6] In addition to the *prima facie* linguistic plausibility of the proposal, Loewenstamm pointed to the idiomatic parallel furnished by Ps. 79:3 to the Ugaritic *špk. km. šiy. dm*, thus interpreted. Similarly comparable are Deut. 12:16, 24 and 15:23, the 'prosaic' contexts of which suggesting that whenever a similitude is sought for something 'poured out', the first image likely to come to an ancient author's mind is 'water'.

Attractive though it be, Loewenstamm's solution raises a disturbing question which, if unanswered, would seem to undermine its validity. Given that Ugaritic poetry knows no less than three forms of the common Semitic word for 'water', viz., *my*, *mym*, and *mh*, why should a poet deem it necessary, or even desirable, to co-opt a foreign, non-Semitic word defying the comprehension of anyone unfamiliar with the Hurrian language. Nor, by all appearances, does the Hurrian word bear any special connotation or specification unknown to the common Semitic *my*(*m*); neither does the narrative context in *Aqht* require at this point such a connotation or specification which may have been inherent in the Hurrian original.

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the Ugaritic literary texts generally, the word denotes the relatively small peregrine falcon favoured for hunting, Akk. *šu*(*mu*)*rdu* = *kassūsu*(*m*) = *ḫašmar* (cf. A. Salonen, *op. cit.*, 184, 207, 258; AHw, 454].

[5] Based on, and partly reproducing, JNSL 8 [1980]: 61 f.; UF 15:101 f.

[6] *Eretz-Israel* 14 [1978]: 1, n. 9. The Hurrian data are conveniently collected and discussed by E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la Langue Hourrite*, pt. II (= RHA 35 [1977]: 230 f.).

The answer, I submit, lies nonetheless at hand. The choice of ŠIY over *MY(M), or *MH, is an instructive example of how important the rôle of alliteration is in determining the poet's choice of words and word-forms:

Špk. km. Šiy. dm // km. Šḫt. lbrkh

A quarter of the twenty consonants in this distich consists of K, 15% of M and Š respectively. The choice of *my*, *mh*, or (especially) *mym* would not prove fatal for the alliterative patterning of the couplet; but the results would be less pleasing. Instead of three 'dominant' consonants (i. e., a frequency above 12%), we would have only two; and one of the two would be the 'commonplace' M, which – like T – because of its high-frequency in the language is very often one of the dominant consonants in any given verse. More importantly, the substitution of **my(m)* (or *mh*) for *šiy* entails the loss of the couplet's most distinctive alliterative feature: the repetition of a triconsonantal sequence involving the three dominant consonants: ... KMŠiy ... KMŠḫṭ.

The case of ŠIY is not the only example of a 'foreign' word co-opted by the (multi-lingual?) poet to enhance an alliterative pattern. Two, possibly three additional instances of this phenomenon can be cited: in *Krt* (1.14:II:18//IV:1) ḪTṮ (instead of **ksp*) 'silver', Hittite *ḫattuš*;[7] and in *Aqht*, 'Phoenician' MN 'from' (instead of usual *b/l(m)*, in 1.19:I:11;[8] and in 1.19:IV:23//30, perhaps DĠṮ = Anatolian **duḫḫuiš*, 'frankincense' (instead of *qṭrt*).[9]

§ 3. *IṮL*[10]

Several scholars have endorsed the suggestion of De Moor[11] equating Ug. IṮL with Hittite *išalli* 'spittle'; but it is not clear what 'spittle' has in common with the parallel similitudes 'wind' and 'smoke', nor why so mundane a word as 'spittle' should have to be 'imported' from Anatolia.

What is wanted is a frail and/or insubstantial entity which tends to disappear quickly and without leaving a trace. Thus Gordon (UT § 19.421) 'breath, gust'; Ginsberg (RANE, 271) "like vapour"; Del Olmo Lete (MLC, 523) "exhalacion". But all of these propossals are *ad sensum* and without etymological foundation; and they are generally marked as uncertain.

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[7] Cf. UF 11:543 f.

[8] Cf. already UF 8:171; UF 11:545; and shortly below.

[9] Cf. already UF 16:164–66, and below, *ad loc.*

[10] Based on, and partly reproducing, UF 15:114 f.

[11] JNES 24 [1965]: 363 f. = UF 7:196.

A more promising approach is signalled by Cazelles[12] who observed that ITL designates "[un] arbre odoriférant en sémitique". Presumably by 'sémitique' Cazelles alludes to Ar. *ʾaṯl* 'tamarisk' and/or Akk. *išlu*, "a type of (oil-bearing) plant".[13] We have arrived, independently, at a similar conclusion.[14] We propose seeing in Ug. ITL the root √*ʾṯ(ṯ)* which in Arabic denotes 'be luxuriant, thick' (of hair, grass), and the morpheme *-l*, attested in Heb. *karmel*, *gibʿôl*, and *ʿrpl* 'fog, mist', and in Ug. *bṣql* '(a) sprout; corn-in-the-husk', the morpheme possibly denoting 'potentiality'.[15] Thus *gbʿl* is a 'would-be flower'; *ʿrpl* is 'would-be rain'; and *bṣql* is 'a would-be sheaf (of grain)'. On this assumption, ITL may be conceived as a plant in bud but not yet in bloom.

In addition to the welcome implication of a tenuous and fleeting existence, our interpretation has the advantage of anticipating the imagery which Anat will shortly invoke in her tearful 'eulogy' (line 42):

[lqṭp ?] *wḫlq. ʿpmm* "[plucked?] and perished like *the leaves*"

with *ʿpmm* (= *ʿp* + *m* plu. + *m* adv.) related to Aram. *ʿpy* 'foliage' and Syr. *ʿwpṯ* 'flower, bud (etc.)'.[16] In both the description of the death and the subsequent eulogy, the idea would be that Aqht's life was 'nipped in the bud' and thus prematurely ended.

ACT II – SCENE 6 (1.19:I:1 – 17)

TEXT

(...)	(...)		
tkr̊b. [⟨b⟩tlt. ʿnt]	3		
lqrb̊ [m.] *m̊ym*(.) [3]*tql*	3	9	
[ʿ][mh. qšt. b]*lb*	3		
tṯb̊r(.) [4]*qšt*[. aqht]	3	5	7
[kk]*n̊r. yṯb̊r*	2		
[5]*tmn.* [kṯr]	2		
[hln.] *btlt. ʿnt*	3	5	
[6]*ttb.* [linbb]	2		

[12] *Annuaire*: École Pratique des Hautes Études (V[e]), vol. 87 [1978/79]: 219 f.

[13] AHw, 396; 1564.

[14] Cf. UF 15:114 f.

[15] Cf. my discussion in RB 91 [1984]: 109 f.

[16] BDB, 1107, Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1099; Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, 538.

[t]*ša*(.) [7]*tlm. km*(.) *r̊*[u]*m̊*	3	5	
ydḥ. kšr	2		7
[8]*k̊nr. uṣb*ʿ⟨*t*⟩*ḥ*	2		

p̊ḫrṣ. ad(!)*n*(.) [9]*ph*	3	6	
tiḫd. šnth. p!*t*!*n*!*kl*	3		
bqmm(.) [10]*tšt. ḫrṣ*	3	5	
klb. ilnm	2		7
[11]*ẇṯn. gprm*	2		

mn. gprḥ. šr̊(.) [12]*aqht*	3	6	
*y*ʿ*n. kmr. kmrm̊*	3		
[13]*kap*ʿ*. il. bgdrt*	3	5	
klb̊(.) *l*[14]*ḫṭḥ* {...(14$^{\beta}$ – 17$^{\alpha}$)....}	2		8
[(17$^{\beta}$)]*wb̊mt̊*[h. y]*ḫmṣ*(.) *ṣr̊*[ḥ]	3		

Synopsis

The scene describes three distinct yet related events:

(1) The breaking of the coveted bow which an airborne Anat is carrying across her chest, the result of a fall into the Sea (of Galilee), occasioned by her percipitous haste and (by inference) the weight of Aqht's corpse on her shoulders.

(2) Anat's mortuary treatment of Aqht's cadaver, viz., the plastering of his skull with lime and the extraction of his teeth.

(3) Aqht's 'journey to the Netherworld' where, upon arrival he comes face-to-face with a giant viper who is standing guard at the entrance, a sceptre in his (right) hand and a dog at his side.

General Comments

The text is unique in several respects, in itself as well as its (non-) treatment in the scholarly literature. More than any other section of the poem it has lain fallow for decades, defying interpretation and generally ignored in comprehensive translations. Admittedly, the first six lines are poorly preserved (though not beyond recovery). But the defective portion

accounts for less than half of the text; the remainder (ll. 7 – 17) is near fully extant. The dearth of scholarly discussion is thus more a function of incomprehension than of *force majeure*.[1]

In retrospect, it is not difficult to pinpoint the sources of quandry; two are especially noteworthy:

(1) the vocabulary of lines 8 – 17 (excepting the extraneous 14^b – 17^a) is highly distinctive and idiosyncratic. Many of the lexemes are *hap. leg.* in Ugaritic (though with excellent cognates in related languages), including a preposition which in addition to being otherwise unattested has been thought by some to be precluded in Ugaritic *a priori*, at least in the poetic texts.[2]

(2) three lines of the text, themselves readily comprehensible, are in fact extraneous to the context and represent an intrusion from 1.18:IV where they have fallen out.[3] Unfortunately, there has been a tendency to fasten on precisely these lines as a point of departure for elucidating the wider context.

§ *1.19:I:2 – 8ª*

1. These largely defective lines describe the mishap. Flying in haste[4] and at excessive speed, the over-burdened and over-wrought Anat plummets (*tql*) into the water below, causing the precious bow – here as in 1.17:V:2 designated ṮMN – to 'break like a [ly]re'.

The similarities of the composite-bow and the lyre are readily apparent. Both are instruments with crafted wooden frames fastened laterally by strings of animal sinew. Text 1.108 and his subsequent identification in Greece as *Kinyras* suggest that Koshar may well have been considered the archtypal master craftsman of the lyre as well as the composite bow. Both are, finally, susceptible to breakage (√*ṯbr*) on impact.[5]

Yet the similarities between the lyre and the bow are not so immediately self-evident as to make the comparison a matter of course or idiomatic reflex. An additional factor has evoked the imagery, viz., the

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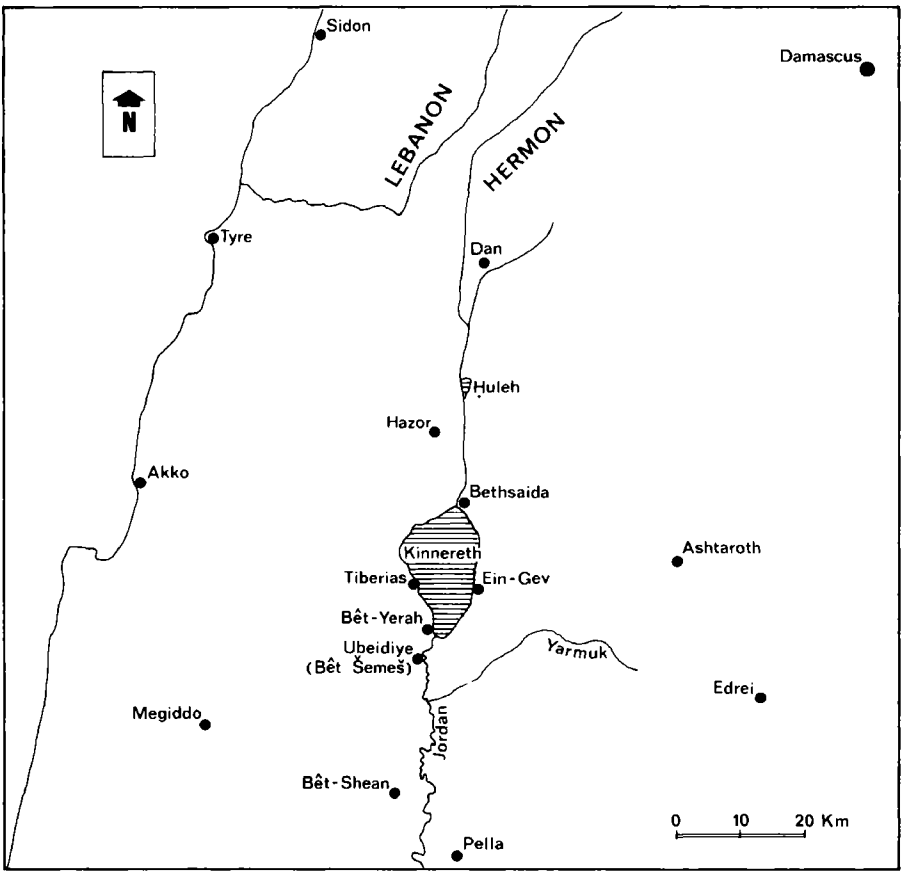
[1] Cf. B. Margalit, UF 8 (1976):169 – 72; *idem.*, "Death and Dying in the Ugaritic Epics", in: *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen, 1980): 251; *idem.*, UF 11 (1979): 554 – 56; *idem.*, "The 'Neolithic Connection' of the Ugaritic Poem of Aqht", *Paléorient*, vol. 9/2 (1984): 93 – 98. – Contrast A. Caquot, SEL 2 (1985): 93 – 114.

[2] Cf. UF 16:123 f., and *Excursus XII*, below.

[3] Cf. above, § Textual and Epigraphic, *ad loc.*

[4] √*krb*; Ar. *akraba* 'hasten, speed' (Lane, AEL 2602; Hava, *Al-Faraid*, 649ª; Wehr – Cowan, *Dictionary...*, 819a). The word is otherwise unattested and generally absent from the Ugaritic glossaries. Cf. also Ar. *karībat* 'calamity', from the same root and singularly appropriate here! – For further discussion, cf. UF 16:119 f.

[5] For some O.T. collocations of 'bow' and 'break' (√*šbr*), cf. Jer. 49:35; Pss. 37:15, 46:10.



unspecified name of the body of water into which Anat has fallen: KNRT, explicitly mentioned only in col. III below (unless earlier in a missing tablet or portion). For an audience mostly aware of the story's geographical setting, it was unnecessary to say more than 'into the water' for the referent to be understood. The comparison of the bow with the lyre provides nevertheless a delicate and subtle reminder of the location as well as a display of poetic skill.[6]

2. Recovering from her fall, and cognizant of its dire consequence, the goddess resumes her flight home. Arriving at her abode atop Mt.

[6] It is of course immaterial whether or not the Sea of Galilee/Kinnereth actually owes its name, as some have surmised, to its lyre-like shape (see fig. attached) – especially when viewed from the Golan Heights to the east! – or whether this was merely a popular etymology of the name. The connection is made in the poetic imagination.

Inbb,[7] and burning with the rage of frustration, she climbs (√š'(y))its slopes at breakneck speed.[8] The poet compares her 'footwork' to that of a (charging) wild-bull (or fleet-footed antelope) and the speed of her hands as they grasp the jagged edges of the rocky cliff to the speed of lightning (*šr*)[9] and fire (*nr*), the latter image suggesting 'rage' as well as 'wild'.[10]

Having once fallen, and with Aqht's body still weighing heavily on her shoulders, Anat no longer trusts her avionic skills to bring her safely to the top of the mountain. It is one thing to fall into a lake, quite another to crash into a rocky mountain!

3. The portrayal of Anat in this scene is remarkable, and bears significantly on her overall characterization in the poem. For the poet(ess), Anat is a 'fallen goddess', her failure in achieving her objective corresponding to, and symbolic of, her failure as an object of worship. Anat is as incompetent as she is immoral. Gods, our poet might well concede, are created in the image of man. But the 'good guys', like Baal and El, are conceived mostly as projections of man's strengths and virtues, whereas the 'bad guys', and Anat in particular, are projections of man's vices and frailties. Anat's physical fall is thus symbolically a 'fall from grace' and a demotion to the rank of mortal being.[11]

§ *1.19:I:8^b–11*

This strophic unit describes Anat in the rôle of a mortician as she prepares Aqht's corpse for 'proper' burial. She performs two operations:

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[7] Cf. 1.100:20 and 1.13:9. If, as I believe, 1.22:I describes a banquet hosted by Anat, then INBB may well be located (*ibid.*, l. 25) *birt. lbnn* "on the edge/flank of Mt. Lebanon".

[8] The phrase [t]*ša. tlm* should be seen as a stylistic variation on *ša. ġr* of 1.4:VIII:5 (*Baal-Mot*) – cf. MLD, 74 ff. – with TLM (= *tl* + enclitic or dual *-m*) identical with TLM of the immediately preceding line 4, in synonymous parallelism with ĠR and in attribution of (GNN) Trġzz and Ṯrmg, the twin-mountains on the western horizon (Ug. *ġṣr. arṣ*, lit., 'edge of the Earth') where the sun goddess retires each evening.

[9] Lit., 'flash' (Ar. *sarār* 'sparks', Akk. *šarūru* 'Strahlenglanz' [AHw, 1193 f.]), elsewhere attested in Ugaritic in a famous (if imperfectly understood) *Baal-Mot* text (1.4:V:6 ff.) ...*bglṯ. ... qlh / b'rpt. šrh* "From the turbulence ... his voice, from the clouds his flash (Baal doth unleash)".

[10] Cf. Nah. 1:6 "His anger pours out like fire, causing the mountains to splinter (var. 'ignite')"; Jer. 4:4 (= 21:12): "Lest my anger break out like fire / (Lest) it burn out of control".

[11] Cf. the myth of the 'fallen angels' residually surviving in Gen. 6:1–4; Is. 14:12 ff.; Ps. 82:1,6–7; and in 1 Enoch of the Apochryphal literature.

she smears lime-plaster (*ḥrṣ*) on Aqht's (bared) skull (*qmm*)[12] – exactly as anticipated by the victim in 1.17:VI[13] – and incises (√*ḥrṣ*) the lad's gums (*ad*(!)*n*) so as to extract (*√*nkl*) his teeth (*šnt*).[14]

Although herself a member of the divine pantheon, Anat must defer in all matters pertaining to the Netherworld to the chthonic deities (ILNM // GPRM);[15] her actions are therefore described as 'in accordance with their will (*lb*)[16] and instructions (*ṯn*)'.[17] Otherwise, Aqht's 'ghost' (*ẓl*) may be refused admission to the realm of the dead and/or the predeceased 'ancestors' (*'m*(*m*)). Elsewhere in Ugaritic literature, the

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[12] Cf. Ar. *qimma*(*t*), Akk. *qimmatu*(*m*) with identical meaning. QMM corresponds here to **ẓr. qdqd* of 1.17:VI:37.

[13] The choice of the B-word ḤRṢ rather than the A-word SPSG is probably motivated (a) by the greater semantic precision of ḤRṢ; (b) the desire for homonymous word-play with the nearby √*ḥrṣ* 'incise'.

[14] With the benefit of hindsight, Aqht's omission of the latter detail in his peroration (1.17:VI:34 ff.) may be of literary significance. The lad, it will be recalled, is flaunting his knowledge of Life, an impressive knowledge for a 'teenager' but understandably incomplete. The point thus made presumably is that while Aqht speaks the truth it is a partial truth only. Complete knowledge, and true wisdom, comes (if at all!) with age and experience, for which intelligence is a precondition but not a substitute. The epitome of 'wisdom' in Ugaritic literature is the superannuated El, not the 'young adult' Baal; and the 'wise men' of the Bible are typically 'elders' (*z'qēnîm*).

[15] ILNM is to be understood as a variant orthography of ILNYM which occurs in formulaic parallelism with RPUM in the so-called 'Rephaim-texts' (1.20–22) as well as in *Baal-Mot* (1.6:VI:45 f.). This datum must be the point of departure for determining the meaning of the otherwise unknown GPRM, here in B-word parallelism replacing RPUM. Thus viewed, the only possible recourse is a Ug. cognate of Ar. *ġafr* and *ġufrat*, basically 'cavity' – thus employed immediately in the continuation of line 11 – denoting 'those-of-the-pits', i.e., chthonic gods (cp. *ḫrt. ilm. arṣ* "the pits of the earth-gods" in col. III below). For further discussion, cf. UF 16:122 f.

[16] For this usage of LB(B) in BHeb, cf. 1 Sam. 13:14; 14:7; Ps. 20:5, and corresponding to Akk. *ki*(*ma*) *libbi* (CAD, vol. L, 171 f.). – A similar usage of Ug. LB may be found in a recently published letter of the king to his mother from Ras Ibn-Hani (RIH 78/12; cf. D. Pardee, *AfO* 34 (1984): 221 ff., and lit. *ibid.*): *wlb. bnk. lyšqp. ul'nk* "And it is the wish of your son that your maligners be struck down (√*šqp*)", in what is conceivably a reflex of one of the 'filial duties' of *Aqht* (*ṯbq. lḫt. niṣḥ.*, etc.). (For the possibility of reading *ul'nk* [√*l'n*; cf. Ar.] cf. Lipiński, OLP 12 [1981]: 113 and Pardee, *loc. cit.*, 223).

[17] √*ṯny*, lit., 'repeat' (denom. of *ṯn* 'two'), equivalent in its usage here to MHeb √*šnh* (whence 'Mishna') and JAram √*tny* (Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1605 f., 1681). This usage of Ug. √*ṯny* may recur elsewhere: in 1.3:III:20–22 the semantic values 'inform' // 'instruct' for the word-pair *rgm* // *ṯny* seem more appropriate than 'speak' // 'repeat'. Render accordingly: "A word have I to inform thee / An utterance (by which) to instruct thee". In the O.T., cp. Deut. 6:7, where *wšnntm* (if not an error for **wšntm*) may reflect an alloform √*šnn* 'repeat' used in the sense of 'teach, instruct'.

realm of the dead is conceived as an autonomous sphere with its own laws; and it is outside the jurisdiction of the supernal deities.

The cultural and anthropological background for this mortuary activity was discussed above in connection with the relevant references in 1.17:VI.[18] The congruency of text and artifact in terms of anthropological detail and geographical context is nothing short of amazing and defies coincidence.[19] There can, and should be, no doubt but that such skulls were well-known to the Bronze Age composer(s) of *Aqht* as well as the respective audiences, and that they inspired the present description. An LB poet(ess) residing in Ugaritic (or 'Ashtaroth'!), having decided to compose an epic poem based on the 'history' of his/her ancestors believed by 'sacred tradition' to have resided in the Central Jordan Valley and on the Golan Heights, would understandably, and with considerable relish, co-opt such relics for his/her story, thereby imparting to it the flavour of antiquity and the stamp of authenticity. The PPNB skulls would thus be identified with the heroes of Raphaite tradition, providing a sort of 'archaeological verification' for the claims of that tradition.

§ *1.19:I:11^{b}–14^{a}; 17^{b}*

I. Despite its brevity, this text contains perhaps the most explicit and detailed description of the Netherworld to be found anywhere in Northwest Semitic literature. It speaks of (1) darkness;[20] (2) a walled

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[18] Cf. above, pp. 307 ff. and the literature cited *ibid.*, especially the discussion in *Paléorient* 9/2.

[19] Writing of the skulls discovered at Beisamun in the (lower) Ḥuleh Valley, Ferenbach and Lechevallier observed (*Paléorient* 1/2:223 f.): « la netteté des bordes des alvéoles ... montrent comme pour les crânes ... de Tell Ramad [Golan-Hermon region] que les dents avaient toutes été enlevées *post mortem*. Après le décharnement du squelette, les néolithiques devaient prendre le crâne, arracher les dents, puis fabriquer le masque. » It will be noted that the assumed sequence of 'extraction' followed by 'plastering' is precisely that of our text. The sole discrepancy is that our text assumes that the body is still intact (thus suggesting that the description is based on inferences from the skull relics rather than on a still viable mortuary practice). How the Bronze Age inhabitants of the region were able to determine from an examination of the skulls that the teeth had been extracted *post-mortem* is a tantalizing question. The phenomenon escaped the notice of K. Kenyon, and was unknown to her as late as 1970 (ADAJ 16:5 – 30).

[20] *kmr(m)*; Syr. *kmīr(a)*, Heb. **kamrîr* (Job 3:5; Lam. 5:10). The root *k.m.r.* may also underlie Akk. (OB) *kumrum* = OAram. (Nerab) *kmr'* = O.T. *komer*, denoting a type of 'priest', so-called perhaps because of the traditionally dark vestments worn by such personnel. Cf. also Deut. 32:24, where we should probably emend to read: *qṭb. ⟨k⟩mr(y)r(y)* = 'black (= Bubonic) plague' (cf. for discussion UF 16:127, n. 72 and ZAW 99 (1987): 391 – 404).

enclosure;[21] (3) a gateway tower;[22] (4) a giant viper as sentry[23] wielding a sceptre (or staff),[24] and (5) a watch-dog alongside, the Canaanite precursor of the Roman Cerberus.[25] The description, although unique, is in harmony with the many allusions to the Netherworld scattered throughout Ugarit literature, and has interesting, at times striking parallels in both Akkadian and Hebrew (O.T.) literatures as well.

(1) The references to a 'wall', a 'tower', and a sentry are fully consistent with, and reflect the view of, the Netherworld as a QRT, usually rendered 'city' but more precisely denoting a fortified enclosure of human habitation, such as an 'acropolis'. The name of this 'city', as we learn from the *Baal-Mot* epic (1.4:VIII:10 – 12) is HMRY, the etymology of which suggests a 'wet-hole'.[26]

The view of the Netherworld as a fortified city finds expression in the mythological residences of two well-known Netherworld deities, RŠP/Resheph and ḤRN/Horon respectively. RŠP, the 'grim reaper' who carries off King Krt's fifth wife (1.14:I:18 f.), resides in a special 'district' (*bbt* = Akk. *babtu*) of HMRY (1.100:31), while ḤRN, invoked at the end of the same epic by the disillusioned king against his own son, resides in a MṢD (Heb. *m^{e}ṣad*), approximately 'citadel', inside the city (1.100:58).

(2) The reference to the viper as sentry of HMRY reflects the view of the serpent as a chthonic symbol par excellence, the quintessential

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[21] *gdrt*; Heb. *gader*, Ar. *ğadr* "stone-wall (enclosure)". Cf. also Heb. *god^{e}rîm* 'stone-wall masons', a skilled-labour group (2 Kgs. 12:13; 22:6); the synonymous (or metonymous) parallelism of *gdrt* and *mbṣr* in Ps. 89:41; and the Netherworld connotations of $\sqrt{gdr}$ in Lam. 3:7.

[22] *ṣrḥ*; Ar. *ṣarḥ* 'lofy building'; Heb. *ṣ^{e}ri^{a}ḥ* (Ju. 9:46, 49; LXX; οχύρωμα).

[23] *'ap'*: Heb. *'ep'e(ḥ)*, Ar. *'af'ā^{y}* first suggested (tentatively) by Aistleitner (MyKT; WUS), followed by TO and others, but without coherent sense until UF 8:169 ff.

[24] Ug. *ḫṭ* (= Akk. *ḫaṭṭu*). The ḪṬ as a symbol of regal authority is attested in 1.6:VI:28 f., where Mot's kingship is referenced in terms of KSU 'throne'. ḪṬ corresponds to Phoen.-Heb. *ḥṭr* – cf. the idiomatic reflex of 1.6:VI:28 f. in the Byblian *Aḥiram* inscription – *šbṭ* (cf. Ps. 45:7), and Ug.-Heb. *mṭ* (Ps. 110:2). Functionally, the viper-sentry corresponds to *Pētu*, the guardian ($\sqrt{nṣr}$) of the 'Great Door' (k á . g a l) of the Netherworld city (*irkalla*/e r i . g a l) in Sum.-Akk. tradition (cf. J. Bottéro, ZA 73 [1983]: 171 ff.) The essence of the job is to ensure that all the traffic is 'one-way' only. The presumably fearsome canine companion will have been utilized to apprehend anyone trying to escape. Not for nought is this 'the Land-of-No-Return'!

[25] A historical connection is all the more likely in view of the dog-snake collocation which we find in the following description of Cerberus: "ianitor aulae (immanis) Cerberus quamvis furiale centum muniant angues caput eius" (Horace, *Odes* III, 11,16; cf. also Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 417 – 19).

[26] Cp. Heb.-Ug. *mhmrt* (1.5:I:7), in synonymous parallelism with *npš* 'gullet'. For further discussion, cf. MLD, 74 ff.

embodiment of Death and the Netherworld, and its most striking image, in Ugaritic as well as in ancient Near Eastern literatures generally.[27]

Mot, the god-of-Death in Ugaritic, is mostly conceived of as an ophidic deity. This is particularly true of the *Baal-Mot* epic, one of the three major poems preserved reasonably well.[28] Of the several reflexes of this ophidic characterization, we may note the phrase *ṯbrn. qnḥ*, used to describe the manner in which Mot devours his victims, be they mortal or divine (1.4:VIII:19//1.6:II:23). The phrase is to be rendered: "the crunch (or 'breach') of his fang(s)", the word QN deriving from √*qny* 'be hooked'.[29]

Another reflex of this characterization of Death is the imagery used to describe the manner in which Baal descends to the Netherworld: Mot swallows the storm-god as if he were no bigger than an olive-pit (*ḫrr. zt*): "He sets one lip to Earth // A(nother) lip [he directs?] to the sky // A (forked) tongue to the stars".[30] The imagery is that of 1.83:5 where the ophidic (TNN) nature of the subject is beyond question: *lšnm. tlḫk. šmm* "the forked-tongue licks the sky".

Allied with Yamm and Mot, if not actually identical with the latter, is the seven-headed LTN (< √*lwy* 'curl about') responsible for inflicting a fatal snake-bite on Baal.[31] This precursor of the Greek Hydra known from the Bible as 'Leviathan' is designated *bṯn. brḥ // bṯn. ʿqltn* (1.5:I:1 f.), reproduced virtually verbatim in Isa. 27:1, "... Leviathan, the fleeing (or fleet) serpent ... the twisting serpent". LTN's association with both the (primordial) Sea and Death finds its explanation in the simple fact that the main entrance to Hades, normally utilized by the Sun god(dess) rather than by mortals (cf. however Jon. 2:3 ff.), is at the bottom of the (western) Sea or Ocean.[32] This geographical proximity allows the Netherworld monsters to swim at their leisure in the Sea, and to join forces in battle against the supernal deities, as in *Enuma Elish* and (implicitly) *Baal-Mot*.

The more recently published 1.100 establishes the chthonic nature of the deity ḤRN, *inter alia* by virtue of his association with snakes. The deceased mare PḪLT, fatally bitten by a snake (*mnt. nšk. nḥš* "My limb a snake did bite") descends to the 'House of Fate' (*bt. mnt*) and

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[27] Cf. M. Tsevat, EI 12 (1975): 42; *idem*, UF 11 (1979): 770 f., drawing attention to W. Baudissen's statement (*Adonis und Esmun* [1911]: 342): "Die Schlange kann den Gott bezeichnen als den aus der Unterwelt kommenden; denn sie ist das chthonische Tier, weil sie in der Erde zu Hause scheint".

[28] Cf. my MLD, *passim*.

[29] *Ibid.*, 82 f.

[30] *Ibid.*, 107 ff.

[31] 1.5:I:1 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, 87 ff.

[32] Cf. *ibid.*, 127 f.; Bottéro, *loc. cit.*, 154 f.

offers herself to ḤRN (as his mistress) if the latter will agree to pay the 'coital price' (*mhr // itnn*). The anticipated form of payment is an unspecified quantity of *nḫšm* (// *bn. bṯnm*) [ll. 73 ff.]: *tn. km.* [*mhry.*] *nḫšm. yḥr⟨n⟩ // tn. km. mhry // wbn. bṯn. itnny.*

A similar, if less coherent, picture emerges from Akkadian literature. Thus we find that in *Enuma Elish* (III, 24) the goddess of the watery Chaos, Tiamat (Ug.-Heb. *thm(t)*) allies herself with 'serpent-monsters' (*mušmaḫḫe*), a theme possibly represented graphically on a decorated artifact discovered at Ain-Samiya in Palestine.[33] Elsewhere, in the so-called 'Vision of the Netherworld',[34] the 'god-of-death' (^{d}mu-u-t-[u]) is described as having "the head of a serpent-dragon" (*qaqqad mušḫušši*).

The evidence on this subject provided by the Hebrew Bible is more extensive – if mostly inferential – than can be encompassed by this discussion. Suffice it to observe that allusions such as we find in Isa. 5:14, Am. 9:3, Hab. 2:5, and Prov. 27:20 are to be seen as reflexes of a view of the Netherworld as ruled by a serpent-deity with a voracious appetite and an infinitely elastic mouth.[35] Nor may we overlook the presence of the 'wily snake' in the Garden of Eden – the Garden of the Gods (Ez. 28:13)! – cast in the rôle of 'antagonist' to the Demiurgos YHWH whose work of Creation he would foil. His largely successful efforts result, *inter alia*, in Man become both 'plentiful' and mortal, thus providing himself and fellow chthonics with a near-endless supply of food.

II. The text at hand may claim yet another distinction: the 'density' of its *hap. leg.* – including the only *bona fide* example of the preposition MN 'from'[36] – is probably unparalleled in Ugaritic literature.[37] Yet it is not merely the quantity of singly-attested words which commands our attention, but rather the fact that virtually each and every one of these *hap. leg.* has a 'normative' Ugaritic counterpart abundant in the poetry generally and in *Aqht* particularly.[38]

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[33] Cf. IEJ 21 (1971): 78–85; 22 (1972): 47–49. But some scholars (notably Lambert) have questioned this identification by Yadin.

[34] ANET^{3}, 109 f.; ZA 43:1 ff.

[35] Cf. 1.5:I:14–15 (Mot speaking): "My 'soul' is that of a wild-lion (*lbim. thw*)// Lo, the appetite of a whale in the sea".

[36] Cf. Excursus below.

[37] If we exclude the PN Aqht and count the duplicated $\sqrt{kmr}$ as a single occurrence, then the text contains thirteen lexemes of which seven are *hap. leg.* and an eighth ($\sqrt{gpr}$) which occurs just before in the same text-line (but in a different prosodic unit and in a slightly different sense) and nowhere else; in effect, eight of the thirteen lexemes are *hap. leg.*

[38] The 'alliteration hypothesis' to which I frequently resort to explain such cases of *hap. leg.* (cf. UF 11:537 ff.; JNSL 8:58 ff.) can be utilized to explain a single *hap. leg.*

1. the prep. MN 'from': normative Ugaritic *b/l(m/n)*. Examples are legion.

2. GPR, 'pit': elsewhere ḤR(T). Cf. especially the formulaic expression *ḫrt. ilm. arṣ*, "the (grave-)pits of the chthonic deities" occurring once in *Baal-Mot* and thrice in *Aqht* (1.19:III:6;20 f.;34 f.), always with reference to interment. The use of the same root *g.p.r* as a designation of the chthonic deities in line 11[a] immediately preceding the section at hand is similarly unique in Ugaritic literature, as noted above.

3. ŠR, < √*š(w)r*, 'see, behold' (cf. Num. 23:9), here employed as an A-word (!) synonym in parallelism with *y'n* (√*'(y)n*) instead of the regularly used √*phy*. Cp. *phy*// √*'(y)n* in 1.3:I:14 f., 1.4:II:12 f.; √*phy* alone, but seven times in succession, in 1.6:V:12 ff.; and in *Aqht* itself, 1.17:V:9 (√*phy* // √*'(y)n*); and √*phy* alone in 1.19:I:29; II:13,19,27.

4. KMR(M), 'darkness': elsewhere (though not with sufficient frequency to establish normativity) √*ẓl(m)*.[39] Cf. 1.4:II:26 f.;[40] 1.4:VII:55;[41] 1.161:1.[42]

5. AP', 'viper', elsewhere and normally, BṮN, including the referencing of mythological figures connected with the Netherworld (1.5:I:1 ff.; 1.100:74, the latter of special interest and significance here, since the prevalent word for 'snake' in this text is NḤŠ (as in Heb.), and BṮN occurs alongside such 'neologisms' as ŠMRR (*mr(r)* = 'bitterness; venom') and 'QŠR (*qšr* = 'scaly' [cf. Ar.]), to the exclusion of AP' which might well have served in lieu).

6. GDRT, '(stone-)wall': elsewhere, and regularly, ḤMT (plu. ḤMYT), specifically with reference to city fortifications (1.14:II:22// IV:4; 1.119:29, 36).

7. [y]ḤMṢ: < √*ḥmṣ* 'rise-up',[43] normally √*nš'* (e.g., in *Aqht*, 1.17:V:6 // 1.19:I:21); but with reference to building structures the preference is √*rmm* – 1.3:V:20 f.//1.18:I:7 – 9 (restored), in synonymous parallelism with √*nty*, and several times predicated of Baal's 'palace' (HKL) and his mountain-abode (MRYM. ṢPN) in texts 1.1 – 1.4. Note also √*rm(m)* 'exalted' used figuratively in 1.15:III:2//13.

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embedded in an otherwise 'normal' lexical context. It is however insufficient to explain a *conglomeration* of such occurrences such as we have here in 1.19:I:11 ff.

[39] Heb. *ṣl(l)*, var. *ṣlm*; Aram. *ṭll*.

[40] Cf. for discussion, MLD, 25.

[41] ẒLMT = Heb. *ṣalmaw(e)t*, Ar. *ẓalmat*: cf. *ibid.*, 67 ff.

[42] ẒLM = '(ancestral) spirits' or 'shades' (Lat. *manes*), *i.e.*, a usage with distinctly Netherworld connotations.

[43] Cf. Heb. *ḥāmēṣ* 'soured dough; bread', but literally 'risen (dough)'; cf. Eng. 'leaven'. In Ps. 71:4 *ḥômēṣ* (// *rāša'*) denotes an 'oppressor' (lit., someone 'high-and-mighty'). For further discussion, cf. UF 16:127 f.

When to these linguistic data is added the literary fact that the description of the Netherworld terminates abruptly in line 17 – in line 18 we are literally 'back at the farm' – and is not resumed anywhere in the continuation of the, admittedly incomplete, narrative, one is inclined to suppose that this unique episode, reflecting a widespread convention of ancient epic poetry,[44] originates in a poem other than *Aqht* into which it has been incorporated secondarily (with minor alterations as required by the narrative context) by the author-composer or by a later scribe-tradent; or, that it originates in a different and presumably older version of *Aqht* composed in a NWSemitic dialect other than Ugaritic and with still closer affinities to Hebrew and (especially) Aramaic.

If the latter hypothesis be correct, it is tempting to see in the text at hand a residue of a north-Canaanite/Bashanite *Vorlage* of the Ugaritic *Aqht*, composed in the (proto-Aramaic?) dialect of the area where the story is set, and the ancestral homeland of the aristocratic ruling class of LB Ugarit. The allusions to Bashanite 'Ashtaroth' and 'Edrei' in 1.108, a text reflecting ancestor-worship by LB inhabitants of Ugarit, suggests that such a scenario is not the 'pipe-dream' it may appear to be at first sight!

Excursus XII: The preposition MN in Ugaritic

The general consensus on the existence (or otherwise) of a preposition MN in Ugaritic was formulated by D. Pardee a decade ago:[1]

> "It was clearly not a part of ancient Ugaritic, since the only attestation is in a letter (prose, relatively late). Whence it was adopted belongs ... to the realm of speculation."[2]

Pardee offers two alternative explanations for the presumed *MN allegedly preserved *hap. leg.* in 2.16:11 (= UT 1015) *wum. tšmḫ. mab*, "and may Mother derive pleasure from Father" (thus UT):

(1) an internal phonological development, viz., "a nasalization of *b* + *n* with semantic specialization by adoption and expansion of one segment of the semantic range covered by *b*". But this option is immediately and significantly qualified by the statement: "There is little

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[44] The comparative literary materials include 'the descent of Inanna-Ištar'; the discourse with the dead Enkidu in *Gilg.* Tab XII; Ulysses and the dead Teirêsias (*Ody.*, XI); Orpheus and Persephone; and Aeneas in Hades. The epic theme in question may be defined as 'Report from the Netherworld'; the subject merits an independent study.

[1] Cf. already C. H. Gordon, UT, 92, n. 1; and most recently, S. Segert, BGUL, § 56.3 (but with no examples!).

[2] Cf. UF 8 (1976): 315.

Ugaritic evidence ... for the extended form *b* + *n*, and no explicit evidence that Ugaritic *m* was *m* + *n*".[3]

(2) "a straight borrowing, *presumably from a proto-Aramean dialect* ... or, conceivably, Egyptian".[4]

Yet not all scholars agree even on this single attestation. Some view MAB as a mere scribal error either for MI!D! or MAD!, "very much".[5] More recently, Pardee himself,[6] following Lipiński,[7] has taken the position that MAB is a proper-name in 2.16:11. If either of these explanations is valid, then the occurrence of MN 'from' which we allege for 1.19:I:11 is *hap. leg.* in Ugaritic literature generally (and not just the poetry). Is such an assumption justified?

The case for taking MN of 1.19:I:11 as a *bona fide* instance of the preposition 'from', attested in Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, and the Harami dialect of ESA,[8] as well as in OAram. (*Panamuwa* and *Zakur*) and (sparingly) in Phoen. (*Azitawadda*),[9] is as follows:

(1) unlike the alleged occurrence in 2.16 discussed above, where the very existence (as opposed to the interpretation) of *MN is an *inference* from a graphically ambiguous datum – i. e., it presupposes the contraction of *MN > *m-* (+ compensatory *daggeš*) analogous to O.T. Hebrew but deviating from OAram. and Phoenician practice as evidenced in the aforecited inscriptions – MN in 1.19:I:11 is clearly and unambiguously attested; and no one has ever suggested the possibility of a scribal error.

(2) in the history of Ugaritic research (now nearly six decades old), no one has ever succeeded in making proper sense of this word on the basis of alternative hypotheses and known semantic values.[10] Thus G. R. Driver (CML), though not venturing to translate either the word or its immediate context, listed the occurrence of MN in 1.19:I:11 in his Glossary apart from all other occurrences of *mn* in Ugaritic poetry; and a more recent commentator (MLC) felt compelled to take MN of 1.19:I:11 as a *relative* pronoun, no less! Accordingly, the conclusion which I drew already in my first study of the passage (UF 8:170) seems to me still valid: "It must be acknowledged that hitherto there has been

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[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* Emphasis added.

[5] Thus J. C. Greenfield, HUCA 30 (1959): 144, n. 14; *idem.* JAOS 89 (1969): 176; Blau – Loewenstamm, UF 2 (1970): 22, n. 16; Dietrich – Loretz, UF 5 (1973): 92 f.; *idem.*, UF 12 (1980): 183 f.; and the present writer, UF 16:124.

[6] Cf. *AfO* 31 (1984): 221.

[7] OLP 12 (1981): 79 ff.

[8] A. Beeston, *A Descriptive Grammar of ESA* (1956): 9, 57.

[9] Cf. Hoftijzer – Jean, DISO, 156.

[10] For details, cf. my discussion in UF 16:123 f.

no compelling reason to admit this word [MN = 'from'] into the Ugaritic lexicon. However, in the text at hand MN can have no other meaning."

I have changed my opinion in this matter only in one significant respect: rather than seeing MN as merely illustrating "the sporadic appropriation by a poet of a dialectical word for literary purposes", on the analogy of $\sqrt{dbr}$ 'speak' in 1.16:VI:31//43,[11] I am now inclined to see in MN one of several indications that the entire episode and strophic unit of which it is part originate outside the present poem of *Aqht*, either in a non-*Aqht* composition or in a version composed in a different dialect, as posited above.

ACT III – SCENE 1 (1.19:I:18 – II:11)

TEXT

[18]*pr*ʿ*. qz. yḫ.* *šblt*(.) [19]*bʿlph*	(2 : 2) 4		10
apnḳ. dnil(.) [20][m]*ṯ. rpi*	3	6	
ap[h]*n. ġzr*(.) [21][mt. hrn]*my*	3		
ytšu(.) [22][yṯb. bap. ṯ]*ġr*	3	6	
[t]*ḫt*(.) [23][adrm. dbgrn.]	3		
ỷdn(.) [24][dn. almnt]	3	6	
[y]*ṯpṯ*(.) [25][ṯpṯ. ytm]	3		9
[pht. bt]*h*(.) [26][pġt.]	[3]		
[pġt. šibt. ʿ]*n*(.) [27][wṯkmt. mym]	(2 : 2) 4		
[ḥspt. [27bis] lšʿr. ṭl]	[3]	[6]	
[wydʿt] [28]*hlk.* [kbkbm]	[3]		
[bn]*šn*(.) [29]ʿ*nh. wtphn*	3		
[šʿr](.) [30]*bgrn. yḫrb*	3		
[gbʿl] (.) [31]*yġly*	2	8	
yḫsp. ib. [rišh]	3		
[32]ʿ*l. bt. abh. nšrm. trḫ*[p]*n*	4	7	
[33]*ybṣr. ḫbl. diym*	3		

[11] Cf. UF 16:124, and already UF 8:171.

[34]*tbky. pġt. bm. lb*		4	
[35]*tdmʿ. bm. kbd*		3	7
[36]*tmzʿ. kst. dnil. mt*(.) [37]*rpi*		4	
al⟨l⟩. ġzr. mt. hrnmy		3	7
[38]*apnk. dnil. mt*(.) [39]*rpi*		3	
yṣly. ʿrpt. b[40]*ḥm*		3	6
un. yr	1	4	
ʿrpt(.) [41]*tmṯr. bqẓ*	3		
ṯl. yṯll(.) [42]*lġnbm*		3	
šbʿ. šnt(.) [43]*yṣrk. bʿl*		4	
ṯmn. rkb(.) [44]*ʿrpt*		3	7
			13
bl. ṯl. bl(.) *rbb̊*		2	
[45]*bl. šrʿ. thmtm*		2	6
bl(.) [46]*ṯbn. ql. bʿl*		2	
ktmzʿ(.) [47]*kst. dnil. mt. rpi*		4	
[48]*all. ġzr. m*[t] *ḥr̊*[nmy]		3	7
			11
[49]*gm. l̊bt̊* [h. dnil. kyṣḥ]		4	

(II)

[1]*šmʿ. pġt. ṯkmt*[.] *m̊ẙ*		4	
[2]*ḥspt. lšʿr. ṯl*		3	7
yd[ʿt] (.) [3]*hlk. kbkbm*		3	10
mdl. ʿr(.) [4]*ṣmd. pḥl*	(2 : 2)	4	
št. gpny(.) *dt*(.) *kš̊p̊*		3	7
[5]*dt. yrq. nqbny*		2	
tš[mʿ] (.) [6]*pġt. ṯkmt. my*		4	
ḥspt. l̊ [šʿ]*r̊. ṯl*		3	7
			10
[7]*yd̊t. hlk. kbkbm*		3	
[8]*bkm. tmdln. ʿr*		3	
[9]*bkm. tṣmd. pḥl*		3	6

bkm(.) [10]*tšu. abh* 3
tštnn. l[b]*mt*(.) *ʿr* 2 5
[11]*lysmsm*⟨*t*⟩*. bmt. pḥl* 2 7

Synopsis

The hard-working daughter informs her father of ominous signs which she has observed: the land is dry and a flock of carniverous birds is flying overhead. Dan'el petitions the heavens, and an oracular response informs him of impending drought. A shocked Dan'el bids his daughter prepare a mule for a tour-of-inspection in the fields.

General Comments

The scene comprises four narrative sequences:

(a) *I:18–29*^{a}: These lines provide the background, temporal as well as spatial, for the entire scene. The time is early spring: the corn is still green in the husk (*ǵlp*) and the air is fresh with the scent of summer-fruit (*qṣ*) blossoms beginning (*pr*ʿ) to bud (√*ḥyy*).[1] The patriarchal elder Dan'el goes routinely about his (public) business, as does daughter Pughat, here presented for the first time.[2]

(b) *I:29*^{b}*–40*^{a}: These lines describe phase one of the dramatic action. While performing her daily chores in and around the house – epitomized by the drawing and transporting of fresh-water – Pughat discerns strange and ominous signs. The wool-fleece (**šʿr*) laid-out the previous night to collect the dewfall is dry (*ḫrb*);[3] the fruit-blossoms (*ib*) on the vine and bough hang limply (√*ǵly*; √*ḫsp*[4]) for want of

[1] For this reading, see above, 'Textual and Epigraphic', p. 220.

[2] Wife DNTY is conspicuous by her absence! In fact, she will not make another appearance in the (extant) story. Apparently the Canaanite story-teller found it difficult to handle three-way dialogue and interaction (Ugaritic dialogue is always a one-on-one situation). Thus, once Pughat comes on the scene, there is no longer place for her mother. Of course, one cannot exclude the possibility that in the no-longer extant continuation of the story DNTY's rôle was resumed following a temporary absence of Pughat.

[3] Cf. Excursus below (§ 1).

[4] √*ḫsp*, cognate with Ar. √*ḫsf* 'sink, fall-in (a roof)', is probably to be restored in col. II:32 below. √*ǵly* recurs in 1.2:I:23, where the intimidated gods are described as 'lowering their heads to the top of their knees', and below, in 1.19:III:54 (describing a felled tree). Suggestions (*e.g.*, de Moor, AOAT 16:68) to identify this root elsewhere are unconvincing. Thus, in 1.16:VI:32//45 (*Krt*), the word (*b*)*ǴLT* is part of a metaphor denoting 'impotence' or 'incompetence', and should be understood in terms of Ar. *ǵull/aǵlāl* 'shackles, fetters', with a possible double-entendre based on ESA ǴLYT

evening moisture; and, not least, a flock of carniverous birds (*nšrm*) circles the house overhead. Fighting back her tears – lit., 'crying in her heart//liver" – the lass rushes to inform her father.

(c) *I:40^{b}–46^{a}*: Dramatic phase two finds an alarmed Dan'el heatedly (*bḥm*)[5] entreating (√*ṣly*)[6] the clouds. The entreaty, which takes the form of a 'leading question', is answered with a bone-chilling oracle-of-doom,[7] the farmer's nightmare: drought! But this is no ordinary drought. For an epic 'seven years' neither dew (*ṭl*) nor rain (*rbb*) will fall; the wells, deriving their water from the subterranean deeps (*thmt*), will dry-up, as will the river-beds.[8]

(d) *I:46^{b}–II:11*: These lines portray a frightened Dan'el, his knees trembling so badly that his garment (*kst*) flutters (√*mzʿ*)[9], trying valiantly to keep a calm appearance (so as not to upset his daughter standing nearby whom he presumes not to have been privy to the oracle; she, for her part, 'cries inwardly' so as not to frighten her emotional father...).[10] He bids her outfit (√*mdl*[11] the mule (*pḫl//ʿr*) with the silver-

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'injustice'. The phrase *šqlt. bǵlt. ydk* is thus to be rendered, "You let your hand(s) be shackled" (lit., 'fall into fetters'). As for the occurrence of √*ǵly* alleged for 1.6:V:17 (*Baal-Mot*), the correct reading (*pace* CTA and KTU) is probably *šlḫ*[t], < √*šlḫ* (Ar. *salaḫa*) 'flay'; cf. my discussion in MLD, 183 f.

[5] The word BḤM is generally understood as referring to the weather, and is taken in conjunction with the following word (or particle) UN, allegedly related to Ar. *'an* '(arrival of) time', to mean, "in the heat of the season". However, if the heat is merely seasonal, what is all the fuss about? Even an exceptionally hot summer would hardly have prompted so emotional a reaction and a special emergency prayer as is here described. For someone residing in the Central Jordan Valley, hot summers are a fact of life! Furthermore, it is not the heat per se that is the object of concern, but rather the unusual dryness, the absence of humidity, in an area where high humidity is also a fact of life owing to the proximity of the Sea of Galilee. Had the poet intended to have Dan'el define the substance of the entreaty at this point, (s)he would have written/stated: **yṣly. 'rpt. bḤRB* "he entreats the clouds concerning the dryness". – In support of our interpretation of BḤM as referring to Dan'el's emotional state, cf. Ar. *aḥimma* 'anxiously, passionately' (Lane, AEL I, 635 ff. [§ 8]); Heb. √*ḥm(m)* and its semantic equivalent √*ḥrḥ* to denote 'anger' (*ḥēmāh*; *ḥārôn*); and, not least, Ug. √*ḥm(m)* used to denote the heat of (sexual) passion (1.17:I:41 f.; 1.23:51,56). – The interpretation here proposed supersedes that of RB 89:422.

[6] Cf. Excursus below (§ 3).

[7] Cf. *ibid.* (§§ 3, 5).

[8] Cf. *ibid.* (§§ 7, 8).

[9] Cf. *ibid.* (§ 2).

[10] On the level of literary analysis, Dan'el's brave exterior and trembling knees are an expression in the sphere of character-portrayal of the incisive socio-cultural critique of Raphaite society that is taking place in *Aqht* in the thematic sphere. Cf. discussion immediately below.

[11] Ug. √*mdl*, here and in 1.4:IV:4 f. (*Baal-Mot*) occurring in fixed and synonymous

studded saddle (*gpn*)[12] and the gold-buckled harness (*nqbn*) normally reserved for special and festive occasions. In this way he wishes to dispel the pall of anxiety and gloom which has suddenly descended upon his life, and which now covers the normally cheerful face of his daughter, whom he invites to accompany him on the tour-of-inspection in the fields (thus relieving her for a few hours of her tedious household chores). Pughat dutifully complies with her father's bidding; but the deafening silence (*bkm*)[13] which accompanies her actions bespeaks a heart full of apprehension and foreboding.

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parallelism with √*ṣmd* (= Ar. *ḍamada* 'bind (a wound)'; Akk. *ṣamādu* [CAD, S, 89 ff.; AHw, 1080] 'harness; bandage, tie') was shown by Greenfield (*Biblica* 45 [1964): 527–34) to be cognate with Aram.-Syr. and MHeb √*lmd* (II) 'tie, bind together', citing (i. a.) a Syriac poem by Bar-Hebraeus in which √*lmd* and √*ṣmd* occur, as in Ugaritic, in synonymous parallelism but in reversed sequence. A BHeb cognate √*lmd* II was earlier suggested by M. Goshen-Gottstein (*Biblica* (41 (1960):64–66), citing Jer. 3:17 and Hos. 10:11. – Another case of Ug. *mdl* (1.5:V:7), generally considered homonymous, may be understood similarly as referring to Baal's 'riding-gear' which he uses to 'ride the clouds' (√*rkb* *'rpt*), the clouds equated metaphorically with riding animals (*'r//pḫl*). For further discussion, cf. my note in UF 16:133 f., to which I would now add that √*mdl* is probably to be restored in 1.20:II:3–4 (*Rephaim*), in synonymous parallelism with √*'sr* and √*ṣmd* (cf. also Excursus XIX below): *asr. sswm / tṣMD. Dg*[gM] [tMDLn] *⁴t'Ln. Lmrkbthm* "(The *rpum*) tie the horses, fasten the wea[pons], [They harness] (and) mount their chariots". (For Ug. **dggm* 'weapons', cf. Ar. *dağğağa* 'outfit with weapons'; *mudağğiğa* 'fully-armed' [Hava, *op. cit.*, 197]. – The letters capitalized in the transcription are to draw attention to the suitability of the restoration in terms of alliterative compatibility.

[12] Like MDL // ṢMD, GPN and NQBN are a formulaic 'word-pair' (cf. 1.4:IV:4 ff.). Both terms are to be understood with reference to the 'saddle'. NQBN (< √*nqb* 'pierce, perforate') denotes the 'buckles' attached to the leather straps fastened around the animal's belly to secure the saddle on top. The GPN is the 'saddle-seat' proper. The word derives from √*g(w)p* 'be hollow, concave' (cf. Arabic), and is so-called because it is placed on the concave 'slope' or 'hollow' of the animal's back. Another reflex of this root in Ugaritic is GPT (*ġr*), 'slopes (of the mountain)' occurring in parallelism with Y'RM 'forests' (1.4:VII:36 f.) and corresponding to O.T. *gappê m'r-omîm* 'slopes of the heights', or 'lofty slopes' (Prov. 9:3), the site of the acropolis (*qrt*). Confirmation of this interpretation of GPN was provided more than a half-century ago by the Talmudic philologist J. N. Epstein (*Tarbiẓ* 5 (1934–35):83) who argued that the Ugaritic term was cognate with JAram. *kapnîta* and Syria. *kaptā* (< √*kp(p)* 'be hollow' > *kap* 'hollow (of the hand); palm; scale-balance'; Akk. *kippatu* 'loop, hoop' etc.). The former is synonymous with MHeb. *s'noqeret* (TB B.Q. 28[a]) 'donkey-saddle' (cf. RASHI, ad. loc.); the latter – in the expression *kaptā gamlayatā* – corresponds to MHeb (*Kēlim*, ch. 23, § 2) *'ābiṭ* (*šellaggāmāl*) = 'sella (camelina)'. Note that the etymon of *'abiṭ* (√*'bṭ*) is semantically identical with √*g(w)p* and *kp(p)*, denoting 'curvature' (cf. *Joel* 2:7). – For further discussion, cf. UF 16:134 f.

[13] We take BKM as a cognate with Ar. *bakima* 'be dumb, silent, mute' (cf. Blachère, et al., *Dictionnaire*, vol. II (1970): 776 f.; Hava, *op. cit.*, 43). This interpretation is

§ 1.19:I:18^{b}–29

1. Determining the time-setting of the scene as that of early spring – roughly mid-April – has important consequences for understanding it as a whole. At this time of year – notorious for its fickle weather and sciroccos – one neither expects nor desires winter-type rainfall in the Central Jordan Valley. One does expect, and count on, the odd shower and, especially, relatively abundant dewfall – the product of warm days and cool nights around the Sea of Galilee – which is vital for the ripening of the wheat and the thriving of the summer-fruit.[14] More than anything elsewhere, it is the absence of dewfall that first surprises and then upsets Pughat and her father.

2. The description of Dan'el's activity as 'judge' duplicates that of 1.17:V:4–8. In both cases we are dealing with stylized language – judges, after all, do not adjudicate only widows and orphans! – which is not to be taken at face-value. Normally, this stylized language is but a metaphor denoting the administration and ideal of social 'justice' in which rich and poor, the weak and the mighty are equal before the law. As such it tends to become a criterion for evaluating political leadership generally and kingship in particular, the latter in his capacity as 'supreme judge' and court of last appeal.[15]

This is not its use however here in *Aqht*. Dan'el is not a king, and his political status is that of *unus* (doubtfully *primus*) *inter pares*. He is one of the 'city elders', not necessarily (though conceivably) the most exalted one among them. In addition, there is nothing in the narrative,

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preferable to the only genuine alternative (*pace* K. Aartun, *BiOr* 24 [1967]:288 f.) viz., √*bky*, 'cry'. For, as we have seen, lines 34 f. emphasize Pughat's self-control as she cries 'inwardly'. It hardly seems likely that some twenty-five lines later Pughat has lost this quality, now giving full vent to her emotions at the very moment when her trembling father is doing his best to show a brave countenance and relieve the tension. Pughat's silence, to be sure, is qualitatively different from that of her obedient mother in 1.17:V. Pughat's is a forced tight-lipped silence holding in check a flood of choked tears threatening to burst forth like a ruptured dam at the slightest articulation. – For further discussion, cf. UF 16:135–37.

[14] Cf. Hos. 14:6, where the 'flowering' (√*prḥ*) of the rose/lily is presumed to depend on the dew.

[15] The formula is of course well-known from the Hebrew Bible, where it serves as a standard of social justice. It is found already in the epilogue of the Codex Hammurabi, where it serves as a standard of successful kingship. In Ugaritic literature it is attested, outside of *Aqht* in the poem of *Krt*, as part of a 'critique' levelled by a mutinous son against his ailing father who has neglected his royal duties (1.6:VI:44–50): "You let your hands be shackled / You do not adjudicate the case of the widow / You do not judge the case of the persecuted (lit., 'he-who-is-short-of-breadth) / You do not banish those who prey (?) on the poor / You do not feed the orphan who appears before you / (Or) the widow who is (begging?) behind your back".

either here or in 1.17:V, which warrants adjudication – e.g., the apprehension of Aqht's murderer, the Sutean Yṭpn, or a civil dispute involving property or goods.

The poet's use of this stylized and formulaic language is intended as a literary conceit whose purpose is twofold:

(a) to portray Dan'el as a man-of-leisure going about his (public) business calmly and routinely, totally unaware either of the fate which has befallen his son or its 'cosmic' repercussions. This is the quiet before the storm, the build-up of dramatic tension; for the audience knows that Dan'el is now living his last peaceful moments.[16]

(b) it is a case of art imitating life, of literary 'technique' as part of the philosophical 'message'. The literary conceit reflects the affected life-style and culture of Dan'el and the society he represents. Dan'el's rôle and title of 'judge' are as empty of content as the stereotyped warrior-titles which he and his fellow Raphaites use in signing their names. Dan'el neither 'fights' nor 'judges', though he goes through the motions of the latter if not the former. He and his fellow ADRM are more 'show' than action, more 'motion' than movement, more 'name' than substance. This is a basically impotent society which conceals its weakness beneath a façade of bravado and blind devotion to a violent goddess from whom it derives vicarious pleasure. Anat's atrocities are a projection of collective Raphaite fantasies.

In this as in other respects, Dan'el is the antithesis of his daughter Pughat. She too is described in stylized language – her chores are not restricted to drawing and carrying water – as going about her business as usual. But her formulaic epithets are tailored to her character; they reflect and imply real work, from dawn to dusk and beyond in the course of which she discovers that something is wrong. Pughat's activity, unlike Dan'el's, is part of the narrative sequence, and vital to the advancement of the plot. The men of the story are now at leisure (as they await the harvest): Dan'el is 'in town' and Aqht (purportedly) is enjoying a hunting-trip away from home. But Pughat's job is full-time, 365 days a year. No trips or idle chit-chat for her. In *Aqht* it is the men who gossip and the women who work.

This social ethos and 'division of labour' explains why it is the adolescent farm-girl Pughat who volunteers to redeem her brother's blood without it seeming unnatural either to her or to her acquiescent father, a ĠZR content to confer his blessing and swear an oath by his

[16] A similar use of abrupt change of circumstances to heighten dramatic effect can be seen also in the *Baal-Mot* epic. In 1.4:VII:29ff. Baal is happily thundering in the heavens as he relishes the completion of his palace. In lines 35ff. he is suddenly under attack, and in lines 42ff. he is contemplating his death following a fatal snake-bite (line 41) inflicted on him by Mot's legions. Cf. my discussion in MLD, 58ff.

life, but not to risk it. He fancies himself a 'man-of-Baal', when in fact he is an effete 'man-of-El'. This literary 'distortion' so skillfully executed by the poet is thus foreshadowed in the 'true-to-life' portrayal of Dan'el and his daughter here in 1.19:I:18 ff.

§ 1.19:I:29^b–40^a

With her precocity of mind and strength of character, Pughat dominates this scene from the moment of her appearance. It is she – and not her 'experienced' father – who makes the connection between the extreme dryness of the land and air – in themselves not unusual at this time of year – and the ominous circling of carniverous birds overhead.

Pughat's precocity is matched by an inner fortitude which enables her to 'cry inwardly.' How strikingly this mastery of emotions contrasts with the paralysis of the cupidinous Anat in 1.17:VI, or with the reaction of her own 'heroic' father who, when apprised of the situation by his daughter, is so overcome by fright that he cannot keep his knees from shaking as he heatedly (*bḥm*) – the poet's words! – entreats the clouds.

Thus the prevalent scholarly interpretation of TMZ^c. KST as denoting the act of rending Dan'el's garment by his daughter is to be rejected, *inter alia* – cf. Excursus below – as entirely out of character for the young heroine. She is nothing like the impulsive, hysterical female which such action presupposes and which Raphaite cultural stereotype presumes.

§ 1.19:I:40–46^a

1. This section defies comprehension unless one assumes that Dan'el's own words of prayer are confined to lines 40^b–42^a, the remainder constituting the oracular response by means of a disembodied voice – hence the absence of a formal introduction for the speaker? – emanating from the clouds. The alternative entails not only philological difficulty – e.g., taking YṢRK as a form of an unknown, and inherently improbably √*ṣrk* 'fail'[17] – but also the assumption, inherently absurd, that Dan'el is here depicted as pronouncing a seven-year curse on his land; in effect, cutting off his nose to spite his face!

2. Dan'el's entreaty is directed to someone, or something, designated YR, residing in, or above, the clouds, (*ʿrpt*). The Ug. YR is almost certainly related etymologically to Heb. *Yore(h)*, the name given to the first phase of the autumnal-winter rainfall. Nor can its connection with the clouds, vouchsafed by the context, be separated from Baal's epithet

[17] Cf. Excursus below (§ 5).

as RKB ʿRPT, 'Rider-of-the-Clouds'. Yet Dan'el does not cite Baal by name; nor is the response given by Baal, but rather by a voice speaking in his name. How is this to be understood?

The answer lies in the time of year. The winter season is over, and with it Baal's rain-making activity. Mythopeically speaking, Baal is preparing himself for his annual summer 'vacation' (or 'incarceration') as the 'guest' (or 'prisoner') of Mot in the Netherworld, the 'Elysian Fields' (*arṣ. dbr*) to be exact.[18] The modest, yet horticulturally crucial precipitation of spring and summer – primarily in the form of dewfall – is entrusted to Baal's daughters, 'Dewy', (*ṭly*), 'Fatty', (*pdry*)[19], and 'Earthy' (*arṣy*). It stands to reason that they cannot be trusted to act on their own. It may therefore be surmised that the YR is the celestial agent responsible for regulating celestial precipitation during the essentially dry summer-season, when Baal is out-of-action.

Excursus XIII: Philological Notes

§ 1. Pughat's Epithets

I

Pughat, like Dan'el, is usually presented together with her formulaic epithets. The full complement of epithets is generally assumed to consist of three elements, preserved in 1.19:II:1–3 and IV:37 f.:

- ṮKMT. MY(M) = "shoulders water"
- ḤSPT. LŠʿR. ṬL = "...s from/on the barley(?) dew"
- YDʿT. HLK. KBKBM = "knows the course of the stars"

The nature and size of the lacuna in col. I:26–28 forces us to assume that in these lines the tripartite formulation has been expanded to include *Š'BT. ʿN "draws (at) the well". The abbreviated version in 1.19:IV:28 – *wtʿn. pġt.* ṮKMT. MYM – suggests: (a) that the tripartite formulation headed by ṮKMT. MY(M) is in fact the basic form; (b) that the tripartite formulation can be expanded or abbreviated to accomodate the epithets to the changeable prosodic structures and requirements.

The four-part version is significant in its emphasis on the principal activity of the epithets thought to epitomize Pughat's household duties,

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[18] Cf. my discussion of this terminology in MLD, 123 f.

[19] The name PDRY is cognate with Heb. *peder* 'fat', and reflects the idea of celestial precipitation as 'lubricating' the earth. Cf. Ug. ŠMN 'oil' = 'rain' in 1.6:III:6//12, and Heb. *šemen* = 'water' in Deut. 32:12, both paralleled by 'honey' (Ug. NBT, Heb. *dᵉḇaš*) = 'sweet-water'. For further discussion, cf. my article in ZAW 99 (1987): 391–404.

viz., drawing and carrying water. She is conceived of essentially as a 'water-girl'.

The nature of the activity implied by YDʿT. HLK. KBKBM is disputed. Some would see here a reflection of Pughat's skill as a diviner. But in the absence of any divining activity ascribed to the heroine in the poem (as extant), it seems preferable to understand the reference as an allusion to her habit of rising early – "while it is yet night" (Prov. 31:15) – when the stars are about to disappear from the sky.[1] Yet it seems likely that the choice of the verb √*ydʿ* is not fortuitous; the only other dramatic person of whom this verb is predicated in *Aqht* is the proverbially wise El (1.18:I:16).

The question still outstanding is the precise signification of the epithet ḤSPT. LŠʿR. ṬL. To this question we now turn our attention.

II

The prevailing scholarly consensus connects (l)ŠʿR with Heb. *śᵉʿôrā(h)* 'barley', attested in the Ug. administrative texts as ŠʿRM.[2] By contrast, the verb √*ḥsp* – attested also in 1.3:II:38//IV:86 with Anat as subject and 'water' as object – is variously rendered, though nearly all concur in seeing it as cognate with Heb. √*ḥśp* 'draw out/forth', attested in Isa. 30:14 with reference to water drawn from a cistern, and in Hg. 2:16, with reference to wine drawn from a vat.

There is, to be sure, a phonological problem in the equation of Ug. ḤSP and Heb. ḤŚP. Ug. S does not normally correspond to Heb. Ś (שׂ) which is usually realized in Ugaritic as Š (e.g., Heb. *ʿeśer* = Ug. *ʿšr* 'ten'). In fact, there is probably no assured case of Ug. S = Heb. Ś in all of Ugaritic-Hebrew lexicography. However, quite independent of the present discussion, there is reason to believe that the Heb. cognate has suffered 'root-contamination', the result of a 'hyper-correction' originating in Heb.-Aram. bilingualism, so that a presumed *√*ḥsp* 'draw (water, wine)' has merged with √*ḥśp* 'lay bare, expose'.[3]

Ar. √*ḥsf* 'cull (dates); remove (a scab); reap'[4] and Akk. *ḫasāpu* 'pluck out (hair); remove (bricks)' thus combine with a putative Heb. **ḥsp* 'draw (water)' to suggest that Ug. √*ḥsp* denotes primarily 'draw out, extract', with special reference to liquids generally and water in particular.

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[1] Thus already Gaster (*Thespis*, [²1961]: 359), followed by W. G. E. Watson (UF 8:378) and Coogan (*Stories from Ancient Canaan* [1978]: 30).

[2] Cf. UT § 19.2459; WUS, s.v. 2658. The reference in 4.46 (= UT 315 = CTA 97) is a scribal error for *šʿr⟨t⟩* 'wool'; cf. CTA and KTU, *ad loc.*

[3] Cf. J. Blau, *On Pseudo-Corrections in Some Semitic Languages* (Jerusalem, 1970): 124.

[4] Hava, *op. cit.*, 123.

The difficulty arises when one combines the two parts of the scholarly consensus in an effort to make literary sense; for 'remove/ draw (out) dew from barley' strains credulity as much as it defies comprehension. The various and varied attempts to nuance this rendering cannot be considered convincing: neither 'brushing' nor 'skimming' nor 'scooping' dew from barley is worthy of the poet or his heroine, being an affront to the intelligence of both.

III

Elsewhere I have suggested that Pughat's epithet ḤSPT. ṬL is an allusion to an ancient technique of water collection which was prevalent in LB and early Iron-Age Canaan, prior to the development and diffusion of water-cisterns with impermeable linings, enabling the storage of winter rainwater during the rainless summer. This technique involves exposing a highly absorbent material, such as wool-fleece, overnight during the summer months to collect the dewfall. This technique, it was argued, underlies the O.T. account in Ju. 6:37–40.[5]

On this interpretation, the word Š'R in the epithet is etymologically cognate not with Heb. *ś'r(h)* 'barley', but rather with Heb. *ś'r(h)* 'hair', the alternative Heb. forms, masculine and feminine respectively, corresponding to Ug. Š'R and Š'RT (the latter in administrative texts exclusively).[6] The epithet in its entirety would thus denote "(she who) draws out (idiomatically: 'extracts') dew from the wool(=fleece)", with Ug. $\sqrt{ḥsp}$ the semantic equivalent of Heb. $\sqrt{z(w)r}$ and $\sqrt{m(w)ṣ}$ 'press, wring out', and Š'R that of *gizzat (ha-)ṣemer* in the aforementioned Gideon story.[7]

One may note in this connection that both the Akk. *ḫasāpu* and the Ar. $\sqrt{ḥsf}$ are found to occur with reference to the 'falling' or 'plucking' out of hair. It would be very much in character for the Ugaritic bard, so fond of word-play and double-meanings, to choose a word denoting both 'draw out (water)' and 'fall out (of hair)' in connection with the act of wringing out water from a dew-ladened wool-fleece.

We would also draw attention to the fact that it is this understanding of Š'R which largely motivates and justifies our restoration in line 30: [š'r.] *bgrn. yḫrb*, which recalls a similar collocation of *grn* and $\sqrt{ḥrb}$ in Ju. 6:37 ff. If a fragment of *Aqht* confirming this restoration should one

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[5] *Shnaton*, vol. V–VI (1982): lv–lxii (in English).

[6] For this interpretation of Ug. Š'R in the present context, cf. already Caquot–Sznycer, TO, followed by W. G. E. Watson, UF 8 (1976): 378.

[7] The need to wring out the fleece would be one good reason for Pughat to rise early, before the summer heat dried up the moisture-ladened wool.

day be found, we could then consider our overall interpretation of Pughat's second epithet assured. For the time being, it must remain a suggestive hypothesis.

§ 2. *(k)TMZ'. KST. DN'IL*

One is confronted in this problem with a scholarly consensus which does not bear close scrutiny. When analyzed as $\sqrt{mz'}$ and related to Ar. *maza'a*, allegedly 'rend', the verb TMZ' poses two difficulties which may be considered symptomatic.

(1) The form of the verb, taken in context, points to a fem. sg. subject; and as interpreted above, to Pughat as grammatical subject. Some scholars do in fact take the text to be a description of Pughat tearing her father's garment.[8] But most demure from this interpretation for the obvious reason that 'rending the garment' is a symbolic act of mourning carried out by the mourner himself rather than by a surrogate.[9] Furthermore, the entire text of lines 36–7 recurs virtually verbatim in lines 46–48; are we to assume that Pughat rent her father's garment again and in so short a time?[10]

(2) The interpretive assumption that mourning rites are possible at this point in the story is fundamentally wrong. Aqht's death is still unknown to his family, and will remain so until the 'messenger-scene' in II:27 ff.[11] Indeed, on the 'tour-of-inspection' which follows immediately on the present scene, Dan'el is still hopeful that the parched corn will yet grow tall, so that son Aqht can reap and store it in the granary.

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[8] Thus Virolleaud, *Danel*, 142, followed by Gray, LC², 117; Gordon, *Berytus* [1977]: 21; and Driver–Gibson, CML², 114.

[9] To avoid this anomaly, some scholars have taken TMZ' to be a 3 m. sg. *perfect* of $\sqrt{mz'}$, with the initial T understood as a reflexive morpheme (tD). But this 'solution' raises more problems than it solves, not least of which is the status of KST and the image of Dan'el tearing himself apart! – Others posit KST as the subject, taking the verb to be a fem. sg. *passive*. But the image of a self-rending garment is equally unconvincing, notwithstanding the supposed analogy with the self-rending curtain of the Jerusalem Temple described by the NT (thus Loewenstamm). For some representative opinions, cf. Cassuto, *Or* 8 (1939): 239 = BOS II: 194, n. 6; Driver, CML (1956): 59, n. 13; Loewenstamm, *Lešonēnu* 35 (1970–71: 7, n. 1; *idem.*, AOAT 204: 471 f.; and Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:201 (the latter assuming that Dan'el had rent his garment *prior* to Pughat delivering her message!).

[10] The only difference between the two passages is the asseverative K in line 36. The difference illustrates beautifully the rôle of alliteration in determining word-forms. Cp. ^{35}*TD*m'. bm. kb*D*::^{36}*T*mz'. ks*T*. *D*nil..., but in line 46: ...*QL*. b'*L*.::K*t*mz'. *K*st....

[11] Cf. already A. Herdner, *Syria* [1949]: 10: "La raison de ces manifestations de deuil, avant que la mort d'Aqht ait été officiellement anoncée, n'est pas absolument claire." The observation is correct, but heavily understated.

Dan'el's anxiety at this point in the narrative is focused entirely on his crops; it doesn't even cross his mind, nor has he reason to suspect, that any harm has befallen his son.

The root of the problem is the misunderstanding of $\sqrt{mz^{c}}$ as 'rend' and the doubtful meaning of the Arabic *maza'a* as 'rend'. The primary meaning of Ar. *maza'a* is not 'tear' (= *mazaqa*!)[12] but rather 'bound, prance (like a gazelle)'; and in the Vth (reflexive) form 'tremble (with emotion)'.[13]

The solution becomes apparent once it is realized that the combination of $\sqrt{mz^{c}}$ and *kst//all* is a stylistic variant of $\sqrt{n\acute{g}\dot{s}}$ (= Ar. $\sqrt{n\acute{g}\dot{d}}$) *ksl*, where KSL (II) denotes 'garment' rather than 'muscle'.[14] The idiom is well-known from the stereotyped 'shock formulae', and describes the flapping or fluttering of the subject's garment in response to, and in unison (*anš*) with the trembling of the body, especially the hips and legs.

The advantages of this interpretation are threefold:

(1) the verb TMZ^{c} is satisfactorily explained as a G impf. of *mz*^{c} with fem. subj. KST;

(2) the interpretation suits the immediate context, which is as congenial to 'fright' as it is inimical to 'mourning';

(3) it solves the problem of the repetition in line 46 f. In line 36 Dan'el's fright is in reaction to Pughat's report; in line 46 f. the hero is frightened by the dire oracle which he has just heard.

§ 3. *YṢLY*

Scholarly opinion is divided on the meaning of this word ($\sqrt{\dot{s}l\dot{y}}$) between 'curse; adjure' and 'pray, entreat'.[15]

The case for the former rests primarily on the evidence of the so-called 'polyglott dictionary'[16] for a threefold equation of Akk. *arāru* = Hurr. *šidarni* = Ug. *ṣilya*[tu]. Since the Akk. entry undoubtedly means

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[12] Cf. Hava, *op. cit.*, 718; Wehr – Cowan, *op. cit.*, 906.

[13] Hava, *ibid.*

[14] Cf. UT § 19.1281, based on 4.182:9, where KSL is found in the company of (m)LBŠ (ll. 3, 16) and Š^{c}RT (ll. 2, 14). Cf. already MLD, 30 f.; UF 15:115.

[15] Eng. 'adjure' is semantically akin to 'curse' rather than 'pray' and therefore cannot be taken as a compromise solution, as some have suggested. An adjuration, like a curse, is basically an oath sworn with the intent of coercing, if necessary, the power or deity whose name is invoked to perform a certain act willed by the adjurer. This is the posture of the professional 'Rainmaker' immortalized in Jewish tradition by 'Ḥoni, the Circle-Maker'.

[16] *Ugaritica* V (1968): 224 f., 245 f.

'curse', it follows that this semantic value must be basically valid for the Ugaritic entry (**ṣlyt*) as well.[17]

Additional support for this view is thought by its advocates to derive from the nature of the contents in lines 42^b-46, presumed to be a continuation and expression of the $\sqrt{ṣly}$-activity predicated of Dan'el in line 39, and long the object of comparison with the execration of Mt. Gilboa (2 Sam. 1:21) whose author was supposedly the Iron-Age Israelite counterpart of the Ugaritic hero.

A much stronger case can be made for the second view.[18]

(1) The meaning 'pray, entreat, etc.' characterizes the undisputed etymological congeners of Ug. $\sqrt{ṣly}$ in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Arabic.[19] Especially noteworthy is the correspondence of Old-Aramaic TṢLWT and Akk. ŠĪPU in the 9th cent. bilingual inscription from t. Fekhriye.[20]

(2) A Ug. noun ṢLT (< **ṣly*) occurs in the narrative conclusion of a poetic text (1.119) as an internally referenced designation of a communal prayer addressed by the inhabitants of a beleagured city to their patron Baal.[21]

It can hardly be doubted which of the foregoing interpretations of Ug. $\sqrt{ṣly}$ best suits the present *Aqht* context. Lines 42^b-46 may certainly be considered to contain a 'curse' or 'execration'; but the assumption that its author is Dan'el is nothing short of absurd.[22] It is inconceivable that the hero, shaking from fright at his daughter's report of incipient drought, should then turn his gaze to heaven and invoke upon himself the very thing he so dreads; and for a period of seven years no less!

The solution is to assume – as for other philological reasons one must – that the 'curse' in lines 42–46 is in fact a 'prophecy of doom'

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[17] So Blau–Loewenstamm, *Lešonēnu* 35 (1970–71): 7–10; Hillers, BASOR 200 (1970): 18; De Moor, UF 6 (1974): 495 f.; Del Olmo Lete, AF 2 (1976): 242–44; Gordon, *Berytus* [1977]: 21.

[18] Maintained by (e. g.) U. Cassuto, *Or* 8 (1939): 239 = BOS II (1975): 194; Aistleitner, WUS s. v. 2317; Driver, CML (1956): 59 = CML^2 (1978): 114; Gaster, *Thespis* (^{2}1961): 358, Gray, LC^2, 117, n. 3 – all prior to *Ugaritica* V; and by Dietrich–Loretz–Sanmartín, UF 5:273 f.; Caquot–Sznycer, TO, 444; and the present writer (RB 89 [1982]: 419 ff.) subsequently.

[19] Cf. Ar. *ṣalā* ($\sqrt{ṣlw}$) 'pray'; Akk. *ṣullu* 'call upon' (AHw, 1110); JAram. *ṣᵉlôṯā* ($\sqrt{ṣlw}$). – For OAram., cf. immediately below.

[20] Cf. Abou-Assaf, et al., *La Statue de Tell Fekhrye* (Paris, 1982): 15, 23: ... *'lh. rḥmn. zy. TṢLWTH. ṭbḥ = ilu. rēmēnu. ša ŠĪPIŠU ṭābu.*

[21] Cf. A. Herdner, *Ugaritica* VII (MRS XVIII, 1978 [1979]): 35 ff. (note p. 38, n. 109); and the present writer's discussion of this text in the *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East (1981): 63–83 (in Hebrew).

[22] Cf. T. L. Fenton, VT 29 (1979): 163, n. 3; B. Margalit, RB 89 (1982), 419 f.

pronounced by the entreated clouds (or YR) speaking in the name of an absent (or disconcerted) Baal.[23]

As for the evidence of the 'polyglott dictionary', one must assume either that the entry is faulty – owing to the personal shortcomings of the compiler or for any other reason – or, that the meaning 'curse, adjure' developed secondarily in LB Ugaritic alongside the 'classical' meaning 'pray, entreat' which alone is relevant for elucidating the literary attestations of $\sqrt{\text{ṣly}}$ in *Aqht* and in 1.119.

§ 4. (α) *UN*

The conclusions reached with respect to YṢLY (*supra*, § 3) and BḤM (*supra*, to § 1.19:I:40–46[a]) make it mandatory that UN be understood as the opening word of Dan'el's prayer. This determination effectively precludes most if not all the interpretations proposed hitherto for this word (or, as I shall argue, particle), including 'time' (Ar. *'a(w)n*) and 'evil' (Heb. *'awen*). For some representative opinions, cf. Cassuto, *Or* 8 (1939): 239, n. 3 = BOS II:194, n. 7; Gray, LC[2], 117; Aistleitner, WUS, s. v. 295; De Moor (and Dijkstra), UF 6:495 f., and UF 7:201 f.; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 525, s. v. (with additional bibliography).

A priori, it is tempting to relate the present UN to what appears to be the identical word in 1.5:VI:14–15, part of a description of El performing rites of mourning for the slain Baal:

yṣq. 'mr. UN. lrišh	"He throws straw(?) of affliction/sorrow on his head
'pr. plṯt. lqdqdh	Dirt of the ground on his pate".[24]

UN is here a *nomen rectum* derived from $\sqrt{\text{'ny}}$, cognate with Ar. *'anna* 'wail, lament', Heb. $\sqrt{\text{'nh}}$ (cf. Isa. 29:2; Lam. 2:5). But the problem of applying this interpretation in the *Aqht* text is formidable once UN is presumed to be the initial word of a prayer in close syntactic relation to the following YR rather than the preceding BḤM: 'wail/lament of precipitation' or the like makes little sense either in itself or in context.

Our proposed solution is based on a comparison with a seemingly analogous situation and context in 1.119:26 ff. The inhabitants of a

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[23] The first to suggest that Dan'el's speech ends in line 42 were, I believe, Caquot and Sznycer (TO, 444, note h), followed subsequently by Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 389. But they all left the question of the nature, and referent, in the continuation (lines 42[b]–46) undecided. For the theory of an oracular pronouncement, first broached in UF 8 (1976): 148, cf. my article in RB 89:418–23.

[24] For discussion, cf. MLD, 129 ff. From the description it emerges that the 'floor' even of a palatial dwelling consisted of packed earth covered with straw. Or is this a reflection of El's tent domicile?

hypothetically beleaguered city are counselled by the author to "raise your eyes to Baal (and pray): O Baal..." The similarity of the situation with that of *Aqht* is underscored by the word ṢLT (line 34) used to describe the advised public act, deriving from the same √*ṣly* used with reference to Dan'el's activity. It follows as a necessary conclusion that UN YR is structurally and formally parallel to YBʿL(m):

1.19:I:38 – 40	1.119:26 ff.
apnk. dnil. mt(.) *rpi*	*kgr. ʿz. ṯgrkm...*
yṣly. ʿrpt. bḫm.	*ʿnkm. lbʿl*(.) *tšun*
UN. YR....	*YBʿLM....*

Now it is well-known that in circumstances such as these O.T. Heb. (unlike Arabic) utilizes *ʾānnā*(*h*) rather than **y*(*a*). Cp. *Jon.* 4:2 –

... וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל אֶל יהוה וַיֹּאמַר: אָנָּה יהוה

"And (Jonah) prayed to YHWH, saying: 'O YHWH...' ".

An outright identification of Ug. UN with Heb. *ʾanna*(*h*) is less than certain owing to the different vocalizations of the initial syllable. But structurally and syntactically they are the same, viz., precative particles which introduce prayers generally and the invoked addressee in particular; cp. English 'Dear' at the beginning of a personal letter.

Whether this particle UN is related to the rhetorical-interrogative U of *uḫštk* and *uilm* of 1.16 (*Krt*) is a question for further study.

(*β*) YR[25]

It was J. Gray (LC[2], 117) who, it seems, first drew attention to the difficulty posed by the consensus view equating Ug. YR with Heb. *yore*(*h*), the early (winter) rains in Canaan. Citing the reference to 'summer-fruit' (*qz*) in line 18, Gray noted what the 'Gezer Calendar' confirms, viz., that the summer-fruit is fully harvested by the end of September, a month or so before the (normal) onset of autumnal-winter weather.

The problem is even more acute than Gray realized. It will be recalled that our scene is set at the beginning of summer, i. e. 'spring', at the first (*prʿ*) budding (√*ḥy*) of the summer-fruit, when the corn (*šblt*) is still in the husk (*bǵlph*). If Dan'el were to invoke rain at this time of year, it would be the *Malqoš* (< √*lqš* 'be late'), whose last gasps are not uncommon in April, rather than the *Yoreh*. But, as we have argued, Dan'el has no reason to want or expect wintry rainfall in late April: it is

[25] Cf. my previous discussion of ths word in RB 91 (1984): 102 ff., on which much of the following is based.

the absence of dew rather than rain which threatens his fruit and corn and to which he makes specific allusion in the course of his prayer.[26]

Elsewhere[27] I have argued that the equation of Ug. YR with Heb. *Yoreh* has been posited without adequate examination of the O.T. data, which includes:

(a) the variant *Moreh* (Joel 2:23, *bis*), suggesting that *Yoreh* is not, strictly speaking, a technical term for the early autumnal rains even as late as the Persian era.

(b) the word *yôre(h)* used as a transitive *verb* with 'Earth' as its object and predicated of the *late*-winter rains known as *Malqoš*. The verse in Hos. 6:3 may be rendered: "He (= YHWH) will 'come' (!) to us like the rain (comes to Earth) // Like the *Malqoš* which impregnates (!) the Earth". The sense of the passage in which this verse is set is as follows: the Lord/Husband[28] YHWH has first mauled and then abandoned His 'wife' Israel, thus causing her to miss the first coital rains (Heb. *'onā(h)*[29]) of early-winter (= *Yoreh*) which normally fertilize the newly-ploughed and seeded earth. But if Israel will make atonement for her sinful conduct and marital infidelity, husband YHWH will return to heal her wounds, and will 'come' ($\sqrt{b(w)'}$) to her like the potent late-winter *Malqoš* of Feb. – Mar. to fertilize (*yoreh* < $\sqrt{hrh}$) and make her fruitful ($\sqrt{prh}$) once again. The entire theological gamut of SIN – ATONEMENT – SALVATION is here expressed in terms of interlocking sexual-seasonal metaphor.[30]

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[26] On this interpretation, $\sqrt{mṭr}$ in line 41 should be understood in the general sense of 'precipitation' rather than 'rain', which is RBB (line 44; cf. below, § 6). O.T. usage suggests that denominative $\sqrt{mṭr}$ can be used for virtually anything lowered from the heavens in abundance, be it 'hail', 'manna' or 'fire-and-brimstone'.

[27] Cf. note 25 *supra*.

[28] Note $\sqrt{b'l}$ = 'master; seduce; (DN) Baal'!

[29] Cf. Ar. $\sqrt{'(w)n}$, denoting 'coitus' as well as 'land watered by rain', Heb. **'onā(h)* [Ex. 21:10]. In Ug., cf. 1.16:III:4 – 8 (*Krt*):

'n(.) larṣ. mṭr. b'l	"The rain of Baal 'penetrates' the (female) Earth,
wlšd. mṭr 'ly	The rain of the 'Mounter' (penetrates) the field;
n'm. larṣ. mṭr. b'l	Pleasure for the Earth is the rain of Baal,
wlšd. mṭr. 'ly	(Pleasurable) for the field is the rain of the 'Mounter' ".

The word 'N is to be understood here as referring to the coital act, and the description as a sexual metaphor: Baal 'penetrates' and the Earth responds with 'pleasure'.

[30] The conceptual linking of reproductive and agricultural activity hardly requires demonstration. The interlocking metaphors are legion in ancient as well as in modern speech: Heb. *zera'* = 'semen; seed', and 'fruit' is of the field as well as the womb. Women and land are either 'fertile' or 'barren'. In Akk., a 'nun' pledged to chastity is a *nadītu*, lit., a 'fallow-woman'; and a Canaanite king can speak of his neglected fields as *aššata ša la muta mašil aššum bali irišim*, "(they are) like a woman without a man because there is no one to seed (them)" (EA 74:17 – 19 = 75:15 – 17, etc.).

The use of √*hrḥ* in O.T. Hebrew to mean 'impregnate' rather than 'conceive' is not limited to the above verse in *Hosea*. Cf. Isa. 59:4, where √*hrḥ* stands in synonymous parallelism with the causative of √*yld* (as *ʿāmāl* stands relative to *ʿawn*), and especially Job 3:2 (when correctly understood!): "Perish, day of my birth // Even the night which announced (cf. Ps. 19:3): 'A man (= Job's father!) has impregnated' ". This usage of √*hrḥ* has its counterpart in the semantically synonymous causative of √*yld* – cf. above, Isa. 59:4, and especially Isa. 55:9–10[31] which combines seasonal and sexual imagery in the manner in which we interpreted Hos. 6:3: "For as the rain {...}[32] descends from heaven, never to return // But saturates (√*rwy*) the Earth, impregnates it (H√*yld* + suff.) and makes it flourish // providing seed (*zeraʿ*, 'seed; semen'!) for the sower and bread for the consumer...".

As for the Ugaritic evidence, we have previously had occasion to observe that in the phrase *bm. nšq. whr* the latter verb means 'beget' rather than 'conceive' and has Dan'el as its subject. Admittedly less certain is our interpretation of (*mt.*) HRNMY as consisting of √*hr(r)* + *n* + *my(m)* and predicated of Baal in his capacity as 'Rainmaker', lit., 'he-who-begets-by-means-of-water', or the like. This interpretation, if correct, is especially significant here in 1.19:I:40, where the two component elements 'beget' and 'Baal' come together in the word YR. For when Dan'el entreats the clouds (*yṣly. ʿrpt*) he is in fact addressing the ambience of the storm-god. The word YR, if not itself an epithet of Baal – a distinct possibility! – denoting (lit.) 'sire; procreator', can only refer to the agent of fertility who/which supplies and activates the (mostly white) clouds of summer, during Baal's absence, causing them to precipitate dew as well as the occasional summer shower.

Morphologically, YR < **yhr* can be explained on the pattern of YLM < **yhlm* 'smite', YLK < **yhlk* 'walk' and (nominal) ẒR < **ẓhr* 'top', ḌRT < **ḏhrt* 'vision, epiphany'; all these examples, to be sure, contrasting with YHPK < √*hpk* 'turn over' and YHBR < √*hbr* 'prostrate', etc. The form WTHRN cannot however be adduced as counter evidence since as used in context this verb refers to 'conception' rather than 'impregnation', and thus presumably reflects a different vocalic pattern preventing the elision of the H.

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[31] This verse was inadvertantly omitted from the discussion in RB 91:102 ff.

[32] Omitting 'snow' as a gloss (note the sg. verbs √*yrd*, √*š(w)b*, etc.).

§ 5. *YṢRK*[33]

With the exception of C. H. Gordon (UT § 19.2200) and the early Cassuto[34], scholars are united in viewing this word as an impf. (3 m. sg.) of a putative $\sqrt{ṣrk}$, otherwise unknown in Ugaritic but allegedly cognate with Ar. *ḍaruka* and Heb.-Aram. $\sqrt{ṣrk}$, meaning 'be poor, needy'.[35] The subject is assumed to be Baal.

However, the constraint of contextual suitability has generally necessitated a rather liberal extension of meaning, to either 'fail' – thus (e. g.) Ginsberg, Driver – Gibson, Van Zijl (AOAT 10:276), Caquot – Sznycer, and Del Olmo Lete – or 'restrain, withhold' (e. g., Gaster and Gray).

There are at least three good reasons for rejecting this interpretation:

(1) The alleged root *$\sqrt{ḍ/ṣrk}$ is poorly attested in Arabic as well as in classical (O.T.) Hebrew, and seems to be of late, and Aramaic, origin in the latter, since it occurs *hap. leg.* in 2 Chron. 2:15.

(2) There is nothing in the semantics of this root to suggest either 'failure' or 'restraint'. The basic notion is 'insufficiency, want, need', and all the other meanings – e. g., the Talmudic concept of logical 'requirement' or 'necessity' – devolve therefrom.

(3) The prevalent view reflects an unwarranted, if largely unconscious transfer from *Baal-Mot* and *Krt* to *Aqht*. In the former (1.4 – 5 – 6) Baal's 'failure' is understandable, as he has been mortally wounded by the ophidic legions of Mot, and so is *hors de combat*. Nature, the natural vegetation in particular, languishes because Baal is incarcerated in the Netherworld, and neither Athtar, the god in charge of the subterranean spring-water, nor Baal's own daughters can pick up the slack. In *Krt*, the king's illness and (supposedly) imminent death cause an empathic decline in fertility and precipitation, as if all of Nature were rallying behind the sick king and applying 'political pressure' for his survival.

The situation in *Aqht* is quite different. The drought is the result of a homicidal crime which has polluted the land with innocent blood (cf. Gen. 4:11 – 12). Having consumed, so to speak, 'innocent blood', the earth cannot absorb life-giving water; and the 'Rainmaker' will not 'come' to a land so defiled with blood. From a different perspective: the situation in *Aqht* is not unlike that of Deut. 11:17 and Jer. 3:2 – 3 (with

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[33] Previous discussion in RB 89 (1982): 418 – 23.

[34] Cf. *Rendiconti...dei Lincei* 14 (1939): 264 ff. Cassuto's 'solution' is to emend YṢRK to YB!RK. The motive for the emendation, by a scholar generally known for his 'conservatism' in such matters, is the feeling that Dan'el could never say such things about his own land! Cf. momentarily below.

[35] Cf. WUS s. v. 2359; Driver, CML (1956): 150, n. 15; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 615, s. v.

substitution of 'menstrual blood' for that of homicide), where the suspension of rainfall is seen as a sanction imposed on the *land* as punishment for *human* transgression (Nature being considered a human resource: cf. Gen. 1:29; 9:2–3) meted out by an *all-powerful* Deity. Indeed, the Deity's ability to *withhold* rainfall, far from being a sign of weakness, is overwhelmingly a sign of strength. Surely this conceptualization is incompatible with YṢRK as interpreted.

The correct, virtually obvious solution – short of emending the text – is that adumbrated by C. H. Gordon, viz., YṢRK = $\sqrt{ṣr(r)}$ 'be hostile to; afflict' + pron. suff. *-k*. The *prima facie* difficulty with this interpretation, and clearly the reason it has not carried the day in Ugaritic scholarship, is the lack of antecedent for the suffix. Common sense as well as gender concord preclude what seems to be the only available candidate, viz., the invoked, and fem. plu., ʿRPT.

The impasse is promptly as well as elegantly resolved the moment one realizes that Dan'el is no longer the speaker in lines 42 f., but rather the YR (or some anonymous voice) who is addressing the hero from the clouds, responding in oracular style and in Baal's name to his entreaty. The antecedent of the suffix in YṢRK is simply Dan'el.

Admittedly, we miss here the stereotyped, speech-introductory formual **wyʿn*...(PN). But aside from the fact (of considerable importance in itself) that the transition from Dan'el's words in line 42[a] is clearly signalled prosodically,[36] it must be remembered that the speaker is anonymous; there is thus no one to introduce! Dan'el is hearing what in Rabbinic parlance is termed a *baṯ-qôl*, a divine but not identifiable 'voice', very nearly an 'echo'.

The absence of an explicit narrative introduction, reflecting the anonymity of the speaker, is at the same time a very deliberate artistic choice, the purpose of which is to create a feeling of what R. Otto calls the *mysterium tremendum*.[37] And indeed, this brief encounter with the Numenal leaves Dan'el shaking at the knees!

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[36] Dan'el's prayer in lines 40[b]–42[b] is structured as a tristichic variation on a basic *4 + 3 distich. If the continuation in line 42[b]–44 were considered part of the same speech, it would be structured as a 3 + 3 distich (or equivalent 2 + 2 + 2 tristich). Instead, it is structured as a 4 + 3 couplet, in turn followed by a 2 + 2 + 2 tristich. Prosodically, the sequence 4(1:3) + 3; 4 + 3; 2 + 2 + 2 can only be explained by assuming a strophic break following the initial 4(1:3) + 3. (For the methodological presuppositions of this analysis, cf. below, Appendix: The Principles of Ugaritic Prosody, reproduced from MLD, 219–28.)

[37] R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (tr. J. W. Harvey, 1936): § 4.

§ 6. *ṬL//RBB*

The formulaic word-pair *ṭl//rbb* recurs twice in 1.3:II:38 – 41, and is one of several literary connections between this fragmentary composition (1.3), whose central figure was apparently Anat, and *Aqht*:

ṭl. šmm. šmn. arṣ	"Heavenly dew, lubricant of the Earth,
rbb. rkb. ʿrpt	Downpour of the 'Rider-of-the-Clouds' ".
ṭl. šmm. tskh	"Dew (which) the heavens pour out,
rbb. nskh. kbkbm	'Rain' (which) the stars pour out".

In the first distich, ṬL and RBB stand in complementary relationship, constituting – like Heb. *ṭal* and *māṭār* – a merism for all forms of celestial precipitation. The signification 'rain' (of the torrential winter variety) for RBB is implicit in its ascription to the storm-god who 'rides' the dark clouds of winter. In the second distich, by contrast, with its allusions to the stars, ṬL and RBB are virtual synonyms. The implication is that Anat, like Pughat, washes herself with the water of dewfall collected overnight.

In the O.T., there are some six occurrences of RBB(m). One reference (Mi. 5:6) puts RBB(m) in seemingly synonymous parallelism with ṬL, the verse as a whole partly echoing (or echoed by) Deut. 32:2 (where ṬL parallels MṬR and RBB(m) the still not fully clarified ŠʿR(m)). Though the *Micha* passage differs from that of Deut. in its use of the imagery – in *Micha* evoking 'quantity' (corresponding to 'stars' and 'grains-of-sand' in similar prophecies elsewhere) rather than 'fluency' – it shares with Deut. 32:2 the idea of RBB(m) as 'rain-drops'.

In Jer. 3:3, we find RBB(m) as an A-term substitution for *Yoreh* (or *Moreh*), in parallelism with *Malqoš*, while 14:22 finds RBB(m) as the B-word parallel of $\sqrt{gšm}$ (used as a verb). In both cases RBB(m) is obviously a term for '(winter-)rain', as in 1.3:II:39 – 40 (the first of the aforecited distichs). A similar conclusion is warranted for Ps. 65:12, where RBB(m) stands alone, and for Ps. 72:6 (MṬR // RBB(m)).

The conclusion is that both in Heb. and Ug., RBB(m) denotes 'rainfall', as opposed to ṬL 'dewfall', unless otherwise qualified by the context (as in 1.3:II:40 – 41, the second verse quoted above). Together or in parallelism, they form a merism for celestial precipitation during both the winter and summer seasons.

§ 7. *ŠRʿ. thmtm*[38]

The Ug. word ŠRʿ has had a venerable place in Ugaritic-Biblical scholarship ever since H. L. Ginsberg attempted to recover its alleged

[38] The following comment is based on my earlier discussion in RB 91:106 – 08.

Hebrew congener in 2 Sam. 1:21.[39] Less well-known perhaps is the fact that the Ugaritic word itself is something of a *crux interpretum*, its translation based more on inference from context than on lexicographical analysis.

A prevalent opinion takes ŠR^{c} as cognate with Ar. *sr^{c}* 'hasten, speed', extended to mean 'surge, well up' so as to satisfy the contextual requirements of the Ugaritic text.[40] Others cite Akk. *šurru*, allegedly 'attain maximum growth; reach the water crest'.[41] Neither view can be considered more than a *pis aller*.

More promising at first sight is the view based on ESA (Sabaean) ŠR^{c} (S^{2}R^{c}), 'small water channel (for irrigation)', cited by J. Biella in her *Dictionary of Old South Arabic* (p. 527 f.), allegedly cognate with Classical Arabic *šari'a* 'watering place'.[42] However, a look at the comparable entry in the *Sabaic Dictionary* of A. Beeston et al. (p. 133 f.) makes one less sanguine about such a solution: for the meaning 'irrigation-channel' is given together with a question-mark; the primary (and certain) meaning of $\sqrt{\check{s}r^{c}}$ is 'erect, construct (a building)'. Equally doubtful is the meaning 'watering-place' for Classical Arabic *šari'a*.[43]

Elsewhere[44] I have suggested the possibility that ŠR^{c} might be a Š-form of an otherwise unknown $\sqrt{r(w/y)^{c}}$, cognate with Ar. *ra'a* ($\sqrt{ry^{c}}$) 'increase, thrive; be plentiful', and in the Vth form (*tarayya'a*) 'flow'.[45]

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[39] JBL 57 (1938):209–13, reading *...wš(!)r!^{c}! th!wmt* for MT's *wšdy. trwmt.* This proposal has been vigorously defended by my colleague T. L. Fenton (VT 29 (1979): 162–70) but has been the subject of stringent criticism as well (cf. A. Schoors, RSP I (1972): 58; S. Talmon, EI 14 (1978): 117–24; J. Fokkelman, ZAW 91 (1979): 290–92; and S. Morag, *Lešonēnu* 45 (1981): 317 f.)

[40] Thus Gaster (SMSR XV [1937]: 28, 49 = *Thespis*^{2}, 358) and Ginsberg (JBL 57: 212, n. 14), followed by Driver (CML [1956]: 148), Caquot–Sznycer (TO, 444), Dijkstra–De Moor (UF 7:202), and Gordon (*Berytus* [1977]: 22).

[41] Thus E. A. Speiser (JBL 69 [1950]: 377 f.), followed by Aistleitner (WUS s. v. 2689) and Moran (*Biblica* 43 [1962]: 320–22). (The qualification 'allegedly' is made necessary, despite the formidable Assyriological reputations of the proponents, by the absence of an entry *šurrû* with the presumed meaning in von Soden's AHw, at least as far as I can tell. There is as of this writing still no CAD volume where this could be rechecked.)

[42] This is the position of Fenton, *loc. cit.*, 165, n. 8, and earlier, UF 1 (1969): 67.

[43] Cf. Hava, 361^{a}: *šari'at* = *'way* to water'. The basic meaning of classical Arabic $\sqrt{\check{s}r^{c}}$ seems to be the idea of 'straight-forward' (// Heb. *yāšār*), whence (e.g.) *Šari'ah* = Moslem 'Cannon Law' (// Jewish 'Halacha' [$\sqrt{hlk}$ 'go forward']). Cf. also Akk. *mēšarum* = 'legal justice; just-law'.

[44] Cf. *supra*, n. 38.

[45] It is interesting to note in this connection that $\sqrt{brk}$ 'bless' – in Heb. invariably D-stem in the active voice – is probably a causative formation of a root which in the G form (cf. Arabic) means 'be abundant', whence also perhaps Heb. *b^{e}rēka*/Ar. *birkat*/

Both 'plentiful' and 'flowing' are appropriate for what is obviously, and undisputedly, a reference to the subterranean springs which supply the wells (Ug. (*m*)*qr*). These waters are normally accessible only by laborious digging (cf. Gen. 26:15 – 22), hence their designation (Gen. 7:11) *mʿynwt. thwm*, "well-springs of the abyss", comparable to THMTM of our Ug. text. What our text is saying in effect is that the subterranean 'water-table' will recede – lit., 'will not be plentiful' – thus causing the wells to dry up due to lack of supply.

§ (*bl*) *TBṆ QL. BʿL*[46]

I. There is no reason to doubt the universally accepted understanding of ṬBN QL as 'goodness of voice/sound'. Nor can one reasonably object to the idiomatic comparison frequently drawn with (*ǵzr*) *ṯb. ql* 'fine-voiced lad' in 1.3:I:20. However, one must take issue with the literary *interpretation* implied in a statement which most if not all scholars would tend to endorse: "Baal's thundering voice is delightful because it announces the rain..."[47]

(1) The literary/metaphorical connection of ṬB. QL with 'thunder' is far from self-evident, and is not demonstrated by citing the well-known Ug.-Heb. (and El-Amarna 'Canaanite') idiom $\sqrt{ytn}$ (*ntn*) *ql* designating 'thunder' (1.4:V:8 – 9; 1.4:VII:29 f.,; (O.T.) 2 Sam. 22 (= Ps. 18): 14 – 16, etc.). In none of these texts do we find the attribution of $\sqrt{ṯ(w)b}$, or anything semantically related. To the contrary: the quality of voice implied for $\sqrt{ntn.}$ *ql* in 2 Sam. 22 (= Ps. 18):18 is 'harshness, roughness' rather than 'smoothness, sweetness', as indicated by the predicate $\sqrt{gʿr}$, approximately 'bellow, roar, growl'.

The same is true for Ugaritic. In the materially defective 1.4:VII:28 – 32, Baal's 'voice' when he thunders is anything but 'sweet' (lines 31 – 2): *qlh. q*[dš. y]*tr. arṣ* // [bgʿrth.] *ǵrm. tḫšn* = ʿHis h[oly] voice [shak]es the earth // [At his roar] the mountains quake."[48] In the comparable, yet still more vivid description of Ps. 29 – whose indebtedness to, if not origins in, Old-Canaanite poetic tradition can hardly

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Ug. *brky* 'pool (lit., 'abundance') of water'. Thus, to confer blessing on someone is conceived as essentially bestowing abundance of that which is considered desirable; cf. e. g., Gen. 1:22: "Then [God] blessed them, saying: 'be fruitful and *multiply*".

[46] Based on, and in part reproducing, UF 16:131 f.

[47] Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:202. Cf. earlier Gaster, *op. cit.*, who renders ṬBN QL "welcome thunder", and in an appended notation, "Lit., 'goodly voice' ".

[48] Cf. MLD, 58 ff. The verse is somewhat differently restored by Cross (CMHE, 149), but the sense is the same.

be gainsaid[49] – the thunderous voice of the storm-god "smashes the cedars of Lebanon", makes the Lebanon and Hermon ranges prance like a calf, at the same time inducing earth-tremors in the Sinai peninsula (!) in the south. Such a 'voice' is assuredly not the 'sweet voice' ascribed to the young minstrel, and Baal's servant-boy, Pdrmn in 1.3:I.

(2) A second weighty objection arises when one considers the sequence of activity described in lines 44^b-46^a of our Ugaritic text. Line 44 speaks of celestial precipitation (ṬL//RBB). Line 45 shifts to the subterranean deeps (THMT) and the well-springs. Why, one wonders, should the poet – more precisely: the oracle – return in the third and final allusion (line 46) to the heavenly sphere? Such a move is as anti-climactic poetically as it is redundant thematically.

We must therefore look elsewhere for the 'sweetness/goodness' of Baal's voice, viz., to the one major sphere of aqueous activity conspicuous by its absence thusfar: the terrestrial »river-beds' (*wadis*), Ug. NḪL(m).

II. (1) In *Baal-Mot* (1.4–5–6) Baal's revival is heralded by two phenomena: rain from heaven and flooded river-beds (Ug.: *šmm. šmn. tmṭrn // nḫlm. tlk. nbtm*).

(2) The hyperbolic description of '(sweet-)water' as 'honey' in Ugaritic – as in O.T. Hebrew[50] – takes on added significance when it is recalled that Semitic $\sqrt{ṯ(w)b}$ can denote 'sweet' as well as 'good', and in conjunction with 'water', means 'sweet-/fresh-water': thus Akk. *mu*^{meš} *ṭa-bu-tu/ti* (AHw, 1378a); Ar. *mā ṭayyib* (Lane, AEL, 1902). The equivalent Heb. expression is *mym. mtqm* (Ex. 15:23–25); but $\sqrt{ṯ(w)b}$ and $\sqrt{mtq}$ are used synonymously as predicates of 'honey' (Prov. 24:13; Cant. 4:11).[51]

To be sure, 'fresh-water' is not confined to water flowing in the river-beds. All celestial precipitation, directly or indirectly emanating from Baal, is 'sweet'. However, this precipitation takes two forms: that which is absorbed by the earth, whence the metaphor 'fatness', suggesting 'lubrication'; and that rainwater (or melted snow) which flows down the mountains and through the gorges until it reaches and fills the river-beds. The latter alone is 'drinking-water' for man and beast (Ps. 36:7), hence is 'sweet' to the palate (cf. Prov. 24:13).

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[49] Cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *Biblical Archaeologist* 8 (1945): 53 f.; *idem.*, EI 9 (1969): 45–50 (Eng. section); T. H. Gaster, JQR 37 (1946–47): 55–65; *idem.*, *Thespis*^{2}, 443 ff.; F. M. Cross, BASOR 117 (1950): 19–21; R. Tournay, RB 63 (1956): 173 ff.; H. Straus, ZAW 82 (1970): 91–102; B. Margulis (Margalit), *Biblica* 51 (1970): 332–48; P. C. Craigie, VT 22 (1972): 143–52; A. Fitzgerald, BASOR 215 (1974): 61–63; O. Loretz, *Psalm 29* (Altenberge, 1984).

[50] Cf. Deut. 32:13, and my article in ZAW 99 (1987): 391–404.

[51] 'Sweetness' may also be basic to Heb./Ug. *n'm*, a synonym of *ṭb* (cf. Ps. 133:1): cp. Ruth 1:20, where *mr'* 'bitterness' is assumed to be the antonym of PN *n'my*.

In sum: the rendering of (*bl*) *ṯbn. ql. b'l* by "(no) sweetness of Baal's voice" – thus Ginsberg (ANET/RANE) – is defensible and correct if taken to mean 'the sweet-sound of the (sweet-)water running in the river-beds'. This phenomenon is properly labelled 'Baal's voice' not only because the waters flowing in the wadis originate with Baal as rain or melted snow, but also because it is in the wadis that Baal comes to life each winter after his incarceration in the Netherworld. What the passage is saying on the mythic level is that for seven (//eight) years Baal will not 'come alive' in winter (at least in Dan'el's land of Bashan). The river-beds will stay dry; they will not 'sing' with the sweet sound of rushing-gushing water.

The death of Aqht results in the continuous, rather than the merely intermittent death of Baal (who embodies the principle of life itself). There is no missing the razor-sharp irony of loving-sister Anat condemning, by her unbridled lust, beloved brother Baal to so ignominious a fate.

ACT III – SCENE 2 (1.19:II:12–54)

TEXT

[12]*ydnil. ysb. palṯh*	3		
[13]*bṣql. yph. bpalt*	3	6	
bṣ̊q̊l (.) [14]*yph. byǵlm*	3		
bṣql. yḫbq(.) [15]*wynšq*	3		
aḫl. an. bṣ[ql] (.) [16]*y{ }p*[ʿ]	4	7	9
bpalt. bṣql. yp[ʿ]	3		
byǵl̊m̊ (.) [17]*ur*	2		
tispk. yd. aqht(.) [18]*ǵzr*	3	6	
tštk. bqrmb. asm	3		
[19]*ydni*!⟨*l*⟩*. ysb. aklṯh*	3		
yph(.) [20]*šblt. bak*⟨*l*⟩*t*	3	6	
šblt. yp̊h!(.) [21]*bḫmdrt*	3		
šblt. yḫ̊[bq](.) [22]*wynšq*	3		
aḫl. an. š[blt] (.) [23]*tp*[ʿ]	4	7	9
baklt. šblt. tp[ʿ]	3		
[bḫ]*m̊d̊r̊t̊*(.) [24]*ur*	2		

tispk. yd. aqht. ǵẑ[r] 3
[25]*tštk. b*{ }*qrbm. asm* 3 6

[26]*bph. rgm. lyṣa* 3
bšptḫ [. hwth] 2 5 8

[27]*bnši. ʿnh. wtphn* 3

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in. š[lm] (.) [28]*ḫhlk. ǵlmm* 3
bddy. yṣ[ʿdn.] 2 5 7
[29][k]*yṣa. wl. yṣa* 2

hlm. ṯ[nm. [30]q]*dqd* 3
ṯlṯid. ʿl. ud[n] 2 5

[31][lta]*sr. pdm. rišḥ*[m] 3
[yd(m)] [32]*ʿl. pd* 2 5 9

asr. m[tnm.] *lḫ*[sp] (.) [33]*mḫlpt* (2 : 2) 4

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wl. ytk. ⟨*u*⟩*dmṯ*[.]*km*(.) [34]*rbʿt. tqlm* 4 7/8
ttḫ[n. šptm ?] *bm*(.) [35] *yd* 3/4

ṣpnhm. tliym [hm. ṣ]*pnhm*(.) [36]*nṣḫy*⟨*m*⟩ (2 : 2) 4

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[40]*tmǵyn. tša. ghm. iẇ*[tṣḥn] 4 7

[41]*šmʿ. ldnil. mt* [rpi] 3 10
[(36β)]*šrr. m*[tbrkm.] *ay* 3

[37]*nbšrkm. dnil. mdḫ*[mt] 3
[38]*riš. rḫ*[m]*ṯ* 2 7
ḫtm[.] *ʿnṯ* {...l. 39...} 2

[42]*mt. aqht. ǵzr* 2

[šṣat] (.) [43]*btlt. ʿnt* 3
[krḥ. npšh] 2 7
[44]*kiṯl. brlth* 2 10

[(38*)]*ỷḫl. l*{ }*tḫ*[wy.] *hwt* 3

[bdnil. pʿnm] (.) [45]*ttṯ* 3
ʿl[n. pnh. tdʿ.] 3 6 9
[bʿdn] (.) [46]*ksl. yṯ*[br.] 3

[tġṣ. pnt. kslh]	3	
[47]*anš. ḏ*[t. ẓrh]	3/2	9/8
[yšu. gh] (.) [48]*wyṣ*[ḫ]	3	
... [49]*mḫṣ*[. ...]	...	
... (5 lines)		

Synopsis

The tour-of-inspection reveals parched sprouts and spikes in fields cracked by dryness. Dan'el's pathetic caressing of a single sprout and spike is accompanied by a wistful expression of hope for their continued growth and harvest. The inspection is interrupted by the appearance of two messenger boys who tearfully report the news of Aqht's death. There follows Dan'el's shocked reaction and a verbal response lost in the text break of several lines.

General Comments

The ca. 36 lines of preserved or restorable text divide almost evenly into two parts: (a) lines $12-27^{a}$ and (b) lines $27^{b}-48^{a}$.

(a) Lines $12-27^{a}$, consisting of four well-defined strophic units, describe Dan'el and Pughat making the rounds of the corn fields. Dan'el makes two stops to embrace (*√ḥbq*) and kiss (*√nšq*) a sprout (*bṣql*) and a spike (*šblt*). It is not clear from the context whether these correspond to two different types of grain (e. g., 'wheat' [*ḥṭt*] and 'barley' [*šʿrt*]) or to two plants of one type in different phases of their growth (or, possibly, both). This much is, or ought to be clear: there is no basis, evidential or inferential, for assuming that Dan'el is performing a *ritual* act (unless 'embracing' and 'kissing' are deemed *ipso facto* 'ritualistic'). Dan'el's actions, admittedly 'odd', are quite in keeping with his generally pathetic nature and his predisposition for dramatisation. There is something decidedly 'womanish' in Dan'el, the 'man-of-Rapi', the '*hero* of HRNMY'!

(b) Lines $27^{b}-48^{a}$, consisting of five strophic units, describe in exquisite and excruciating detail the sudden appearance of two distraught and dissheveled youths, Aqht's 'bosom pals' no doubt.[1] Their appearance is first spotted by – who else! – Pughat who, even from afar, keenly

[1] For a detailed literary and philological analysis of this scene, cf. already UF 15:105–17, which forms the basis for the following commentary.

discerns that theirs is not a mission of peace.[2] She notices that they are walking at a distance from each other[3] rather than side-by-side[4], and that their progression is not straightforward: they walk as though 'coming-and-going', now advancing now retreating.[5] Pughat merely senses what we, the audience, know for certain, viz., that this is the irresolute gait of anguished souls bearing Jobian tidings.

As they come closer, the evidence becomes increasingly clear: the lads are pummeling their heads in grief, in their gesticulations unwittingly simulating (as the poet's description indicates) the manner of Aqht's murder (1.18:IV): the heroine, but not the audience, is mercifully spared the bitter irony. Pughat also observes that whereas their head-bands are untied, causing their long hair to fall loose and dissheveled over their faces,[6] they are girded at the waist[7] with what is evidently – more to Pughat than to us – a 'funerary belt' (Heb. *niqpā*^{h}).[8] Finally, as the

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[2] Ug. *in šlm*; cf. 2 Chron. 15:5. – 'Seeing' and 'understanding' are closely related concepts: cf. e.g. English 'I see' = 'I understand' and 'think clearly'. In Heb., cf. *bīna*^{h} 'understanding' (< $\sqrt{b(y)n}$ 'be clear, light'). For Heb. $\sqrt{r'h}$ = 'understand', cf. conveniently HAL, 1079–80, and references *ibid.*

[3] Lit., 'alone' (< $\sqrt{bdd}$ + adv. *y*), first recognized apparently by Dijkstra–De Moor (UF 7). But their rendering indicates that they missed the nuance of 'solitary' which invariably accompanies $\sqrt{bdd}$ in Hebrew.

[4] Cf. Am. 3:3 (reading, with LXX, *nodā'û* ($\sqrt{yd'}$) for MT's *no'ādu*). (It is still a common sight today to see two Arab youths walking arm-in-arm or hand-in-hand on a country road or city street.)

[5] The *yaqtula* form of the verbs, hardly noted in the standard Grammars, is one of the few demonstrably *bona fide* subjunctives of Ugaritic poetry. The verbs combine the two basic features of subjunctivity: syntactic subordination and an 'as-if' or 'would-be' modality. For discussion of the subjunctive in Ugaritic, cf. Gordon, UT § 9, 12; Herdner, *Syria* 24 (1944–45): 117; Aistleitner, UGU, § 114; Segert, BGUL, § 64.33. For 2nd millennium Canaanite generally, cf. W. Moran, *Or* 29 (1960): 1–19, and *idem.*, in: BANE, 72–75 ("the existence of a form [*yaqtula*] corresponding to the Arabic subjunctive is beyond doubt for the 14th cent. Canaanite of Byblos" [*ibid.*, p. 74]).

[6] Young men wore their hair long and tied with a head-band around the forehead, not unlike the style popularized in Hollywood movies on O.T. themes. Cf. the pictorial representations of young 'Syrians' in ANEP # # 43, 46–7, 52–5, and on the *Aḥiram* sarcophagus, to which we shall return shortly below.

[7] Ug. MTN, encountered earlier (1.17:VI:22) in the sense of 'sinew, tendon' (= Akk. *matnu*) corresponds in the dual form to Heb. *moṯnay'm*, designating the tendons and muscles on either side of the back at the hips or waist. Cp. Jer. 13:11: "Like a loincloth (*'ēzôr*; cf. Ug. UZR) clings to a man's waist (*moṯnê 'iš*) so have I fastened to me the entire House of Israel"; 1 Kgs. 12:10: "My 'little-one' (= *membrum virilis*) is thicker than (the width of) my father's hips (*mi-moṯnê 'abî*)."

[8] Deriving from $\sqrt{nqp}$ 'encircle'. Cp. Is. 3:24: "Then shall it come to pass: instead of fragrance, (the smell of) rot; instead of a (costly) sash, a *niqpa*^{h} *(LXX: σχοίνιον);* instead of a 'hair-set', baldness; instead of a necklace(?), a band of sack-cloth; yea,

viewing range closes yet further, all doubt is dispelled in Pughat's mind at the sight of the tears, the size of quarter-sheqel pieces, rolling down the adolescent cheeks, and the hand-covered mouths.[9]

(c) The message as delivered by the lads, unfortunately dislocated in part but as we have seen, reconstructable, is a masterpiece of tragi-comedy. The audience doesn't know whether to cry in sympathy with their agony (and the still greater agony of Dan'el and Pughat which awaits momentarily), or to laugh at the hilarity of their bumbling performance as heralds.[10] But at the end of their farcical introduction, the lads regain their composure, and transmit the dreadful news of Aqht's death together with an accurate account of the circumstances.[11] Despite their youthful innocence and inexperience, the lads harbour no illusions concerning Anat's direct responsibility for the crime – the rôle of the Sutean Yṭpn receives no mention in their report, and we are left to guess how his identity became known to Pughat and her father. – Once again, 'youth-speaks-truth' in *Aqht*!

§ *1.19:II:27–33*

1. The narrative implies a set of stark contrasts between 'normal' and 'abnormal' which express on the narrative level the inversions on the micro- and macrocosmic planes occasioned by Aqht's murder: 'moisture' > 'dryness'; 'life' > 'death'; and 'human happiness' > 'sorrow and grief', and all as suddenly and unexpectedly as the arrival of the messenger-boys.

*NORMAL / IDEAL	ABNORMAL / REAL
**hlk. bšlm*	> *in. š*[lm.] *bhlk...*
**yḥd(y). yṣʿdn*	> *bddy. yṣ*[ʿdn]

〈nudity〉 instead of beauty". The same technique of stark contrasts for dramatic effect is implicit in the present Ugaritic description as well; see momentarily below.

[9] As a monetary denomination, the 'quarter-sheqel' (*rbʿ*) was current as late as the first century C.E., with interim attestations at Elephantine and Samaria/Jericho: cf. P. Benoit *et al.*, DJD II (1961): 90; Eshel and Misgav, IEJ 38 (1988): 158–76. – The 'covering of the mouth' (if correctly restored) is to control the coughing that results from excessive weeping; but it may also connote 'mourning' (cf. Ez. 24:26 f. and Mic. 3:7). The entire scene has a striking parallel in Classical Greek literature, indicative of the universal diffusion of mourning rites: cf. *The Choephorae*, II. 25 f., 427 ff.

[10] Cf. shortly below.

[11] We are not told how they learned the details. We are forced to guess whether there may have been eye-witnesses to the crime who eventually 'spread the word', or – more likely – they were informed by Anat personally who, out of remorse of conscience, took full responsibility for the crime, and even despatched them (cf. line 38: *ḫṭ*[m]. *ʿnt*, suggesting that the message originates with the goddess).

**asr. pdm*	> [*la*]*sr. pdm*
**n(w)ḥ. ydm*	> [*ydm.*] *ʿl. pd*
**ptḥ. mtnm*	> *asr. m*[tnm]
**asr. mḫlpt*	> [ḫsp./lasr]. *mḫlpt*

The corresponding antitheses on the macrocosmic level were noted above:

šmm. šmn. tmṯrn	> *bl. ṯl. bl. rbb*
nḫlm. tlk. nbtm	> *bl. ṯbn. ql. bʿl*

On the personal, microcosmic level, the following intra-textual comparison all but speaks for itself:

1.17:II:8 ff.	*1.19:II:44 ff.*
b⟨riš⟩.d!ni[*l*]. ⟨[*pit*]⟩. *tšmḫ*	[*bdnil. pʿnm.*] *tṯt*
wʿl. yṣḥl. ⟨[*pnm*]⟩	*ʿl*[*n. pnh. tdʿ*] ...
yprq. lṣb. wyṣḥq ...	[*bʿdn.*] *ksl. yṯ*[*br*] ...
yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ	*yšu. gḥ. wyṣ*[*ḥ*] ...
aṯbn. ank. wanḫn ...	[...]
kyld. bn. ly. km. aḫy ...	*mḫṣ*[. aqht. ǵzr ?]

Less self-evident but no less significant is this second intra-textual comparison, in which a sharp narrative contrast highlights the major turning point in the drama which the present scene represents:

1.17:V	*1.19:II*
[10]*...hlk. kṯr. kyʿn* ...	[28]*...*(*b*)*hlk. ǵlmm*
[15]*...gm. laṯth. kyṣḥ*	[40]*...tša. gḥm. w*[*tṣḥn*]
[16]*šmʿ. mṯt. dnty*	[41]*šmʿ. ldnil* ...

We have here two 'messenger-scenes':

in	in
1.17:V, *a god* arrives unexpectedly at the home of a man and his *wife* and is welcomed with *traditional hospitality*. He bears a *gift* which signifies the *beginning* of Aqht's life as a man. The female *DNTY* is in her *normal ambience* acting in her *sterotyped rôle* as wife and 'house-manager'.	1.19:I, two *mortals* arrive unexpectedly to a man and his *daughter in the fields* and are received with *concern and apprehension*. They bear a *message* concerning the *termination* of Aqht's life as a man. The female *Pughat* is *away from home* after having interrupted her *normal* household activity.

From this moment onwards, Dan'el's life is 'upside-down', his world more surrealistic than real. Hitherto he was concerned with 'life' and

its attendant responsibilities: the life of his family, of his crops, and of his social milieu. Henceforth his life will center on 'death' and *its* attendant activities: recovery of his son's mortal remains; burial; mourning; and blood-redemption. As for Pughat, her life too is now totally transformed. She will no longer be the normal, simple farm-girl. She is destined for 'abnormal' female heroism as a *ĠZRT, exchanging the wool-fleece (Ś'R) for a warrior's suit (NPŞ) and the water-jug for a dagger (ḤRB/Ḫ[LPN]). Again she will leave home (as did her brother before her!), this time on a life-or-death mission of blood-redemption. Dan'el and Dnty remain behind.

The basic 'reformist' *Tendenz* of our story, it seems to me, is as obvious as the literary sophistication of its means of expression.

2. The description of the grief-stricken lads invites comparison, on the level of literary craftsmanship, with the genius of Homeric epic; but on the literary-historical level, it brings to mind the reliefs on the *Aḥiram* sarcophagus from 11 – 10th cent. Byblos.[12] J. B. Pritchard writes (ANEP, 302):

> "Facing the king (Aḥiram) are seven figures, all of whom have hair extending to the shoulders, but are without beards, and are dressed in a long robe which is held tightly around the waist by a belt tied in front".

The absence of beards suggests adolescents, their shoulder-length hair fastened by head-bands at the temples (Ug. PDM). Perhaps they are the royal princes paying homage (and bringing food!) to the 'shade' (Ug. ẒL) of their deceased father.[13] The 'belt in front' recalls the 'bound hips' of our text, probably the 'funeral belt' noted above. In sum: one may well suppose that the messenger boys of *Aqht* resembled these Byblian princes *grosso modo*, except for being more dissheveled and overcome with genuine rather than 'stylized' grief.

§ *1.19:II:36^b – 38; 41 – 44*

In its restored and reconstructed form, the speech (including – contrary to prosodic norm! – the narrator's introduction), consists of

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[12] Cf. M. Chéhab, *Mélanges St. Joseph* 46 (1970 – 71): 107 – 17; E. Porada, JANES V (1973): 355 – 71. For the photographs of the sarcophagus, cf. ANEP, *# # 456 – 59*.

[13] Writes Pritchard (ibid., 302): "The first [of the male figures] holds a fly-whisk – which he waves over the offering placed on a table before the king. Two men follow, carrying dishes or cups [for drinking!]; the last four figures merely salute the king with upraised and out-turned hands". (The word 'salute' is an unfelicitous choice. The upraised hands are a posture of prayer before the deceased, now divinized, king who has become an object of worship for his descendants (cf. text 1.108). The turned-out palms symbolize, as they foreshadow, the 'falling on the face' (Heb. $\sqrt{npl}$ *ap*(*y*)*m* = Ug. $\sqrt{hbr}$ + $\sqrt{npl}$) in homage.)

two strophic units, the strophic break occurring – again, contrary to prosodic norm! – in the middle of the oration, between the gist of the message – "hero-Aqht is dead!" – and the oral commentary elaborating the circumstances.

Line 41 introduces the message with the rhetorical 'listen' so familiar to students of the Bible from prophetic literature.[14] The lads are obviously imitating the speech-forms of official heraldry. However, well-trained heralds would have at this point continued, as they read (or quoted) from the tablet/scroll, with (line 38): "Heading (of message): Calamity // Signed: Anat", and would have concluded with the starkly formulated message proper: "hero-Aqht is dead!".[15]

But these wretched lads carry no document, nor have they any prior training or experience as heralds. Add to this their emotional involvement and upset, and one can readily understand why they have difficulty 'getting-to-the-point'. So they prolong the introduction (lines 36^b-37), hoping to soften the blow by procrastination. But their amateurish improvisations only succeed in prolonging the agony of anticipation, one word-choice more disastrous than, and contradicted by, the next. Thus: *šrr. m*[tbrkm] = $\sqrt{\check{s}rr}$ 'be firmly established'[16] + $\sqrt{tbr}$ 'break-down'; *nbšrkm...mdh*[mt] = $\sqrt{bšr}$ 'bring-good-news' (cf. 2 Sam. 4:10)[17] + $\sqrt{dhm}$ 'shock; come-to-grief'.[18]

Having finally uttered the seemingly ineffable (line 42^a), the lads take a breath (corresponding to the strophic break!) and then, as though relieved of a heavy burden (cf. above, *špnhm. tliym*), they proceed to recount fluently, almost compulsively, the exact manner of Aqht's exe-

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[14] If any additional proof be necessary that the (classical) prophet saw himself as the divine's 'messenger', and spoke accordingly (cf. C. Westermann, *Grundformen Prophetischer Rede* [München, 1960], § B, II; Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (1960): 212 f.), this Ugaritic text would provide it.

[15] Cf. 1.5:VI:3,9 f.: [tšu. ghm. wtṣ]*ḫ...mt. aliyn. b'l...*; 2 Sam. 4:10, 11:24.

[16] Ug. $\sqrt{\check{s}rr}$ = Syr.-Aram. $\sqrt{\check{s}rr}$ 'firm, strong; true, established'. But $\sqrt{\check{s}rr}$ also evokes Heb. *šᵉrîr* 'muscle' = Ug. *ksl*, occurring in the 'shock formulae' with $\sqrt{tbr}$. Thus *šrr. m*[tbrkm] is already anticipating ... *ksl. ytbr* in line 46 below.

[17] Cf. also Jer. 20:15, where the 'messenger' (*mbśr*) announces the birth of a son(!), thus bringing great happiness to the father. Cf. also Ar. $\sqrt{bšr}$ (Blachère et al., *op. cit.*, I, 632–37: "basic notion: 'joy'..."); Akk. *b/pussuru* 'report news pleasant to listener' (CAD, vol. B [1965]: 347 f.; AHw, 142, 1299). Cf. further Dietrich – Loretz, UF 14:303 ff.

[18] Cf. Ar. *dahama* 'crushing (of an event)'; *duhaym* 'misfortune'; O.T. *nidhām* 'be shocked'; *Yabne-Yam* (KAI, 200, end): ...whš]*bt. 't.* [bgd. ']*bdk. wl'. tdhmw* (or: *tdhmn*[w]), "...that thou mayst [re]turn the [garment] of thy servant and (thus) not let him come to grief". Cf. Ex. 22:25 f., and discussion in S. Yeivin, *BiOr* (1962):6; J. Naveh, IEJ (1964): 158 f. The basic meaning of $\sqrt{dhm}$ is 'be black', related to Akk. *da'āmu* 'be dark; darken', now also in Eblaite as *ti'amu* = */dihāmu(m)/*: cf. P. Fronzaroli, *Quad. Semitici* [1984]: 151.

cution, as if trying to erase the memory of their tongue-tied performance at the outset. But by the time they reach (line 44) *kiṯl. brlth*, they realize from the deathly pallor of Dan'el's face, that if they continue to pour out the gruesome details – "his blood she spillt like water / like a slaughtered-beast (bleeding) on its knees" – they themselves might well be guilty of murder! So they stop short, terminating their account with a 'bloodless' improvisation: "he fell and she dispossessed him (of his bow)".

Excursus XIV: Philological Notes

§ 1. PALT[1]

This word has troubled commentators from the outset. Since its etymology remains totally obscure, its translation is generally (if at all) *ad sensum*.[2] Yet despite their differences, most scholars take PALT as describing the (arid) *condition* of the field rather than the type, whether defined in terms of crop or method of cultivation.

This assumption is supported by the consideration that in the symmetrically structured, nearly verbatim sequel in lines 19 ff., the word PALT is replaced by AKLT, in seemingly synonymous parallelism with ḤMDRT (replacing ÝGLM[3]):

1.19:II:12–15	*1.19:II:19–22*
[12]*ydnil. ysb. PALTh*	[19]*ydni!⟨l⟩. ysb. AKLTh*
[13]*bṣql. yph. bPALT*	*yph*(.) [20]*šblt. bAKLT*
bṣql(.)[14]*yph. byǵlm*	*šblt. yph!* [21]*bḤMDRT*
bṣql. yḫbq(.)[15]*wynšq*	*šblt. yḫ*[*bq*](.) [22]*wynšq*

Ug. ḤMDRT is cognate, perhaps even a borrowing, of Akk. *ḫamadīrūtu*, an abstract nominal formation deriving from *ḫamadī/āru* 'be dried out' (AHw, 315. 1558; CAD, vol. Ḥ, 57 f.). The parallelism with AKLT permits (though does not necessitate) the inference of a similar meaning for the latter, possibly related to Akk. *akkullātu*, denoting – *apud* CAD![4] – "a field or terrain characterized by clods

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[1] This note is based on my previous discussion in UF 16:137–39. To the bibliographical references there, add: J. Sapin, UF 15:169 (n. 61).

[2] See the review of scholarly opinion in my aforecited article. J. Sapin (*loc. cit.*) takes PALT to be a LW from Akk. *paštu/paltu* (Ar. *fa's*!), 'axe, hatched', overlooking (*i. a.*) the fact that the phonetic development *-št-* > *-lt-* in Akkadian almost certainly post-dates the composition of *Aqht*, whose *terminus ad quem* is ca. 1350 B.C.E.

[3] See shortly below, § 4.

[4] Vol. A-1, 275; contrast, however AHw, 30a.

or similar undesirable formations". Since Ug., unlike Heb., prefers $\sqrt{lḥm}$ and $\sqrt{sp}$ for 'eating' (especially of 'intelligent beings'), and attests AKLM for animal-like 'devourers', it may be surmised that AKLT denotes 'grazing-' or 'steppe-land', Heb. *miḏbar*.[5] The poet's reference to Dan'el's *cultivated* fields as AKLT is thus tantamount to equating them with the hard and stony 'steppe-land' fit for animal grazing but not for agriculture.[6]

The equation PALT = AKLT = ḤMDRT does not, however, solve the problem of etymology for PALT. Since no Semitic root $\sqrt{p'l}$ is known with the meaning required by the context, I have elsewhere suggested[7] that PALT may be a poetic neologism, viz., a hybridizing of $\sqrt{p'(w/y)}$ = Ar. *fa'aya* (var. *fa'awa*), 'cleave, split'[8], and $\sqrt{lt(w/y?)}$, cognate with Akk. *letû*, with identical meaning,[9] and constructed to rhyme with, hence evoke, AKLT, with which it shares three of its four consonants.

The inspiration for this 'tour-de-force' may have come from one or both of the following: (1) the pentasyllabic (and possible LW) ḤMDRT, which a poetic imagination may have parsed as two words: *ḤMM (< $\sqrt{ḥmm}$) 'hot' and *DRT (< $\sqrt{dr}(r)$ = Ar. *darra*[10]), approx. 'glowing heat'; and/or (2) the practice, outlawed in O.T. legislation (Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:9) but presumably common, of sowing fields with two types of seed simultaneously.[11]

§ 2. *BṢQL*[12]

It is generally agreed that BṢQL belongs to a small nominal class of 'qtl + L', represented in Heb. by KRML 'orchard' as well as 'young-

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[5] AHw, 26; CAD, A-1, 250 f.

[6] For the antithesis 'cultivated-land' vs. 'steppe-land', cf. *e.g.*, Isa. 32:15; 35:1 – 2; and Jer. 12:10.

[7] Cf. note 1 above.

[8] Lane, AEL, 2326; Hava, *op. cit.*, 543.

[9] AHw, 546; CAD, vol. L, 148.

[10] For possible Ug. reflexes of this root elsewhere, cf. my MLD, 47 f.; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 539, s. v.

[11] This technique of 'art-imitating-life' to which we drew attention earlier – cf. already the discussion in MLD, 133 (to 1.5:VI:20) – may also explain why Dan'el makes *two* stops before the arrival of the (*two*) messengers – surely no harm would have been done to the narrative plot had Dan'el embraced and kissed the BṢQL alone! Note too how this duality continues with the two messengers (ĠLMM) confronting the pair Dan'el-and-Pughat, as well as the several dual nouns in the sequel: PDM, [YDM], M[TNM], and [ŠPTM?], concentrated in the space of a few lines.

[12] The following discussion is based largely on RB 91 (1984): 109 – 11.

corn';[13] GBʿL (var. *gaḫiʿa*) 'flower-bed'; and ʿRPL (< √*ʿrp* 'precipitate') 'fog'.[14]

The semantic significance of the affformative L has not to my knowledge been established.[15] But with the exception of KRML 'orchard', the examples cited above are more 'potential' than 'actual': KRML = 'unripened corn', i. e., not *fully* 'corn'; GBʿL = 'a would-be flower'; and ʿRPL = 'potential rain'.

Etymologically, the scholarly consensus is that √*bṣq* is cognate with the Heb. word for 'dough' (*bāṣēq*), allegedly – to my mind, erroneously – 'grow, swell'.[16] The occurrence of Ug. BṢQL in st. cstr. with ʿRGZ, a plant used for healing horses (1.85:5), precludes taking BṢQL as a quasi-technical term for 'corn-stalk', virtually synonymous with ŠBLT, as one might be tempted to infer from the *Aqht* context alone.[17]

The key to a proper understanding of Ug. BṢQL, in my opinion, lies in two texts, one Ugaritic the other Biblical Hebrew: (a) *šblt. bǵlph* (1.19:I:18 f.); and (b) 2 Kgs. 4:42, whose bearing on the Ugaritic (and vice versa) was first remarked by Cassuto a half-century ago.[18]

(a) As was noted earlier, the phrase *šblt. bǵlph* defines, together with *prʿ. qẓ*, the time setting of the preceding scene. But very little time has elapsed since the narrator's comment in 1.19:I:18 f. and Dan'el's present activity in the fields; certainly less than a full day. Therefore,

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[13] Distinguished in HAL as homonyms I and IV respectively.

[14] For the classification, cf. Bauer – Leander, *Hist. Gr.*, § 61 G; J. Aistleitner, UGU, §§ 11, 42. But cf. the dissent of P. Jouön, *Grammaire de l'Hebreu Biblique* (1923/1965): § 88 M*m*.

[15] R. Meyer (*Heb. Gr.*, II, 40) speaks merely of 'appelative nouns with L afformatives'. At the turn of the century F. Praetorius (ZDMG 57 [1903]: 530 – 34) spoke of a 'caritative L' in certain female PNN which he related to a diminutival function having supposedly entered Semitic from Indo-European (*ibid.*, 533). However, he hastened to add (in footnote): "Ich möchte ... ausdrücklich bemerken, daß angehängtes *l* manchmal auch anderen Ursprungs und Wesen zu sein scheint". But he goes no further. (Note well that a presumed 'caritative L' might help to 'explain' the kissing and hugging which Dan'el bestows first on the BṢQL, then on the ŠBLT...).

[16] Cf. Ges.-Bühl, BDB, and HAL, s. v.

[17] Cf. correctly, Dijkstra – De Moor (UF 7:203), who render BṢQL by 'shoot' (< √*bṣq* 'grow'). But a 'shoot' presupposes a 'main stock' from which to 'shoot out'. And such a 'main stock' is not forthcoming here in *Aqht*. – The interpretation of BṢQL espoused by Ch. Cohen and D. Sivan (*The Ugaritic Hippiatric Texts: A Critical Edition* [AOS, 1983]: 19) as "a dry-measure of some type", totally ignores the requirements of the present *Aqht* context and is hardly convincing even considered solely in terms of the Hippiatric Texts. Thus, line 5 is *not* parallel to line 10 (*pace* Cohen – Sivan) – note the absence of ŠT/BṢQL before MǴMǴ; and the analogy with Heb. *ʿomer* is far from conclusive (cf. HAL, 803 f.).

[18] Cf. *Or* 8 (1939): 238 – 43 = BOS II (1975): 193 – 205.

the ŠBLT which Dan'el embraces in 1.19:II:19 ff. is still a *šblt. bǵlph*, a still-green sheaf whose kernels are in the husk and which must still grow ($\sqrt{np^{\epsilon}}$) before it can be harvested and milled. Now what is true of the ŠBLT is necessarily true of the BṢQL hugged and kissed a few moments earlier; and, indeed, Dan'el addresses them each in the very same terms.

(b) The phrase *krml. bṣqln(w)* of 2 Kgs. 4:42, whose association with the present Ug. text represents, in the words of J. Barr, "as certain and successful a philological treatment as can ever be expected",[19] is rendered by the Aram. Targum *pyrwkn. blbwšh* "dry-ears (each) in its husk (lit., 'dress')."[20] Whatever may have been the Targumist's Heb. *Vorlage*, he obviously understood MT's *bṣqln(w)* as essentially identical with Ug. BǴLPH; and so has it mostly been interpreted in Jewish exegetical tradition through the subsequent centuries.[21] If correctly interpreted, the mandatory conclusion is that BHeb. knew a word BṢQL(N) < $\sqrt{bṣq}$ denoting 'sheath, husk'. – This determination obviously raises a question with respect to the basic meaning of Heb. $\sqrt{bṣq}$.

In Deut. 8.4 we read: שִׂמְלָתְךָ לֹא־בָלְתָה מֵעָלֶיךָ וְרַגְלְךָ לֹא־בָצֵקָה which in Neh. 9:21 is paraphrased as שַׂלְמוֹתֵיהֶם לֹא־בָלוּ וְרַגְלֵיהֶם לֹא בָצֵקוּ. The Deut. text is rendered by LXX^{B}: "your feet were not calloused (ἐτυλώθησαν[22]), i. e., 'overgrown' or 'encrusted with hard skin'. This

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[19] J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (1968): 294. But Barr goes on to say: "[The equation] does not give us the exact sense in Hebrew". This is true, I submit, as long as the underlying etymological basis is incorrectly understood. Cf. momentarily below.

[20] Cf. M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1170, s. v.

[21] Cf. *Ibn-Janaḥ* (11th cent.), *Sēfer Ha-Šorašîm* (ed. Bacher): 436, and his European contemporary RASHI, both quoting the Targum; Kimḥi (13th cent.): *bqlyptw. ktrgwmw* "in its husk, *cum* Targum"; D. Altschuler (18th cent. author of the *M^{e}ṣûdôt*): "(cf.) Trg. 'in their husks' ". However, some commentators, while agreeing in principle, were misled by the pron. suff. and the Targum's choice of $\sqrt{lbš}$ into taking the antecedent as referring to 'the man'. Thus already the pseudo-epigraphic (8th cent.) *Pirqê de-Rabbi Eliezer*, § XXXV, p. 126 (ed. Broda = 264 ed. Friedlander): "The Lord said to him: 'Jacob, there is bread in your knapsack (*b^{e}ṣiqlôn^{e}ḵā*) and a well in front; eat and drink in this place". Similarly, Gersonides (14th cent.), in his commentary on 2 Kgs. 4:42, E. Ben-Yehuda – N. H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), *Thesaurus*, vol. XI (1946): 5612 ("a sort of double-bag suspended on either side of the donkey...", a noteworthy example of 'hyper-realistic' exegesis!) and from the latter into modern Hebrew generally. Cp. more recently NJPS Bible translation of *The Prophets* (Philadelphia, 1978): 293: "... and some fresh grain in his sack", with appended note: "Or 'on the stalk'; perhaps connected with Ugaritic BṢQL".

[22] In Neh. 9:21, LXX renders διερράγησαν (= Heb. $\sqrt{qr^{\epsilon}}$), reflecting a variant reading construed with ὑροδήματα (= *na$^{\epsilon}$ălay^{i}m*) which is conflated in some LXX witnesses to Deut. 8:4, and which may underlie the Targum Onq. rendering of *wmsnk. l'-yḥpw* "And your shoe(s) did not wear out (at the soles)" and Jerome's ... *non est subtritus* (but with reference to skin!). Cf. discussion in J. Blau, VT 6 (1956): 98 f.

rendering contrasts with that of many moderns who assume that √*bṣq* denotes here 'swell', a rendering motivated no doubt, at least in part, by the notion of *bāṣēq* as a 'lump-of-dough'.

But when BHeb speaks of 'swelling/swollen dough' it deems it necessary to add the predicate √*ḥmṣ*, as in:

(a) Ex. 12:34 וַיִּשָּׂא הָעָם אֶת־בְּצֵקוֹ טֶרֶם יֶחְמָץ

"The people carried their dough (in lumps?!) before it leavened (lit., 'swelled')".

(b) Hos. 7:4[23] (text emend.) כֻּלָּם מְנָאֲפִים / כְּמוֹ־תַנּוּר בֹּעֵר הֶמְ⟨ה⟩

אֹפֶה יִשְׁבּוֹת {...} מִלּוּשׁ בָּצֵק עַד חֻמְצָתוֹ

"All adulter – like an oven burning (with passion) are they,

The baker[24] stops kneading the dough before it has leavened."[25]

Thus, it can hardly be maintained that Heb. √*bṣq* means 'grow, swell'. Rather, it signifies 'sheath, skin; husk'. Nominal *bāṣēq* is a 'dough-leaf', i. e., dough kneaded and rolled thin, like 'skin'; and Ug. Heb. BṢQL(n) is a still-green, 'would-be' sheaf of grain whose kernels are still encased in husk.

§ 3. *AḤL. AN*[26]

Most scholars agree with Cassuto[27]:

(a) in connecting AḤL with the alleged precative vocable אַחֲלַי attested in Ps. 119:5, usually rendered in English by the periphrastic "Would that...";

(b) in taking the following AN as the equivalent of Heb. *'annā* 'prithee', or the like.

Though faithful to the spirit of the Ugaritic text, this interpretation is not acceptable as a philological analysis for the following reasons:

(1) If AḤL is an uninflected interjection, then the following, similarly uninflected precative particle AN is both redundant and – if Heb. is the measure – unidiomatic.[28]

(2) The comparison of Ug. AḤL with the allegedly unique 'ḤLY of the post-exilic Ps. 119 reflects a misreading of the Heb. evidence. It

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[23] For a learned discussion of this text and its context, cf. Sh. Paul, VT 18 [1968]: 114–20. But I must respectfully differ with his analysis of vs. 4.

[24] Whose daily work begins at night!

[25] Because he got a 'late start', having been otherwise preoccupied during the night... (The choice of √*šbt* mockingly suggests that the baker was 'resting' from his 'labours'...).

[26] Based on, and in part reproducing, UF 16:140 f.

[27] *Or* 8 (1939): 242 = BOS II (1975): 196.

[28] Cf. the just criticism of Dijkstra–De Moor (UF 7, *loc. cit.*), who take AN to be a demonstrative pronoun. But the corroborative evidence which they cite in support of this interpretation leaves one skeptical.

is surely incorrect to isolate 'ḤLY from the other Pi'el usages of √ḥlh (II) meaning 'entreat, pray, wish', frequently construed with PNM 'face'. This √ḥlh (II) has nothing in common semantically with √ḥlh (I) 'be weak, ill', but is cognate with Ar. and Aram. √ḥly 'be sweet, pleasant':[29] to "...(√ḥlh) the face of the Lord" (Ex. 32:11, etc.) is to render it 'pleasant' or 'agreeable', hence disposed to grant one's request (√bqš) or concur with one's case (√pll[30]).

An illuminating comparison with the Ug. text at hand is furnished by 2 Kgs. 5:3, where a captive Israelite maiden, anxious to return home, feigns concern for the plight of her leprous master when she declares to her mistress: "Were I to entreat for (*aḥălê*[31]) my lord before the prophet of Samaria, then would he cure him of his leprosy". The word *aḥălê*, like the Ug. AḪL, is the inflected (though possibly fossilized) 1 c. sg. 'jussive' impf. of √ḥlh (II), with the archaic preservation of the III-y radical.[32] Had the O.T. writer added the independent 1 c. sg. pron. *'n(k/y)* after the verb, we would have had the precise syntagmatic and semantic equivalent of Ug. AḪL. AN.[33]

§ 4. *(b)*YĠL*(m)*[34]

Prima facie, there is good reason to accept Cassuto's interpretation of this word[35] as deriving from √ġll, denoting as in Ar., 'burning thirst'.[36] Aside from its contextual suitability, this interpretation is supported by the semantic correspondences established by the structural symmetries in lines 12–17//19–24, such that PALT:AKLT :: YĠLM: ḤMDRT.[37]

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[29] Cf. Hava, *op. cit.*, 140: "be sweet, agreeable, pleasant to the sight; show kindness"; Levy, *Wörterbuch*, I, 57, s. v. חלי ("süß sein"), citing TB Arakh. 10[b]: וְאַמַּאי קָרוּ לֵיהּ חָלִיל דְּחָלֵי קָלֵיהּ "And why is it called a 'flute'? Because its sound is sweet" (playing on the sound similarity of *ḥalîl* and √ḥly).

[30] Whence תְּפִלָּה 'prayer' and פְּלִילִים 'judicial proceedings'. Cf. 1 Kgs. 13:6; where √ḥlh = the preliminary 'sweetening-up' stage before the presentation of the 'case' (√pll). In a secular context, cf. Prov. 19:6 and Ps. 45:13.

[31] Lit., 'make agreeable, pleasing'.

[32] As in OAram. (*Sefiré*) *thwy* "sie möge sein" and *thry* "sie möge schwanger werden" (*apud* R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* [Wiesbaden, 1969]: 77). – The second radical L ought to be geminated since the conjugation is factitive (Pi'el). The absence of *dageš forte* may be due to its confusion by the Massoretes with √yḥl 'hope for, anticipate'.

[33] For a similar use of the pronoun, cf. above, 1.17:II:12, the usage dictated, as here, by prosodic rather than by grammatical or semantic requirements.

[34] Based on, and partly reproducing, UF 16:141 f.

[35] Cf. *supra*, § 3, n. 27.

[36] Lane, AEL, 2278 f.

[37] Cf. already Virolleaud, *Dan'el*, 152.

Since, as we have seen (§ 1 above) ḤMDRT denotes 'dryness', the same basic idea would appear to underlie YĠL(m).

Yet one finds that most of the scholarly translations distinguish between YĠLM and ḤMDRT, even though the price paid for the differentiation is a translation of YĠLM usually marked as uncertain. The reasons are not hard to find. Cassuto's interpretation (1) does not take into account the initial Y of YĠL(m); and (2) it fails to reckon with the seemingly masculine form (sg. or plu.) of YĠLM in contrast with the obviously feminine forms of PALT, AKLT, and ḤMDRT, the feminine gender presumably determined by the implied reference **arṣ* 'earth'. In other words, on Cassuto's interpretation we would have expected *ĠLLT.

It thus seems preferable to assume that YĠL(m) has an implied referent different from that of ḤMDRT, and that its etymology, as first suggested by Aistleitner,[38] is $*\sqrt{wġl} > \sqrt{yġl}$, denoting (*pace* WUS), as in Arabic, 'be concealed; penetrate deeply'.[39] The intended allusion would be to the 'buried' plant-bulbs and their attached roots.

To be sure, the choice of this particular word, we may well assume, was probably determined by the assonantal similarity of $\sqrt{yġl}$ and $*\sqrt{ġll}$ 'burning thirst', just as the immediately following UR (= Heb. *'ôrôt*) – see momentarily below – evokes as it presupposes (Ar.) *'awār* 'thirst'.

§ 5. *UR*[40]

Since Virolleaud, scholars are divided as to whether this word is cognate with Ar. *'uwār* (plu. *'ûr*) 'scorching heat (of fire, of the sun); burning (of thirst)'[41], or, is the equivalent of Heb. *'(w)r(w)t* attested in the aforecited (§ 2) 2 Kgs. 4:38 ff., usually rendered 'herbs' (V: herbas agrestes).[42] It does not seem to have occurred to anyone that these two alternatives might not be mutually exclusive.

Cassuto argued against the identification of Ug. UR with Heb. *'(w)r(w)t* on the grounds that:

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[38] WUS, s. v. 1207, followed by Dijkstra – De Moor (UF 7:204) and Del Olmo Lete, MLC, p. 560, s. v.

[39] Cf. Ar. *wāġil* 'deeply rooted' (Wehr – Cowan, *op. cit.*, 1083).

[40] Based on, and partly reproducing, RB 91:11 – 13.

[41] Blachère, et al., *Dictionnaire*, op. cit., 292. – This is the position of Cassuto (Or 8:243 = BOS II: 198); Aistleitner (WUS, s. v. 372); now also Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 525, s. v.

[42] Thus Virolleaud, *Danel*, 152; Driver – Gibson, CML², 143 (= CML [1956]: 135; but contrast p. 61!); Ginsberg (RANE, 274, with hesitation); Caquot – Sznycer (TO, 447); and Dijkstra – De Moor (UF 7:204).

(a) the precise meaning of the Heb. word is obscure;

(b) "Dan'el is interested in cereals, not in ordinary grasses";[43]

(c) if UR = *'(w)r(w)t*, then it must be taken as the subject of the (implied) verb *tpʿ*. But the latter presupposes a fem. subject.

The third argument has persuaded several scholars, reluctant to give up a Ug.-Heb. 'parallel', to modify the prevailing prosodo-syntactic analysis of the immediate context by placing the 'period' after *byǵlm* (line 16) and *[bḫ]mdrt* (line 23) respectively, with UR a sentence-introductory vocative: 'Herb! May the hand of Aqht ... (etc.)'.[44] But this 'solution' plays havoc with the sense as well as the prosody of the text, yielding: *bpalt.* (var. *baklt.*) *bṣql.* (var. *šblt.*) *ypʿ* (var. *tpʿ*). *byǵlm.* (var. *bḫmdrt*), and a (4 + 4) distich pattern – rare generally in Ugaritic and even more so in *Aqht* – which cannot be reconciled with the 'sequence' of verse-patterns in lines $23^{b}-27^{a}$.

The irony is that this prosodo-syntactic revision is unnecessary quite apart from the question of whether Ug. UR is related to Heb. *'(w)r(w)t*. For the very premise of Cassuto's third objection is faulty, reflecting a 'grammaticism' which fails to reckon with 'poetic licence', viz.: that in 'elliptical' parallelism, the audience is expected to supply the grammatically correct verbal form. Thus (e. g.):

bph. rgm. lyṣa // bšpth. hwth (1.19:II:26 = III:21 f.; 35 f.) where the verb LYṢA does 'double-duty' for the masculine RGM as for the feminine HWT; and in

ktmzʿ. kst. dnil...// all. ǵzr... (1.19:I:36 f.//46 ff.) where, as we have seen, the fem. (k)TMZʿ (< $\sqrt{mzʿ}$) does 'double-duty' for the contiguous fem. KST (which determines the form) and the masc. ALL of the B-line, where the audience is expected to supply *(k)YMZʿ.[45]

By contrast, Cassuto's first point of objection is well-taken. The equation is less than convincing as long as the meaning of the Heb. term is not clarified; for we are then at risk of explaining *obscurum per obscurius*.

There are two Hebrew texts which need to be considered in this connection: the frequently cited 2 Kgs. 4:39, and the generally overlooked Is. 26:19.[46] Like the *Aqht* text at hand, 2 Kgs. 4:39 is set within a context of drought. The *'(w)r(w)t* which one of the prophet-disciples sets out

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[43] A strange argument if the precise meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain!

[44] Thus Caquot – Sznycer, Dijkstra – De Moor, and Driver – Gibson (cf. *supra*, n. 42.)

[45] An example from the O.T., selected nearly at random: Isa. 1:27 / צִיּוֹן בְּמִשְׁפָּט תִּפָּדֶה וְשָׁבֶיהָ בִּצְדָקָה "Zion will be redeemed in (an act of) Justice // And her 'returnees' (will be redeemed) in (an act of) Righteousness". Note how the 3 fem. sg. of $\sqrt{pdh}$ serves also for the 3 masc. pl. 'returnees' (the verse being a post-exilic gloss on an 'original' 8th cent. prophecy beginning v. 21 and concluding v. 26).

[46] Cf. already RB 91:112 f.

to 'collect' ($\sqrt{lqṭ}$) are consequently plants which survive conditions of extreme aridity; and the 'wild-vine' (colocynthus) which he ultimately finds and 'collects' ($\sqrt{lqṭ}$) must be a 'species' of the 'genus' *'(w)r(w)t*.

The text in Is. 26:19 is no less relevant and illuminating when properly understood. The first half of the verse describes how God will resurrect the dead: the corpses will rise, the 'dust-dwellers' will awaken (rd.:[47] *⟨y⟩qyṣw*) and will exult-joyfully (rd.: *⟨y⟩rnnw*). The second half of the verse is exegetically problematic until one realizes that MT's TPYL/*tappîl* – H-causative of $\sqrt{npl}$ – conceals an original T(')PYL/*ta'(ă)p̄îl* < $\sqrt{'pl}$ 'be late (of growth)'.[48]

The meaning of v. 19[b] thus clarified is now unequivocal: the dead, whose bodies have long turned to dry dust but who 'survive' as 'spirits' (*r^{e}p̄a'îm*) in the Netherworld beneath the Earth, are metaphorically compared to 'dry plants' (*'(w)r(w)t*) which survive even under conditions of extreme aridity – the Netherworld inhabitants being known to suffer chronic thirst! – thanks to the beneficent 'dew' (*ṭl*)[49] which, unlike the rainfull, continues to fall even in the 'dry summer', and without 'discrimination'. The 'grace' which God shows these 'dry-plants' he will show the languishing dead, and the 'Earth' – here in the sense of 'Netherworld' – will bring forth the 'spirits' as if they were 'late-growths' (*'ap̄ilôt*).

In sum: Heb. *'(w)r(w)t* refers to plants, such as the colocynth, which grow in very arid soil, and is accordingly directly comparable with Ug. UR as used here in *Aqht*. Both terms are no doubt etymologically cognate with Ar. *'uwār*. Our translation 'siccaniae', in the absence of a precise English equivalent, is based on Lat. *siccanus* which the Elder Pliny invented to designate 'dry plants'.

§ 6. *ṢPNHM. TLIYM (//NṢḤY⟨M⟩)*

The correct understanding of ṢPNHM is found for the first, and last, time in a footnote to the (untranslated) text in Caquot–Sznycer's TO (p. 448): "*ṣpn-ḥm*: *ṣpn* semble être un nom de la racine 'cacher'.[50]

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[47] Emendation in accordance with Qumran witness; cf. BHS *ad loc.*

[48] Cf. *'ap̄ilôt* (Ex. 9:32) = LXX ὄποιμα = Tg.^{Jer} *lĕqîsîn* (Heb. *leqeš*!) = RASHI: *m^{e}'ûḥarôt*. Note the implied word-play with $\sqrt{'pl}$ (II) 'be dark', befitting the Netherworld allusion. – The emendation presumes the loss of *aleph quiescens* which characterizes late-BHeb and MHeb (including Qumranic) orthography. Cf. Ex. 10:21 (and RASHI *ad loc.*!); 1 Sam. 15:5; Ez. 42:5 (cf. *Q^{e}rê*!); Ps. 104:29.

[49] And precisely what Dan'el so desperately needs and wants!

[50] Though not explicitly stated, it is nonetheless clear from the heading of the notation that Caquot and Sznycer take ṢPNHM as one word, with *-ḥm* as pronomial suffix. Their contribution is thus to the parsing of the word as well as to its interpretation. Note that ṢPNHM is written both times as one word, without either divider or spacing.

All scholars before and after TO have followed Virolleaud's (mis)lead in two erroneous ways: (1) parsing ṢPNHM as two words, viz.: (PN) *ṢPN* (= Baal's mountain-abode) + particle *hm*; (2) taking ṢPNHM as part of a single verse-line and syntactic unit with *bm. yd.* The result is a translation bizarre in itself and only barely intelligible in context.[51]

Conversely, the translation of the text is without difficulty and its meaning transparent once ṢPNHM is taken to mean 'hide, conceal',[52] the pron., suff. *-hm* referring of course to the twin-messengers: "their secret(s) – lit., 'their hidden-things' – are obviously the message they bear[53] of Aqht's death.

The 'secret(s)' are qualified by two words in evidently synonymous parallelism which fully corroborate this interpretation of ṢPNHM. The word TLIYM derives from a well-known Ug. root √*tly* 'be strong, prevail', attested (*i. a.*) in Baal's epithet ALIYN (with preformative 'elative' 'A as in 'Aqht') and elsewhere (1.3:III:31; 1.101:3) as an epithet (TLIYT) of Baal's mountain-home ṢPN. Indeed it is precisely the collocation of √*ṣpn* and √*tly* here which has misled scholars, insufficiently alert to poetic wiles, to assume a reference to Mt. Ṣpn rather than an expression of the tradition's love of word-play and riddle-like ambiguity.

As used here, √*tly* comes very close to O.T. usage of the Heb. cognate √*lʾh* '(be) overwhelm(ed); (over-)burdened', hence 'tired'. It is in fact remarkable, if insufficiently remarked upon, how often √*lʾh* occurs in BHeb with the overtone of 'burdensome', with particular reference (as here in *Aqht*) to 'internal', i. e., 'emotional' burden.[54]

The root of the parallel term NṢḤY⟨M⟩[55] is less frequent in Ugaritic. In fact, there is probably only one additional occurrence (text. emend.) elsewhere in the poetry, viz., 1.5:II:21, where for the dubious WAṢḤ one should probably read WN!ṢḤ, in hendiadys relationship with √*ygḫ* (= Ar. *waǧuha*) 'be (pre-)eminent'.[56] The root √*nṣḫ* is better

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[51] Cf. e. g., Del Olmo Lete (MLC, 391): "en manos de su Sapānu el triumfo / [en manos] de su Ṣapānu la victoria (sobre) el enemigo".

[52] Though otherwise unknown in Ugaritic, √*ṣpn* 'hide' is attested (in Akkadianized form) in the El-Amarna letters (EA 147:10): cf. Ges-B., HAWAT, 692, s. v.; D. Sivan, AOAT 214 [1984]: 182, 270 (and lit. *ibid.*).

[53] Cf. similarly O.T. *maśśaʾ* 'burden' used as a technical term for a prophetic 'message-of-doom' (Jer. 23:33 f., and the 'Oracles-Against-the-Nations' in Isa. 13 – 23).

[54] Cp. e. g., Is. 1:14: "My soul despiseth your holidays / They are a burden (√*ṭrḥ*) to Me / I am unable (lit., too overburdened) to bear (them)"; Mic. 6:3: "My people: what wrong have I done you? How have I (over-)burdened you (LXX: παρηνώλησα)? Job 4:2 "ou overwhelm (lit., 'over-burden') whoever tries to speak to you".

[55] For the emendation, cf. above, 'Text. and Epigr.', *ad loc.*

[56] The context is Mot's soliloquy (as imagined by a dying, snake-bitten Baal) in which he gloats at the prospect of his uncontested paramountcy among both gods and men. For discussion, cf. my MLD, 117.

known from Hebrew, especially in MHeb and Syriac, denoting 'prevail, conquer, be victorious', identical in meaning with Ug. $\sqrt{l'y}$. In BHeb, $\sqrt{nṣḥ}$ more commonly denotes 'that which prevails over time; endures everlasting'. But of special interest in the present connection is the Chronicler's use of $\sqrt{nṣḥ}$ to denote 'overseer' or 'taskmaster' (2 Chron. 2:1,17) who imposes 'workloads' ($\sqrt{sbl}$; cf. 2 Chron. 34:13). In such a context, $\sqrt{nṣḥ}$ is the approximate, if less pejorative semantic equivalent of $\sqrt{ngś}$ '(op)press(er)', as in Eng. 'oppressive heat'.[57]

By choosing $\sqrt{l'y}$ and $\sqrt{nṣḥ}$ to describe the 'burden' of their sorrowful message, the poet would have us visualize two cough-racked lads 'stooped-over', as if straining under the weight of a heavy load.[58] Lest we forget: we perceive this striking image, like the imagery of the entire description preceding it, through the poetic eyes of Pughat, not Dan'el. In power of imagination no less than of intellect, Pughat is more generously endowed than her father. May we not detect a hint that our poet is in fact a poetess?

§ 7. *AY*

With the exception of Aistleitner (WUS, s. v. 159) who took AY to be a divine-name in Ugaritic,[59] scholars generally agree in seeing it as an indeclinable postpredicative particle, to be rendered either as an interjectory 'Ho!' or, more frequently of late, as an indefinite 'any, whichever'.[60] Etymological support is adduced by the proponents of the former from Ar. *'ay*,[61] by advocates of the latter from Ar. *'ayyu*.[62]

The difficulty hitherto in judging the merits of these proposals has been the restricted contextual usage. Since prior to CTA (1963), the attestation of AY here in 1.19:II:36 was unknown, scholars drew their conclusions from a single formula attested in 1.23:6 and, fragmentarily, in the 'coming-of-age' party (1.17:VI:2–3) discussed earlier: *lḫm. blḫm.*

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[57] Cp. Ex. 5:6 ff., where the taskmasters are labelled *nōgᵉśîm*; and Is. 9:3 + 14:4–5, where the 'sceptre of rule' (*šbṭ. mšl(y)m*) becomes the 'staff of oppression' (*šbṭ. ngś*). For the prophet-poet, the conquerer ($\sqrt{nṣḥ}$) shares with the taskmaster ($\sqrt{nṣḥ}$) the rôle of 'oppressor' ($\sqrt{ngs}$) who imposes a 'yoke of burden' (*'ol-subbāl*) on the conquered.

[58] Cf. already UF 15:113.

[59] Cf. the trenchant criticism of Aistleitner's theory by E. Lipiński, *Syria* 44 (1967): 253–82.

[60] Cf. the brief surveys of opinion in P. Xella, MSS, 45 f., and Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 512, s. v.

[61] Hava, *op. cit.*, 17; Blachère et al., *op. cit.*, I, 320.

[62] Hava, *ibid.*; Blachère et al., *ibid.*, 333 f.

ay // wšty. bḥmr. yn. ay.[63] This context alone will support either of the two proposals advanced equally well.

However, when tested for suitability in the *Aqht* passage at hand, neither proposal commands assent. The rendering 'any' is clearly out of the question, while 'ho!', though semantically feasible, is jarringly raucous in the somber atmosphere of our scene, interspersed though it be with tragicomic elements.

If an exclamatory particle is to be presumed, only 'Alas!' – Heb. *h/'ôi* – can be considered. However, this signification is obviously precluded in the aforecited 'call-to-eat/drink' formula, while the option of homonymity is, in view of the paucity of material, to be avoided on grounds of methodology.

When the two contextual usages are taken together and reduced to a common denominator, one can hardly escape the conclusion that Ug. AY is a particle of emphasis or asseveration meaning 'indeed, truly, to-be-sure'. A possible etymological cognate would be Ar. *'iya*, used mostly as an asseverative particle with oaths.[64]

This interpretation of Ug. AY is also suitable in elucidating the pseudonym AYMR referring to one of the two 'smart clubs' (ṢMDM) fashioned by Koshar for Baal in his battle with Yamm. Occasionally brought into the present discussion, AYMR is generally recognized as consisting of preformative AY and $\sqrt{mr(r)}$ – D stem – meaning 'drive off, away' or the like. Instead of the curious, not to say comical, 'O-what-a-Driver' of UT (§ 19.142) or the syntactically doubtful 'Drive-out-whatever' proffered by TO (137 n.) *seq.* Lipiński,[65] our interpretation yields an appropriate and grammatically impeccable 'Sure-Driver'!

§ 8. tġṣ. pnt. KSLH // ANŠ. dt. zrḥ

This text is part of a literary type-scene cast in formulaic language. It describes the bodily reactions of someone overcome by fright and panic. In 1.3:III:32–5 the subject is Anat, frightened by the advent of Baal's messengers – she fears for Baal's welfare, not her own – and, as it turns out, in vain. In 1.4:II:16–20 (*Baal-Mot*), the same formulae in identical sequence describe Asherah's initial fright at the sight of an

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[63] Dijkstra and De Moor, (*loc. cit.*, 206), are the only ones since CTA to have taken cognizance of this context. CML^2 cites AY in the transcription of the text but ignores it in translation. Del Olmo Lete (AF 2:248, n. 64 = MLC, 392) flatly denies its existence here, reading [w(y/t)ʿ]*ny*. But no attempt is made to justify this reading, epigraphically or otherwise.

[64] Hava, *op. cit.*, 17; Blachère et al., *op. cit.*, 320; Lane, AEL, I, 131 f.

[65] *Loc. cit.* (n. 59), p. 281.

oncoming Baal and Anat in tandem; her declaration in lines 21 ff. makes it clear that she fears for her life: "my assassins ... are they" (*mḫṣy...hm*). However, fright quickly turns to delight as she catches sight of the gleaming objects of gold and silver in her guests' possession – obviously, she concludes, presents for herself.[66]

The text at hand (1.19:II:44^{b}–47) is the third and final occurrence of this type-scene in the extant literature.[67] But unlike the first and second, this is no 'false alarm' by a hyperactive (female!) imagination; and the language, though formulaic, is not hyperbolic. It is not the advent of the messengers which induces the shock (at least in Dan'el) but the message which they deliver.

The text quoted in the heading to this note presents two lexical difficulties, neither of which has been adequately dealt with in the scholarly literature.

(a) KSLH

It is generally assumed that this, the second mention of KSL, is identical in meaning with the one preceding (*b ʿdn. KSL. yṯbr*). But though written identically and possibly homonymic, the two words must be distinguished lexically as KSL I and II. For it is otherwise strange that, after describing how the subject's '(back-)muscles' (= KSL I) collapsed (lit., 'broke'), thus impairing his ability to remain erect, the poet should then reiterate, in the A-line of a new distich, "the corners (PNT) of his muscles did wobble". Nor is it at all clear what the otherwise lucid poet intends by 'corners of muscles'.

As noted above,[68] both anomalies are removed by taking (*pnt*) *ksl* as KSL II (UT § 19.1281) 'a type of garment', known from the administrative text 4.182:9. The meaning of *pnt. ksl* is thus identical with that of *sin. lpš* and *qṣ. all*, while the imagery of $\sqrt{ngṣ}$ *ksl* coincides with that of $\sqrt{mzʿ}$ *kst*, evoked in very similar circumstances of fright and shock.

(b) ANŠ

This word presents two problems:
(1) the semantics of the root $\sqrt{ʾnš}$ which is polyvalent in Ugaritic;[69]

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[66] Cf. discussion of this pericope in my MLD, 25–32.

[67] The idiom $\sqrt{ngṣ}$ (= Ar. *naġaḍa*) *pnt*, no doubt 'borrowed' from the present 'shock-formulae', recurs independently as part of a description of imminent physical collapse subsequent to, and resulting from a powerful blow received in the area of the upper back (*bn. ydm*).

[68] Excursus XIII, § 2, and references *ibid.*

[69] Cf. above, p. 322, fn. 3.

(2) the morphology, *prima facie* an inf. abs. denoting action in past time, but here 'misplaced' in the middle of a sequence of *yqtl* verbs headed by TṮṮ (√*nṭṭ*) – TD^{c} (√*d* (*w*)^{c}) – YṮBR (√*ṭbr*) and continuing with YŠU (√*nš*^{c}) and *YṢḤ* (√*ṣḥḥ*).[70]

As I have suggested elsewhere,[71] ANŠ in this context can only be a nominal formation √*ʾnš* 'be friendly (with); companion (of)' – Ar. *anisa* – but used in the present formula as a preposition meaning 'along, together, in unison with'. Such prepositional usages of nouns are of course commonplace in (NW)Semitic: cp. Ug.-Heb. *btk* 'inside (of)' = *bqrb*; and Ug. *aṯr* 'following, after, in-the-wake-of'.

ACT III – SCENE 3 (1.19:II:55 – IV:6)

TEXT

[55]*bnšỉ*[. ʿnh. wyphn]	3	6	9
[yḥd] (.) [56]*b̊ʿrpṯ̊*[. nšrm]	3		
(III) [yšu(.) [1]gh.] *ẘyṣḥ*	3		
k̊ṅ[p. nšrm](.) [2]*bʿl. yṯb*⟨*r*⟩	4	7	
bʿl. yṯb̊r̊[. diy. hmt]	3		
[3]*tqln. tḥ*⟨*t.*⟩ *pʿny*	3	6	
ibqʿ[. kbdthm. w][4]*aḥd*	3		
hm. iṯ. šmt	2		
hm. ỉ[ṯ] (.) [5]*ʿẓm*	2	6	
abk!*y. waq̊brnh*	2		
[6]*ašt. bḥrt. ilm. arṣ*!	3	6	
[7]*bph. rgm. lyṣa*	3		
bšpth. hwṯ̊[h]	2		
[8]*knp. nšrm. bʿl. yṯbr*	4	7	
[9]*bʿl. ṯbr. diy.*(.) *hmt*	3		
tq(!)*ln*(.) [10]*tḥt. pʿnh*	3	6	
ybqʿ. kbdthm. ẘ[yḥd]	3		

[70] Despite some current (mis)conceptions to the contrary, YQTL and QTL forms of (non-identical) verbs are not freely interchangeable in Ugaritic poetry.

[71] Cf. UF 15:115.

[11]*in. šmt. in. ʿẓm* (1 : 1) 2 5
yšu. gḥ(.) [12]*wyṣḥ* 3

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knp. nšrm̊. ⟨bʿl⟩. ybn 4 7
[13]*bʿl. ybn. diy. hmt* 3 10
nšrm(.) [14]*i̊t̊pr. wdu* 3

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bnši. ʿnh. wyp⟨h⟩n 3
[15]*yḥd. hrgb* 2 7
ab. nšrm 2 10
[16]*yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ* 3

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k̊np. hr[g]*b*(.) [17]*bʿl. yṯb⟨r⟩* 4 7
bʿl. yṯ̊br. diy[.] *h̊ẘi̊* 3
[18]*wyql. tḥt. pʿny* 3 6
i̊bqʿ. kbd[h (.) [19]*waḥd* 3
hm. iṯ. šmt 2 9
hm. iṯ[. ʿẓm] 2 6
[20]*ab̊k̊y. waqbrn* 2
ašt. bḫrt(.) [21]*i̊l̊m̊* [. arṣ] 3 6
[bph. rgm. lyṣa] 3
[bšp][22]*i̊ḥ. hwth* 2

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knp. hrgb. bʿl. i̊br 4 7
[23]*bʿl. ṯbr. diy. hwt* 3
wyql(.) [24]*tḥt. pʿnh* 3 6
ybqʿ. kbdh. wyḥd 3
[25]*i̊n̊. šmt. in. ʿẓm* (1 : 1) 2 5
yšu. gḥ(.) [26]*wyṣḥ* 3

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knp. hrgb. bʿl. ybn 4 7
[27]*b̊ʿl. ybn. diy. hwt* 3 10
hrgb̊(.) [28]*tpr. wdu* 3

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bnši. ʿnh(.) [29]*ẘyphn*	3		
yḥd. ṣml	2	7	
um. nšrm	2		10
[30]*yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3		

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knp. ṣml(.) [31]*bʿl. yṯbr*	4	7	
bʿl. yṯbr. ḏiy(.) [32]*hyt*	3		
tql. thṭ pʿny	3	6	
ibqʿ(.) [33]*kbdh. waḥd*	3		
hm. iṯ. smt	2		
⟨*hm.*⟩ *iṯ* (.) [34]*ʿzm*	2	6	
abky. waqbrnh	2		
aštn(.) [35]*bḫrt. ilm. arṣ*	3	6	
bph. rgm. lẏ[ṣ]*a*	3		
[36]*bšpth. hwth*	2		8

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knp. ṣml. bʿ[l] (.) ⟨*ṯbr*⟩	4	7	
[37]*bʿl. ṯbr. diy. hyt*	3		
tql̊. t̊ḥṯ̊(.) [38]*pʿnh*	3	6	
ybqʿ. kbdh. wyḥd	3		8
[39]*iṯ. smt. iṯ. ʿzm*	(1 : 1) 2		

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wyqḥ. bḥm(.) [40]*aqht*	3		
yb⟨*ky*?⟩ *lẏqẑ*	2	7	
ybky. wyqbr	2		10
[41]*yqbr*{ }*nn. bmdgt. bknrt*	3	6	
[42]*wyšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3		

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knp. nšrm(.) [43]*bʿl. yṯbr*	4	7	
bʿl. yṯbr. diy(.) [44]*hmt*	3		
hm. tʿpn. ʾl. qbr. bny.	3	6	
[45]*tšḫṭann. bšnth qr. my*[m]	3		

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[46]*mlk. yṣm. ylkm. qr. mym*	4	7	
dʿ[lk] (.) [47]*mḫṣ. aqht. ġzr*	3		

amd. gr(.) *bt*(.) *il*	3	6	
[48]*ʿnt. brḥ. pʿlm*{ }*ḥ*	3		
ʿnt. pdr. dr̊	2		
[49]*ʿdb. uḫry. mṭ. ydḥ*	4	7	
[50]*ymġ. lmrrt. tġll. bnr*	3		10
[51]*yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3		
ylk. mrrt(.) [52]*tġll. bnr*	3	6	
dʿlk. mḫṣ. aqht(.) [53]*ġzr*	3		12
šršk. barṣ. al(.) [54]*ypʿ*	3	6	
riš. ġly. bd. nsʿk	3		
[55]*ʿnt. brḥ. pʿlmḥ*	3	5	
[56]*ʿnt. pdr. dr*	2		
ʿdb. uḫry. mṭ(.) *ydḥ*	4	7	
[1]*ymġ. lqrt. ablm̊*	3		10
(IV) *ablm*(.) [2]*qrt. zbl. yrḥ*	3	6	
yšu. gḥ(.) [3]*wyṣḥ*	3		
ylk. qrt. ablm	3	6	
[4]*dʿlk. mḫṣ. aqht. ġzr*	3		
[5]*ʿwrt. yštk. bʿl*	3	5	
lḥt. [6]*wʿlmḥ*	2		
l̊ʿnt. pdr. dr	2		

Synopsis

Sighting a flock of carniverous birds overhead, Dan'el invokes Baal's name to ground the birds at his feet so that he can search their bowels for remains of his son. After two unsuccessful attempts, Dan'el recovers bits of 'bone-and-fat' from the mother-bird ṢML which he then 'inters' in the adjacent Sea-of-Galilee, designated by its 'Biblical' name 'Kinnereth'. This is followed by a warning to the birds 'lest they disturb (Aqht) in his (eternal) sleep (in) the lake'; a curse on the lake for its rôle as 'bystander' to the murder; and a 'fare-thee well' to his son. Before returning home, Dan'el visits two additional sites in the immediate vicinity of the crime, and pronounces a lusty curse on each.

General Comments

This scene, one of the longest in the story, falls into two parts:

(1) the bid to recover Aqht's remains (1.19:II:55 – III:39), described in *three* highly structured sequences couched in near-identical and rather stylized language reminiscent of 'incantation'.

(2) the 'interment' in the sea and the cursing of *three* sites:

(a) The curse of the sea, constituting one element in a *tripartite* address;

(b) the curse of ABLM, cited (as in 1.18) with its *trinomial* epithet *qrt. zbl. yrḫ*;

(c) the curse of an adjacent '(holy?) tree', bearing the *trinomial* name MRRT. TĠLL. BNR.

The text of this scene provides us with our most explicit and incontrovertible testimony to the 'Kinnereth background' of the story. Indeed, only a fairly precise knowledge of the geomorphological history of the region enables one to understand as well as appreciate the subtleties of the narrative. The text also furnishes, I believe, the solution to the problem of 'El's abode' in Canaan, and enables the 'decipherment' of the formulaic description of this abode occurring outside the present scene (cf. above, 1.17:VI:47 f., etc.).

Finally, the pathos of the bereaved father as he takes leave of his son is yet another masterpiece of literary description and an unforgettable moment in this highly-charged drama, recalling in its poignancy the cry of a similarly anguished Israelite father (2 Sam. 19:1).

§1.19:II:55 – III:39

1. In this section Dan'el invokes Baal's name three times, and the response, in contrast to the oracle, is positive as well as immediate. Theologically considered, the response indicates (a) that Baal is the 'true god', an efficacious 'miracle-working' and responsive deity whom one petitions in time of need;[1] (b) that Dan'el is a devotee of Baal in good standing, his piety and righteousness having earned him a solid 'line-of-credit' on which he can draw in an emergency such as this.

2. But there is also a disturbing element in this divine response. It is a response of silent action, unaccompanied by words. Baal makes no attempt to console Dan'el or to 'explain' to his unjustly suffering servant; nor does Dan'el ask for an explanation. The Raphaite hero as well as his patron seem resigned to the fact that the 'omnipotent' Baal who was so instrumental in Dan'el acquiring a son could and did do nothing to

[1] A similar message emerges from 1.93 – probably an 'Aesop fable' for children (cf. SEL I (1984): 89 – 102); and on the 'national' level, from 1.119:26 ff.

save Aqht from the homicidal clutches of Baal's beloved-sister Anat; indeed, he does not appear to have been informed of her plan in advance!

The reason for Baal's inaction (and Dan'el's lack of expectation) becomes evident once the poet's 'reformist' theology is taken into account. In Raphaite society, Baal and Anat share, so to speak, 'star-billing'; and Anat's 'stardom' is at Baal's expense, involving a curtailment of his powers. In 'orthodox' Raphaite theology, Anat is Baal's 'sister' or 'consort', his 'best-friend' and supposed guardian of his interests and well-being. There is no other woman in Baal's life save Anat. But for our poet(ess), Anat is a wild-animal of a god, a near-demonic force outside Baal's control and influence. Like Mot and Yamm, she is a force of evil who undermines Baal's moral as well as physical authority in the world. But whereas Baal is 'existentially' equipped to fight both Yamm and Mot (even if with only limited success in the case of the latter), his 'theological love' for Anat renders him helpless and powerless to oppose her.[2] On the other side of the equation, Anat's misogyny breeds a violence which not only destroys young Raphaite warriors who dare to assert an independence of spirit perceived by her as a challenge to her own 'virility'; it reappears in sublimated form as an overbearing and emasculating – not to say 'unnatural' – love of her brother Baal.[3] For our poet, Anat's 'love' of Baal signifies the latter's death as a 'man' as well as a god, for it makes him impotent. The counterpart of this phenomenon in Raphaite society is the 'love' which Raphaite noblemen have for Anat which leaves them eunuchated in body and (especially) spirit and forever bereaved of their beloved sons whom they offer to her in sacrifice. And with each such sacrifice, Baal – like the Muse – falls silent.

3. The birds whose entrails Dan'el examines are no doubt those ominously perceived earlier by Pughat. The threefold account is based on the literary convention of a 'climactic triad', a sub-type of the 'climactic septad' in Canaanite epic tradition.[4] It is hardly coincidence that the subject chosen for the 'climactic third' is the female 'mother-hawk' ṢML in whose entrails Aqht's meagre mortal remains are located.

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[2] The best Baal can do, after Anat's bloody rampage in 1.3:II:, is to *plead* with her (like the impotent father, El...) to forswear violence in favour of peace (1.3:III:13 ff.). But he takes no punitive action against her.

[3] Cf. 1.96 which, when read in the light of this analysis, takes on an entirely new significance: "Anat was walking along / She beheld (*tp⟨ḥ⟩*) her brother and he was good-looking / Her brother, that he was handsome // (So) she ate his flesh without a knife / She drank his blood without a cup".

[4] Cf. 1.14:IV:31 ff. (*Krt*); the threefold sequence implied in 1.18:IV:33 f., etc.; and the '2/ /3' pattern in 1.4:III:17 f. In O.T. literature, cf. (e.g.) Gen. 22:4; 31:22 (followed by the 'septad' pattern in v. 23!); and Ex. 19:11//16.

The symbolic significance of this choice is cast into the boldest relief by the fact that nothing in the admittedly telescoped description of Aqht's murder points to this development in the plot. To the contrary: it is the male Yṭpn who attacks Aqht! How did the pieces of flesh-and-bone bitten off by the metamorphosed Sutean end up in the entrails of another bird? And if the transfer was made mandatory by the Sutean's return to humanity, why is the transfer made to the bowels of the female ṢML rather than the male HRGB? The audience, then as now, is asked to reflect.

The answer, I believe, lies in the recognition that ṢML – an obviously and deliberately contrived PN deriving from √*ṣml* 'be hard, dry'[5] – is a foil for Anat, her rôle as UM. NŠRM reflecting her rôle as patron-goddess of the Raphaites, themselves implicitly identified with the carniverous hawks[6] whose empty entrails Dan'el has previously examined.

We do well to assume that Raphaite theology portrayed Anat as a 'mother-hawk' who spreads her protective wings[7] over her Raphaite devotees (cf. Deut. 32:11, etc.). Our poet's reaction to this credo is, not unexpectedly, one of bitter (but ever restrained) sarcasm: Anat is indeed a 'mother-hawk'; but her name is ṢML and she is the antithesis of true motherhood. Her heart is hard and without compassion; her breasts as firm and dry as a maiden's.[8] She despises her womanhood, going so far as to dress like a man. The 'real' Anat is unmarried and childless, while ṢML-Anat breeds hawks sired by one designated HRGB. Denoting literally 'mountain-rambler',[9] the 'pseudonym' is intended to evoke in the mind of the audience √*ḥrg* 'kill' + *'ab(u)* 'father'. ṢML and HRGB are 'parents' who breed killer-hawks whom they first starve (cf. 'empty entrails'!) then devour. Raphaite society, for our poet, is suicidal.

It should be noted that ṢML, alone of the dissected hawks, is not reconstituted.[10] She is left to die as if she had fallen prey to a huntsman's arrow. This seemingly minor detail – our emotions and attention focused on Dan'el rather than on ṢML – gains in symbolic meaning precisely because (as in the transfer of the remains to her body) it does not follow as a logical necessity from the narrative. Baal could easily

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[5] Cf. above, 1.17:VI:11, and 'Textual-and-Epigraphic' discussion *ad loc.*

[6] For 'hawks' (*nšrm*) as a symbol of warlike ferocity, cf. Hab. 1:8 and Jer. 49:22.

[7] One should recall here Anat's 'volatility'.

[8] The poet thus converts Anat's proverbial 'virginity' or 'maidenhood' into a pejorative of 'infertility', so that her 'motherhood' is seen to be an oxymoron even within orthodox Raphaite theology itself.

[9] HR + √*g(w)b* or √*gbb* (cf. Arabic [Hava, 75, 103]).

[10] As perceptively observed already by M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden, ²1967): 171.

have 'sown up' ($\sqrt{tpr}$[11]) ṢML following the retrieval of Aqht's 'remains' (BHM[12]), as he did for the others. The omission is as obvious and deliberate as its reason is apparent once the equation of ṢML = Anat is made. ṢML's grounding signifies her apprehension; the examination of her entrails is her trial; and her death is her execution for murder.

Nowhere does our poet come closer to saying outright that Raphaite religion ought to rid itself completely and irrevocably of the goddess Anat and her cult of violence and bloodshed; and that such a move, far from being considered 'heretical', would have the sympathy if not the vocal support of 'brother Baal' and his priests.

§ *1.19:III:40 – 48*

1. After casting Aqht's remains into the fresh-water lake of Kinnereth – symbolically, if unwittingly, an act of expiation to counteract the drought – Dan'el threatens the still hovering, newly sown-up birds with permanent breakage of their pinions if they disturb (Š$\sqrt{ḫṭ}$[13]) his son's sleep of death.

The nature of the disturbance envisaged by Dan'el is not immediately clear. Does 'disturbance' denote 'noise' or an attempt to get at the pieces of flesh-and-bone previously lodged in ṢML's entrails and claimed as their own?

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[11] The reading *tpr. wdu* established by CTA and KTU in both lines 13 – 14 (referring to the (plu.) NŠRM) and in ll. 27 – 28 (referring to the (m. sg.) HRGB) does not permit an analysis of TPR as an impf. of $\sqrt{pr(r)}$ 'flutter, fly' (Ar. *farra*) as generally assumed, unless one is prepared to accept a 3 m. sg. impf. **tqtl* (thus MLC; Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:201, 205 f.) or a perfect (*qatala*) with preformative *t* (thus TO, comparing Heb. *hiṭporēr*!). Yet even if one grants either of these remote possibilities, there would still remain the problem of a YQTL-QTL sequence involving *complementary* verbs of action, a situation which ought to have yielded in both cases **tpr. wtdu*. Given that (*w*)*du* can only be an inf. abs. of $\sqrt{d\,'y}$ – [(*wa*)*dê'u*] < *[(*wa*)*de'êu*] < *[(*wa*)*da'āyu*] (cf. UT §§ 5.16,18) – it follows that TPR is similarly an inf. abs. of $\sqrt{tpr}$ 'sow' (cf. Heb.-Aram.), with Baal as subject and NŠRM (var. HRGB) as object.

[12] The prevalent view which takes this word as a prepositional phrase B + HM is very doubtful, for there is no plausible antecedent. Dan'el doesn't take '*from* the bone and fat'; he takes '(*all* of) *the* bone and fat' (as it is there is so very little...). Nor is it plausible to render (thus Dijkstra – De Moor, *loc. cit.*): "he takes Aqht from her (= ṢML)", implying that Aqht's entire corpse lay prone in the bird's belly. Our interpretation takes BHM as a substantive and direct object (cf. already TO, 452n.) cognate with Ar. $\sqrt{bhm}$ (II) 'stay, remain (in a place)' – Lane, AEL, 268, s. v.; Blachère et al., *op. cit.*, 882 ff. – here used precisely as Eng. 'remains'. (This analysis differs from my previous treatment of this word in UF 8:173 f. on the question of etymological derivation without however a change of mind on the meaning and use of BHM in 114: 10 f., on which see MAARAV 2 (1979/80): 90 – 95.)

[13] For discussion of this term, cf. EXCURSUS XVI s. v.

More likely, Dan'el's warning is to be seen as part of an oral 'epitaph' imitative of the burial inscriptions which warn grave robbers and potential molesters, invoking curses upon them and their posterity.[14] To be sure, such inscriptions are known only from the beginning of the first millennium. But given the extremely conservative nature of burial practices generally and the continuity of this particular tradition throughout the first millennium, it seems quite likely that such inscriptions were also common in 2nd millennium Canaan.

2. Dan'el turns next to the lake (QR. MYM) and addresses it with vocative 'thee'. This is the first of three such curses which Dan'el will invoke upon three different sites in the immediate vicinity. The proximity of the sites to each other is assured by the fact that while the curses themselves vary individually, the moral-legal grounds are formulated identically, viz.: "for by/alongside thee was murdered hero-Aqht". Since we know that Aqht was murdered at ABLM/Kh. Kērak, the second of the sites cursed and adjacent to the lake, it follows that the third site with the outlandish name (abbreviated here as M.T.B.) is in the same neighborhood. Indeed, if we had no other indication that ABLM = *Bêt Yeraḥ*/Kh. Kērak, the known location of the Kinnereth would suffice to make this a plausible if not mandatory identification.

The cursing of these seemingly innocent, in any case inert 'bystanders' can only be properly grasped if considered in terms of the situation envisaged in Deut. 21:1 ff.,[15] legislation which one can confidently assume entered the biblical codex from the neighboring Canaanite culture (of which, in so many respects, it formed an integral part):

> "If a homocide victim is found ... lying in the (open) field ⟨and⟩ the identity of the assailant is unknown, let your 'elders' and officials go out and measure (the distances) to the towns in the vicinity of the victim. The elders of the closest town will then take a heifer ... down to a perennially filled river-bed ... and behead (|/ʿrp) the heifer in the river... Then all the elders of this town ... will wash their hands over the beheaded calf in the river and intone the following: 'our hands did not shed this blood, NOR DID OUR EYES BEHOLD (the crime). Absolve, O Lord ... and do not let guilt for the blood of the innocent remain among (us) ...'. And they will be absolved of bloodguilt."

It emerges from the foregoing that: (a) in cases of a murder and an unknown assailant, the area of the homicide is defiled, and the entire population of the nearest town is held responsible, either as perpetrators or as eye-witnesses; (b) the beheading of the calf is in lieu of the

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[14] Cf. already the *Aḥiram* inscription from Byblos (ca. 1000 B.C.E.), and especially that of the Sidonian priest-king *Tabnit* (ca. 500 B.C.E.) and his Byblian contemporary *Šiptibaʿal*, both of whom use the term |/*rgz* 'disturb' in their admonitions.

[15] Cf. Z. Zevit, JBL 95 (1976): 377–90, esp. 389 f.

murderer's blood and constitutes expiation;[16] (c) the flowing water symbolically offsets and counteracts the curse of drought which a next-of-kin such as Dan'el might invoke upon the town nearest to the site of the murder by way of compensation for his inability to 'redeem' his kinsman's blood.

3. A proper understanding of the particular curse which Dan'el directs at the lake is impossible as long as the word MLK is understood to mean 'king' and as alluding to Dan'el. Once MLK is recognized for what it is, viz., a suffixed (2 fem. sg.) common noun ML paronymous with Ar. *mayl* 'slope, declivity, downgrade'[17] referring to the Kinnereth/QR. MYM, the way is open not only for a correct rendering of the text but also for a general interpretation whose significance and ramifications go well beyond the confines of the present passage, even of the poem.[18]

As I have argued at considerable length elsewhere,[19] the curse pronounced by Dan'el on the Kinnereth takes its inspiration from the unique topography of the sea's outlet to the Jordan in pre-modern times. As late as 1100 C.E., pilgrims to the Holy Land describe the Jordan running along the northern and then the western perimeter of the tell, beginning at a point at the foot of the tell, adjacent to the modern cemetery. This outlet was always a very small and narrow breach in a generally elevated and impregnable shoreline, and its eventual blockage sometime after 1100 C.E., apparently the result of natural causes (silting, landslide, etc.) could be imagined, if not scientifically predicted, already in MB-LB Canaan.[20]

If the *idea* of estuarial blockage owes as much to poetic imagination as to the actual topography, the *logic* of the idea is decidedly cognitive and may be considered on two levels:

(a) 'realistically', and narratively, the stymied outlet entails the eventual dessication of the meandering Jordan River in the vicinity of the tell and as far south (ca. 7.5 km.) as the Yarmuk junction, thus eliminating the lush vegetation which attracts the 'loathsome' and mar-

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[16] For a possible literary reflex of this procedure in our scene, cf. the discussion of M.T.B. shortly below.

[17] Cf. EXCURSUS XVI ("Philological Notes") below, s. v. MLK. YṢM.

[18] Cf. J. Healey (JNES 44 [1985]: 72 ff.): "If the Kinnereth setting [proposed by Margalit] is correct (and I have some doubt about the arguments [in UIR] not the conclusions) the implications for relations [of Ugarit] with Palestine are enormous".

[19] Cf. UF 8:175 f.; *Ugarit in Retrospect* (Winona Lake, 1981): 133 f.; UF 16:154.

[20] The southern outlet in use exclusively today actually dates to Roman times, so that for a thousand years of the common era the sea had a dual outlet, one to the north the other to the south of the tell. This factor may well have contributed ultimately to the blockage of the northern outlet. For further details, cf. Y. Ben-Aryeh, PEQ (1965): 54–65.

auding nomads whom Dan'el may already suspect are involved in his son's murder;

(b) conceptually, the curse reflects the basically animistic outlook common to Gen. 4:11 – 12 and Deut. 21:1 – 9, viz., that as an 'eye-witness' to the land-polluting, drought-inducing homicide, the personified Kinnereth, 'unwilling' to disclose the identity of the assailant, must be punished as 'accessory after the fact'. The stopping-up of the lake's outlet causes it to 'retain fluid' which in turn leads to the 'painful' distension of its 'body'. The sea is thus made to share in the pain of the anguished parent Dan'el.

The motif, as formulated above, recalls of course the 'bitter-waters' (Num. 5) which an 'errant woman', suspected by her jealous husband of adultery, is given to drink as a means of disclosing the truth. By no coincidence, these waters are designated in full, "the bitter waters of CURSE ($\sqrt{\text{'rr}}$)". I consider it highly likely, if not (in the nature of things) absolutely certain, that this concept was familiar to our poet whose fondness for paronomasia[21] brings him to incorporate this motif in a *curse* directed at a body of *water* (QR. MYM) with the 'feminine' name of KNRT situated at the site of a *crime*! It is as if the curser expected a Kinnereth 'swollen' (Heb. $\sqrt{\text{ṣbḥ}}$) with water to divulge the truth about his son's assassin (cf. Num. 5:27 f.).

Leaving the story for a moment, it is – to say the least – remarkable that in a moment of unbearable suffering and dramatic tension the poet should opt for the 'levity' of paronomasia. It is as if (s)he deliberately wanted to 'play down' the dramatic and the pathetic, and thus prevent the audience from over-indulging its craving for emotional catharsis. The zeal and intensity with which the poet draws on paronomastic devices throughout this emotionally charged scene (cf. below) makes one suspect that it is a deliberate strategy by the poet whose purpose is to keep us reflective as well as empathic. He insists that we maintain a dispassionate distance from the story so as not to submerge our analytical faculty in a bath of tears, and thus lose sight of the social and ideological message which is at the heart of this poem and its raison-d'être.

4. Dan'el directs the third and last part of his speech to his son, his words thus in the nature of a 'valedictory'. Here too long-standing philological error has inhibited both a proper understanding of its

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[21] The same penchant leads the poet to choose the *hap. leg.* ML rather than a derivative of $\sqrt{\text{yṣ'}}$ 'exit' or *p* 'mouth' for 'outlet'; for ML plays on 'Jordan' – Heb. *Yardēn*, Egyp. [Pap. Anast. I] *Ya-r-du-na* – etymologized (perhaps correctly) as $\sqrt{\text{yrd}}$ 'descend, go down'. See further below, EXCURSUS XVI.

contents as well as an appreciation of its wider significance for Ugaritic (and O.T.!) studies.[22]

(a) In his farewell speech to his son, Dan'el expresses the hope that – in the absence of proper burial and 'send off' to the Netherworld (where the ancestral spirits could be expected to welcome and care for him pending Dan'el's own arrival) – Aqht's remains will find their way to the bottom of the lake, and from there (*alp. šd. rbt. kmn*) to the domicile of El who, in his infinite mercy (LṬPN. IL. DPID) will watch over the lad and care for his needs.

The 'father of mankind' (AB. ADM) is in effect being asked to be the father to Aqht which a cruel goddess, with his consent, denied Dan'el. It was, after all, only through El's blessing that Aqht could be born! By his demonstrative if not defiant act of casting Aqht's remains into the sea, Dan'el seems to be saying: 'Let El who gave Aqht to me now take and keep him.'[23]

(b) The present text furnishes us with what may be the single most important allusion in all of Ugaritic literature to the location of El's 'submarine' abode, *mbk. nhrm / apq* (var. *ʾdt*) *thmtm*. The context here in 1.19:III permits no equivocation on two essential points: (1) the phrase BT. IL refers to El's mythological rather than cultic abode, and cannot therefore be rendered 'temple' or the like;[24] (2) this mythological abode lies in the general vicinity of, if not actually in (or under) the Kinnereth itself.[25]

One should recall in this connection: (1) that El, like the Sumero-Akkadian Ea with whom he is sometimes equated, is a god of 'sweet-waters', which makes him, like Baal and Athtar, a 'good', life-creating and life-sustaining deity; (2) that the Kinnereth is the largest body of fresh-water in Canaan, and thus a home fitting for the venerable head of the Canaanite pantheon.

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[22] Cf. EXCURSUS XVI, below, s. v. AMD. GR.

[23] For all his sincerity and touching display of paternal affection, Dan'el's behaviour in this scene (including the 'discovery of the remains') is overly demonstrative and 'pathetic', and the poet's description is probably a little bit tongue-in-cheek. Dan'el is typically stronger in his display of emotion than in his show of intelligence. After casting his son's remains into the sea, he is more concerned with the birds overhead than with the fish below: it is the fish, not the birds, who will 'disturb' Aqht and indeed will make it unlikely that he reaches El's palace! Not for nought did the poet speak (line 41) of the Kinnereth as a MDGT! But Dan'el is not one to notice such 'subtleties', especially when daughter Pughat (as you, the reader may have noticed) is no longer at his side...

[24] The same is of course true of 1.12:60 f., which shows close stylistic affinities to our *Aqht* passage: *štk. QR. BT. IL // wmṣlt. bt. ḫrš.*

[25] Cf. EXCURSUS XIV, s. v. BT. IL.

§ 1.19:III:49–55

1. Having bid his son farewell, Dan'el picks up[26] his walking-staff (MṬ) and proceeds to a nearby site bearing the seemingly intractable, certainly improbable name of MRRT. TĠLL. BNR (hereafter: M.T.B.). The name is obviously a literary invention. Less obviously, but with equal certainty, we are faced with a true 'riddle' which the poet has quite deliberately constructed for the benefit and delight of his audience.

The riddle is a momentary distraction designed to take our minds off the story in which we are in danger (from the poet's viewpoint) of becoming too engrossed, as well as to ease the emotional strain of the dramatic tension which has been unrelieved since the messenger-scene. The poet wants his audience in a relaxed and cheerful frame-of-mind, notwithstanding the somber, even morbid, atmosphere created by the story. For only in such a state of mind and soul do we remain fully conscious of the fact that we are being addressed directly by the artist no less than by his actors. This poet is not content with mere catharsis!

The solution to the riddle is not really very difficult once we identify the geographic and toponymic background of the story and the present scene in particular. But in the course of solving the riddle of M.T.B., we will learn a number of things about the poet's art and perhaps even about his message.

2. The first thing to be observed is that the site in question is itself, or features, a landmark tree. This fact emerges with daylight clarity from the curse and need not detain us further except to note that the tree, like the sea, is personified, and thus made to bear (human) responsibility for its (in)action.

The second point is the clarification of the words TĠLL. BNR. The verb $\sqrt{\acute{g}ll}$, with well-known cognates in Heb., Aram., and Ar.,[27] recurs in 1.3:II:27 f. as part of a description of Anat 'wading' knee-deep in the blood and gore of slain warriors. Ug. $\sqrt{n(w/y)r}$ 'flame' or 'light' is even better known, especially as part of the sun-goddess' formulaic epithet NRT. ILM. SPŠ. On one occasion, it occurs as part of an epithet of the moon-god YRḪ: NYR. ŠMM. Thus, at this stage of our inquiry we can determine that M.T.B. means, literally, 'M.-wading/immersed-in-light/flame'.

In view of M.T.B.'s established proximity to *Bêt-Yeraḥ*/Kh. Kērak, this manner of alluding to a landmark tree occasions no surprise (though its charm is undeniable). The surprise comes when we learn that some 3 kms. to the south of Kh. Kērak lies t. Ubeidiyeh, a site renowed principally for its pre-historic finds but, of greater interest to us, almost

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[26] Cf. *ibid.*, s. v. ʿDB.

[27] Cf. the standard Hebrew dictionaries (Ges.-Bühl, BDB, HAL), s. v. ʿLL.

certainly to be identified (thus most scholars expert in historical geography) with Execration Text *b-u-ti-š-m-šu* and O.T. (Jos. 19:38) *Bêt-Šemeš* (in Naphtali). The name survives to this very day in nearby Kh. Šemsin in Wadi Fejjas (N. Yavniel).[28]

Two-thirds of the riddle now solved, we turn to MRRT.

3. Already Virolleaud surmised that MRRT derives from $\sqrt{mrr}$ and denotes 'strength, fortitude'. The same root underlies, as we have seen earlier, the formulaic B-word parallel of $\sqrt{brk}$ which (if the Arabic is an indication) denotes basically 'plentitude'. 'Plentitude' and 'fortitude' are the two basic aspects of most standard blessings. But we should not miss the playful irony of a name MRRT appearing in a curse!

Predicating 'strength' of a tree is of course plausible in itself (cf. Am. 2:9); but it alone will not explain the specific choice of $\sqrt{mrr}$ as a term designating a tree. The clue to this part of the riddle is the recognition that $\sqrt{mrr}$ 'be strong' is a 'synonymous substitution' for NWS $\sqrt{{}^{\circ}(y)l}$ 'be strong' presumed by the ancient poet and modern scholar alike to underlie NWSem. *'LN (= Aram./MHeb. *'ilān*) 'tree'; and BHeb *'ēlôn*, var. *'al(l)ôn(îm)* 'oak tree' (cf. also Heb. *'ayyil* 'ram' and $\sqrt{{}^{\circ}yl}$ in Ps. 22:20).

The one seeming difficulty with the equation MRRT = *'*(a/i)LN* is the feminine gender of MRRT. Since both *Ṣ* and 'LN are masculine nouns, we should have expected *MRR rather than MRRT.

This question takes us beyond the solution of a riddle to the heart of the poet's technique and artistry, and – to the heart of the message of *Aqht*.

(a) MRRT is modelled on the analogy of KNRT and QRT (Ablm). Not only do all three words 'rhyme' – itself a device of association – but they have their *two* final consonants (R, T) in common. This stylistic linkage of *knRT-qRT-mrRT* corresponds to the thematic connection established by the identical language used by the hero Dan'el in castigating each of the three sites; it is a case once again of 'art imitating life'. The poet and his hero work together, each on his own level, the hero representing 'life' and the poet representing 'art'. The poet is the omniscient and omnipotent 'director' who communicates with his audience on two levels: through verbal *description* of the hero's life and through artistic *explanation* or 'commentary'. The Ugaritic poet never 'glosses'; this would be an unaesthetic intrusion into the 'life' of the hero. Instead, he plays with the modes of expression and perception.

[28] Cf. A. Saarisalo, *The Boundary Between Issachar and Naphtali* (Helsinki, 1927): 118–20, *seq.* A. Alt. ZDMG 64 (1914): 34 and *Palästina Jahrbuch* 22 (1926): 51.

To appreciate the poet's art as well as understand his message, we must both *listen* to the actors and *observe* the poet. We must train ourselves to think and feel at one and the same time.

(b) The feminized form MRRT is the poet's way of telling us that 'masculinity' and 'strength' are not necessarily congruent terms. As we have noted on several occasions and in different connections above, one of the basic themes in *Aqht* is 'weak men' vs. 'strong women', of females dressed and acting like men (Anat negatively, Pughat positively), and of men who are more so in title than in deed (Dan'el, Yṭpn). The tree, a universal symbol of quintessential strength, becomes when feminized a symbol of Raphaite society where the equation 'male' = 'strength' does not apply. In this society, unlike Nature, not everything or everyone is what he/it pretends to be. The genuine 'trees' of this society are the Pughats not the Dan'els.

4. In an EXCURSUS below we shall go on to argue that the site designated M.T.B. is none other than O.T. *Ēlôn-Bᵉṣaʿana(n)im*, reflecting a 2nd millennium Canaanite *ʾ(i)LN-B(T)-ṢʿNM = 'The-Tree-(which is)-Home-of-the-Nomads'. On this assumption, one better appreciates not only its geographic proximity to the camp of the Sutean Yṭpn – whose place will be taken several centuries later by the Qenite-nomad ḤBR and his wife Jael, who will slay a Canaanite (Raphaite?) warrior in a manner not unlike Pughat's treatment of Yṭpn – but even so 'minor' a detail as the poet's choice of $\sqrt{ns^{\varsigma}}$ (rather than $\sqrt{krt}$ or $\sqrt{ksm}$ or $\sqrt{gd^{\varsigma}}$ or $\sqrt{nsḫ}$) to designate the wood-cutter destined to fell MRRT. For $\sqrt{ns^{\varsigma}}$ is typical nomadic terminology. The term means, literally, 'pull up (stakes)', whence 'travel'; and in Isa. 33:20, a passage replete with nomadic imagery, $\sqrt{ns^{\varsigma}}$ stands in synonymous parallelism with $\sqrt{ṣ^{\varsigma}n}$ (= Ar. $\sqrt{z^{\varsigma}n}$ > European 'Zigeuner'!) 'wander-about (as a nomad)'. – This too belongs to the 'riddle' of M.T.B. as well as to the art of Canaanite poetry!

It remains but to add that the formulation of the curse against M.T.B., though expertly crafted to suit the arboreal context, brings to mind as well the 'beheading' of the heifer in Deut. 21:1–9; and it may well be so intended.

§ *1.19:III:56ᵇ–IV:6*

1. The third and final site visited by Dan'el prior to his return home is the by-now familiar ABLM. Assuming that he set out from his estate located along the eastern shore of the sea, ABLM/Kh. Kērak would then be his furthest westerly point of advance. The casting of Aqht's remains into the sea – after having been removed from the entrails of birds hovering over his house! – would have taken place on the eastern side, with Dan'el facing Kh. Kērak and the Jordan outlet alongside of it. His

second stop, at M.T.B., brought him to the vicinity of t. Ubeidiyeh. Now presumably he is perched on the tell of Kh. Kērak itself.

2. The extensive and intensive use of paronomasia in evidence in this scene finds its expression here in the formulation of the curse proper. It too takes the form of a riddle. For despite the scholarly consensus to the contrary, no sense can be made of *ʿwrt. yštk. bʿl* by taking ʿWRT at its face-value of 'blindness'. People and animals can be blind(ed); places cannot.[29] Even allowing for personification, a 'blind ABLM' is a very fuzzy, hence ineffective literary image. Moreover, as we have seen above, each curse motif is precisely tailored by the poet to suit the character of the site which is the object of execration. The sea is to suffer blockage of its outlet, with the choice of ML(k) determined not least by the Canaanite name for 'Jordan' (YRDn); the landmark tree near t. Ubeidiyeh will be chopped down with the choice of $\sqrt{ns^{ʿ}}$ influenced by the tree's association with nomadic residence.[30] Something similarly 'appropriate' is to be expected for ABLM as well.[31]

3. The curse on ABLM – itself deriving from $\sqrt{ybl}$ 'flow' and cognate with Heb. *yuḇal* (= Ug. YBL [1.19:IV:61]!) and Mari-Akk. *yabiltum* 'stream, water-channel' (cf. above, to 1.18:IV) – plays on $\sqrt{ʾbl}$ (= Akk. *abālu*, Heb. $\sqrt{ʾbl}$ 'dry-up') and on $\sqrt{ʿwr}$ 'be blind (in one eye!)' used to denote (as in Arabic) the 'stopping-up' of a 'well' (Sem. *ʿ(y)n*), this usage itself predicated on the identity of 'eye' and 'well' in Semitic.[32]

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[29] Cf. already UF 8:177–81 (esp. 180 f.).

[30] Cf. *e.g.*, Gen. 12:6; 14:13 (note $\sqrt{škn}$ = 'encamp').

[31] The use of paronomasia is very prominent in the execrations of foreign nations in prophetic literature, reflecting a 'taunt' element in this tradition. From here it would appear to have entered the 'classical' prophetic, anti-Israel denouncements (cf. Mic. 1:14 in light of Num. 24:18–22). The phenomenon can be identified also in Merenptah's 'Israel Stela': "... Syria (*Ḥ}rw*) has become a widow (*ḫ}rt*) for Egypt". Something similar may be at work here. Cf. already UF 8:181, n. 126. Not irrelevant is the lusty curse which terminates the *Krt* epic (1.16:VI:55 ff.): *...tqln. bgbl. šntk* "May your teeth fall out all-together (from the smash on your head...)" in which the rare GBL (= Palm. GBL; MHeb. $\sqrt{gbl}$, etc.) 'together' elicits (or is itself elicited by) *ʾṯtrt-šm-bʿl* = Baalat = Lady-of-Byblos (Heb./Phoen. G(e)B(a)L) in the preceding line 56. This evidence suggests that curses, used mainly against enemies in whose downfall one gloats, contained built-in taunt features which accompanied the curse even in contexts where taunt was not entirely appropriate.

[32] Cf. Lane, AEL, 2193 ff.; Hava., *op. cit.*, 773. – A fine O.T. example of such 'name-midrash' based on antithetical semantics is 1 Sam. 25:25, where Abigail says of her husband Nabal – originally and properly meaning 'noble-one' (= Ar. *nabu/ila* [cf. J. J. Stamm, OBO, vol. 30 (1980): 210 ff.; differently J. Barr., BJRL 52 (1969/70): 27, n. 1]) – "'Nabal' is his name and vile (!) is he" (Heb. *nᵉḇālāḇ* (// *ben-bᵉliyʿal* = coll. Eng. 'S.O.B.'; cf. e.g., 2 Sam. 13:12, and Barr, *ibid.*, 27 f.). Note further: (a) in v. 3, *...whw(ʾ). klb(w/y)*, where the *Qrê* is 'Calebite' (*kalibi*) but the *Kthib* is 'dog' (*kalb(u)*);

The affliction signified by ʿWRT translates accordingly into 'dessication'. The site of ABLM/Kh.Kērak, naturally and perennially irrigated by the channel of the Jordan along its northern and western perimeter and thus ever-luxuriant in verdure, will become dry and desolate as a rocky, rain-dependent steppeland (Heb./Ug. MDBR), not least because a stymied Kinnereth will cause the section of the Jordan around Kh. Kērak to disappear, leaving (as today still visible) a dry channel-bed. Viewed in this way, the curse of ABLM turns out to be a corollary of the initial curse of the sea. Thus the third and last curse brings us full circle and ends the scene.

4. The curse of 'dryness', usually the result of drought, is part of the stock of traditional ANE 'curse-motifs' directed against cultivated settlements. It is especially common in O.T. literature, in prophetic oracles directed against foreign nations which 'predict' – in fact, invoke – destruction and desolation of cities and states. There is reason to believe that such materials have their origin and 'Sitz-im-Leben' in the pre-classical prophetic movement.[33]

Cf. (e.g.) Isa. 15:6; Joel 4:19; Zeph. 2:13, and – of particular interest here – Am. 1:2: "YHWH will roar (as a lion) out of Zion / from Jerusalem He will loose His voice / Then will the meadows (NA'ÔT) of shepherds dry up (|/*'bl*) / The (forests of the) Carmel Promontory will be dessicate (|/*ybš*)".[34] Heb. *'aḥēl*/Ug. ABL(m) is, for all practical purposes, identical with Heb. *nawe(h)* – Akk. *nawûm* – both denoting the lush 'meadowland' which provides year-round grazing for livestock, as opposed to the craggy and seasonal steppeland.

Outside the O.T., the principal source for this motif are the so-called 'treaty-curses'. Cf. e.g., *Sefiré* (KAI 222) 1-A, 28 f.:

... ולית]חזה ירק ול[י ... אחוה [יש]תחט לישימן אחוה ...

"... so that no verdure and no meadowland[35] will be seen ... may his meadowland turn into desert".[36]

(b) in v. 2, where Nabal is described, for no apparent reason, as "a very large man" rather than as 'a very rich man' as the continuation would seem to warrant. In my opinion, this is a pun on the true meaning of 'Nabal': 'large, tall' (*apud* Stamm, *ibid.*, 211). – For further discussion of 'Name-Midrash' in O.T. literature, cf. Y. Zakovitch, SHNATON 2 (1977): 100–115 (Heb., with Eng. abstract, p. XXVIII).

[33] Cf. Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (Hebrew), vol. III, 38 ff., 415 ff.; N. K. Gottwald, *All the Kingdoms of the Earth* (1964): 49.

[34] To fully appreciate the imagery it must be recalled: (a) RO'Š, used here for the promontory (cf. modern 'Haifa' < Gr. *kepha(le)*) can also refer to the top of a plant or tree (cf. our Ug. text); (b) YHWH's 'voice' is normally (and beneficently) the 'voice of thunder' presaging the rain. But when YHWH punishes (i.e., 'fights'), His voice (|/*gʿr*) becomes fiery-hot (cf. Ps. 18:9, etc.) which 'dries up' (|/*ḥrb*//|/*ybš*) even the sea, *a fortiori* the landscape.

[35] Cp. Heb. *'aḥû*, Ug. AḪ (used of the Ḥuleh Valley in 1.10!).

[36] Cf. further ANET[2], 532 f. (Aššurnirari V); 538 (Esarhaddon).

Excursus XV: Ug. 'M.T.B.' = O.T. «Ēlôn Bᵉṣaʿana(n)im

I

The *prima facie* evidence for equating Ug. 'M.T.B.' with O.T. *'Ēlôn -Bᵉṣaʿana(n)im*[1] of Jos. 19:32 and Ju. 4:11 is admittedly circumstantial and inconclusive. But it may serve as a point of departure towards establishing such an equation.

(1) The Ug. MRRT, as we have seen, only makes sense if viewed as a semantic equivalent of Aram. *'ilān*, BHeb. *'ēlôn*, all three terms deriving from roots connoting 'strength'.

(2) The extraordinary length of both toponyms and the contrived nature of the Ug. 'M.T.B.' suggest that the poet may be imitating in this respect a genuine toponym of similar length. Even alliteratively, the two names bear a similarity: **'LNB(T)ṢʿNM* vs. *MRRT. TĠLL. BNR.* Of the eight or nine original consonants in the (reconstructed) O.T. toponym, five are found in M.T.B., three of them (L-B-N // L-N-B) in identical clusters. Moreover, these five consonants comprise nearly two-thirds of all the consonants of M.T.B.

(3) Like its alleged O.T. counterpart, M.T.B. is in the vicinity of a nomadic encampment, 'Sutean' in the case of the Ugaritic, 'Qenite' in the case of the Bible. Its selection as an object of execration in the Ugaritic text points to a site considered 'holy': just as the dessication of ABLM would lessen its attractiveness to nomads for economic reasons, so would the felling of a holy tree reduce its attractiveness as a shrine (as well as a place of shade and protection from inclement weather for the livestock). A similar explanation has been given for biblical *Ēlôn-Bᵉsaʿana(n)im.*[2]

It is nevertheless conceded as self-evident that neither individually nor collectively can these alleged points of apparent contact and congruity be considered substantial unless there is good reason for locating – on grounds entirely independent of the alleged Ugaritic nexus – the O.T. site in the vicinity of Kh. Kērak and the Kinnereth. Only if this condition is satisfied can the Ugaritic data be considered; and even then its rôle would be supportive rather than corroborative of the localization. It should be emphasized that the localizations neither of M.T.B. nor of

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[1] Hereafter: 'E-B'.

[2] Cf. B. Mazar, JNES 24 (1965): 297–303 (cf. p. 301 f.); Aharoni, *Land of the Bible* (²1979): 227. Cf. also A. Saarisalo, *The Boundary Between Issachar and Naphtali* (Helsinki, 1927): 48 f., who in his detailed topographical survey in the 1920's noted the existence of two holy trees at the grove of el-Mzeġit, 2 kms. south of Kh. Šemsin and Wadi Fejjas, one of which "is very distinctly visible from the whole district around... An oath sworn by this holy tree is much greater and firmer than an oath by the prophet..." (*ibid.*, 49 f.).

E-B depend on each other for their respective validity, and the rejection of the one proof does not entail the rejection of the other. In fact, the significance of the equation lies essentially in the possibility of forging yet another link in the chain of Ugaritic-O.T. affinities and inter-connections.

II

The O.T. toponym occurs, with minor orthographic variation,[3] in Jos. 19:33 and Ju. 4:11 exclusively. In the former, it is one of several points which define the southern (!) border of the territory of Naphtali, together with *Adami-ha-neqeb* (mod. *Kh. et-Tell/ed-Damiyeh*) and *Yaḫni'ēl* (mod. *t. en-Na'am*), and culminating at the Jordan River.[4] Were this our sole witness to E-B, it probably would never have occurred to anyone to search for it anywhere but in the vicinity of *Wadi Fejjas* (*Naḥal Yavni'el*).

In Ju. 4:11, E-B is the camp-site of Qenite nomads who separated from the main tribal unit residing (Ju. 1:15) in 'the city of the palms', presumably a reference to Jericho in the Lower Jordan Valley. If E-B is in fact in the vicinity of t. en-Na'am and Wadi Fejjas, the route taken by the 'separatist' Ḥeber is easily plotted, viz., the Jordan Valley as far as t. Ubeidiyeh.

To assist the ancient reader (or listener) in identifying the site, the biblical writer adds the comment: "... which is near (lit., 'with') Qedesh", presumably (but, according to some modern commentators, not self-evidently) the same Qedesh mentioned *four* times previously in vss. 6 – 10, once with the modifying 'Naphtali'.

But if the biblical narrator's gloss in v. 11 helped the ancient reader, it hindered and confused his 20th century counterpart. With some noteworthy exceptions to be sure, especially in the past thirty years, scholars have tended to equate the 'Qedesh-Naphtali' of Ju. 4 with the 'Qedesh-of-Galilee' (Heb. *Gālîl*) in the hill-country of Naphtali' (Jos. 20:7), widely identified with t. Qedes, an ancient and imposing tell situated n. w. of Hazor and majestically overlooking the Ḥuleh Valley to the east. Some scholars are of the opinion that this site is mentioned

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[3] Consonantally, the difference is a single medial *nun*: BṢ'N(N)M. The *Kethib* in Ju. 4:11 (*BṢ'NM*) would be closer to the presumed Canaanite original **B⟨T⟩Ṣ'NM* 'Home-of-Nomads' which is still to be found in some LXX mss. (*apud* B. Mazar, *Enc. Miq.*, vol. I, 328). For **bt* > *b-* in GNN, cf. Hellenistic 'Beisan' < *Heb. בֵּית שָׁן < (O.T.) *Bêṯ-Š(ᵉ)'an*. Additional examples in HAL, 102ᵃ, and lit. *ibid.*; Friedrich, *Phoen-Pun. Gramm.*, § 99, for similar contractions of BN > B- (note also OAram. BYṬB < *BYT(.)ṬB), *ibid.*, n. 1).

[4] Cf. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, *op. cit.*, 259.

in the historical records of New Kingdom Egypt (XVIII – XIXth dynasties).

The difficulty with this identification for understanding the biblical narrative in Ju. 4 was noted already by Garstang:[5] "A position near Kedesh-Naphtali [= t. Qedes] is irreconcilable with the tactics of the battle by the waters of Megiddo ...". Garstang consequently opted for tell Abu Qudeis in the Jezre'el Valley,[6] between Megiddo and Ta'anach. But he could not overcome the difficulty presented by the allusion to E-B in Ju. 4:11 except by supposing it to be "a late insertion derived from the [late 'P'] source [of Jos. 19:33]".[7] This identification has nevertheless won some adherents of late and we shall return to consider it at the conclusion of this note.

The untenability of the identification of 'Qedesh-Naphtali' in Ju. 4 with t. Qedes of Upper Galilee was incisively, and decisively, demonstrated in a brief article (in modern Hebrew) published shortly after the appearance of Garstang's book by Y. Press.[8] His analysis and conclusions were largely adopted some twenty-five years later by Y. Aharoni in his doctoral dissertation, published (in Hebrew) as *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee* (1957) 99 f.,[9] and shortly thereafter – following an archaeological survey of Kh. Qadis (cf. immediately below) – by M. Kochavi.[10]

The theory of Press-Aharoni-Kochavi argues that the 'Qedesh-Naphtali' in Ju. 4 – implicitly assuming that all the references in this chapter to 'Qedeš' are to one and the same place – is to be identified with Kh. Qedis (var. K(e)dis) situated south of Tiberias on a ridge overlooking Kh. Kērak and the sea, about 2 kms. to the east. The first to identify this site as 'Qedesh-Naphtali' was Condor, at the end of the last century. But with a few exceptions,[11] the proposal found few supporters, not least because of A. Saarisalo's misidentification of the site as a Roman-Byzantine ruin (albeit with some Bronze age sherds).[12]

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[5] *Joshua-Judges* (London, 1931): 403.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

[8] Y. Press, BJPES, vol. 1, fasc. 3 (1933): 26 – 31.

[9] Cf. also *idem*, *Enc. Miq.*, vol. 7, 38 f.; *Enc. Judaica*, vol. 10:665; *Land of the Bible*, *op. cit.*, 221, 259. Contrast however M. Noth, *Josua* (HAT[3]): 120 f.; Z. Kallai, *The Tribes of Israel* (1967): 197 f. (in Hebrew).

[10] BIES 27 (1963): 165 – 72.

[11] Notably G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1896/1931; Fontana Paperback ed.: 256, n. 4); R. de Haas, *Galilee: A Historical and Geographical Description of Lake Galilee and Surroundings* (Jerusalem, 1933): 280 – 85.

[12] Cf. *The Boundary...*, *op. cit.*, 82 – 84; M. Kochavi, *loc. cit.*, 167 f. Saarisalo apparently took Kh. Qedis to be the adjacent (250m.) Roman-Byzantine *Sh. ar-Rūmi*.

Kochavi's survey yielded an abundance of pottery typical of MB II, LB, and – especially – Early Iron I periods. His conclusion is unequivocal (*ibid.*, p. 170):

> "In the first [EB] phase of its existence, Kh. Qedis was apparently a 'satellite-town' of *Bêt-Yeraḥ*... Its importance waxed at the beginning of the Israelite period (ca. 1200). This conclusion is based mainly on a comparison of its size, which reached at least 20 dunams, with contemporaneous Galilean settlements whose size generally is seldom more than a few dunams. Its importance during the Egyptian hegemony in Canaan [MB and LB] and during the United Monarchy [10th cent.] is also noteworthy."

M. Kochavi addresses himself briefly to the problem of E-B. So persuaded is he that E-B must lie in the vicinity of Yaḇni'el and the Jordan Valley, as indicated by Jos. 19:33, that he considers its correlation with *Qedeš* in Ju. 4:11 as an important indication of the latter's location.

> "The reference "E-B near Qedeš", undoubtedly the same place mentioned in the list of Naphtali's southern border... (Josh. 19:33) points to the area in which Qedesh-Naphtali is to be sought, even without reference to the war of Deborah". (*Ibid.* p. 171).

In other words: for Kochavi the location of E-B in the region of W. Fejjas and the central Jordan Valley is *assured* by Jos. 19:33, and the references in Ju. 4 to E-B and 'Qedesh-Naphtali' must be explained accordingly. Moreover, it is the certainty of E-B's localization which imparts a high degree of probability to the identification of Kh. Qedis with 'Qedesh-in-Naphtali' of Ju. 4.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the thesis of Press-Aharoni-Kochavi has not gone uncontested even in most recent times. Excavations carried out by E. Stern and I. Beit-Aryeh in the late seventies at Esdraelon Valley t. Abu Qudeis[13] have revived the aforementioned identification by Garstang and others.[14] The excavators concede that t. Qedes of Upper Galilee cannot be 'Qedesh(-Naphtali)' of Ju. 4. They also accept the Press-Aharoni-Kochavi identification of 'Qedesh-Naphtali' in Ju. 4:6 as, most likely, Kh. Qedis near the Kinnereth. They differ however in assuming that the Qedesh of Ju. 4:9–11, allegedly near the site of battle, is tell Abu-Qudeis rather than Kh. Qedis.

This theory is difficult to accept for several reasons:

(1) if t. Qedes of Upper Galilee is unacceptable as the point of assembly for the Israelite forces prior to battle, and as the place of refuge for a Canaanite general fleeing (on foot!) for his life, because it is too far (and only barely accessible) from the battlefield, t. Abu Qudeis is unacceptable for being too close!

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[13] *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 1–25.

[14] Cf. especially R. Giveon, JJS 8 (1957): 157 ff.

(2) to distinguish 'Qedesh-Naphtali' of Ju. 4:6 from the 'Qedeš' of vss. 9–11 is to assume that the biblical writer who glossed E-B in v. 11 had as his purpose to confuse rather than enlighten the reader/listener.

(3) most difficult of all is that this hypothesis requires that one distinguish two sites sharing a 'queer', nearly identical name, both of them adjacent to towns called 'Qedeš', one near the Kinnereth and the other near Megiddo.[15]

Excursus XVI: Philological Notes

§ 1. *TŠḪṬANN*

The word has been the subject of considerable discussion and still more considerable diversity of translation. Some take it to be a Š-form of √*ḥṭ* 'awaken', allegedly attested in 1.14:III:50 (*Krt*): *krt. yḥṭ. wḥlm* "K. awakened; but it was (only) a dream". But for the *aleph* in TŠḪṬA(.)NN, this solution would seem ideally suited here in *Aqht*, where BŠNTH "from his sleep" follows immediately the verb in question. Consequently, some scholars would emend TŠḪṬA(.)NN to TŠḪṬN!N.

It should be emphasized however that the interpretation of YḪṬ in *Krt*, seemingly self-evident, rests entirely on an inference from context. No Semitic root √*ḥṭ* with the meaning 'awake' is otherwise known.

A second approach takes TŠḪṬANN as a Š-form of √*ḥṭ'*, cognate with Ar. √*ḥṭ'* (*ḫaṭi'a*), Heb.-Aram. √*ḥṭ'*, etc. 'go astray; sin'.[1] But the result is a wide diversity of translations, ranging from Gaster's 'swoop down'[2] and Driver's 'disturb'[3] to Caquot–Sznycer's 'keep, prevent from (sleeping)'[4] and Pardee's 'damage, injure'.[5] The most prevalent transla-

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[15] For this view of two E-B's, cf. already B. Mazar, *Enc. Miq.*, vol. I: 327 (but retracted in JNES 24 [1965]: 301, n. 21); J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the O.T.* (1959): 195; Z. Kallai, *op. cit.* 197 f.; and R. Giveon, *loc. cit.* The latter goes so far as to doubt whether E-B "stands for a particular locality at all". However, this 'radical' idea is based on the erroneous assumption that the O.T. speaks of more than one "E-B which is near Qedeš", apparently reading Ju. 4:11 into Jos. 19:33. – It should be well noted that none who have held the opinion of two E-B's ever considered *both* as 'in the vicinity of Qedeš', as do Stern and Beit-Arieh. In other words: whoever agrees with Press-Aharoni-Kochavi that Kh. Qedis = 'Qedesh-Naphtali' of Ju. 4:6 can maintain a theory of two E-B locations only with the greatest of difficulty and the lowest of probability.

[1] Cf. conveniently HAL, 292[b].

[2] *Thespis*[2], 364.

[3] *Fs. Bakoš* (1965): 109.

[4] TO, 452.

[5] UF 8:232.

tion is Driver's 'disturb'[6] which comes closest to the meaning 'awaken' seemingly required by the aforecited *Krt* text, but which is semantically remote from the basic signification of Semitic *$\sqrt{ḫṭ'}$.

This seeming impasse predates however the publication of a Ug. incantation text from Ras Ibn Hani,[7] labelled 78/20, where we read (lines 5^b-6^a): *tḫṭa. lgbk. wtršʿ. ltmntk* "May your (= demon's) back shake // May your trunk wobble".[8] The motif of imprecation is essentially identical with one of the 'shock-motifs' discussed earlier in the 'messenger-scene' (1.19:II:27 ff.). Cp. especially the formulation preserved in 1.2:IV:26 (*Baal-Yamm*): *tnǵṣn. pnth // wydlp. tmnh* "His hips (lit. 'corners') wobbled // his trunk shook", where *TMN is obviously the masculine congener of *TMNT. It follows accordingly that the synonymous parallelism $\sqrt{ḫṭ'}$//$\sqrt{ršʿ}$ corresponds semantically to $\sqrt{nǵṣ}$//$\sqrt{dlp}$.[9]

This usage of $\sqrt{ḫṭ'}$ bears most significantly, even decisively, on the *Aqht* text at hand:

(1) it establishes the textual integrity of the reading TŠḪṬA(.)NN;

(2) it suggests that the basic meaning of Ug. $\sqrt{ḫṭ'}$ is that preserved in Ar. *ḫaṭi'a* (IV), and the causative (Hiph'il) of Heb. חטא, viz., 'go astray; be/put in wayward motion; out of control', whence also 'shake, tremble.'

Dan'el's concern, be it recalled, is not that the birds overhead should 'awaken' his son from his sleep-of-death (cf. Ps. 13:4) – such a notion is as 'utopian' for the second-millennium Canaanite-Ugaritic bard as it is for his first-millennium Canaanite-Hebrew counterpart[10] – but rather 'disturb' in the sense of $\sqrt{rgz}$ as employed in NWS burial inscriptions.[11] Indeed, the meaning of Ug. $\sqrt{ḫṭ'}$ in RIH 78/20 is semantically

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[6] Thus WUS, s. v. 1019; Blau – Loewenstamm, UF 2:24, n. 31; now also Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 395, 551.

[7] P. Bordreuil and A. Caquot, *Syria* 57 (1980) – appeared 1983! – 343 – 47; A. Caquot, *Orientalia* 53 (1984): 163 – 76 (and lit. *ibid.*). A fine photograph of the tablet appeared earlier in CRAIBL [1979]: 289, and a preliminary publication by Caquot in ACF 79 (1979): 488 – 90.

[8] Cf. Ar. *rasa'a* 'be loose (of limbs)', cognate with Heb. רשע 'be wicked'! Cf. immediately below.

[9] The poet's choice of $\sqrt{ḫṭ'}$ // $\sqrt{ršʿ}$ (rather than $\sqrt{nǵṣ}$ // $\sqrt{dlp}$) is hardly fortuitous and suggests that in (late?) Ugaritic, as in Heb., both $\sqrt{ḫṭ'}$ and $\sqrt{ršʿ}$ had acquired pejorative 'moral' connotations of 'sin' and 'wicked'.

[10] Cp. Job 14:12 and Jer. 51:39, 57. Contrast the 'apocalyptic' Is. 26:19!

[11] Pardee (UF 8:232) believes that "a concern for awakening someone from death" is not "consonant with ancient thought patterns regarding proper burial". However, this statement confuses two distinct issues: (1) 'awakening' the dead = 'resurrect, revive' (cf. Is. 26:19); and (2) 'disturbing' the remains or the spirit of the deceased.

identical with Heb. $\sqrt{rgz}$[12] and its usage here in *Aqht* is fully comparable with that of $\sqrt{rgz}$ in 1 Sam. 28:15, where 'Samuel' castigates Saul, saying: "Why have you disturbed me – לָמָּה הִרְגַּזְתָּנִי – (and) raised me up (from the dead)?"[13]

As for YḪṬ in *Krt*, it is best taken either as an apocopation[14] or as a faulty writing of **yḫṭ'(a/u)*, and does not so much denote 'awaken' as 'startle' (intrans.): "Krt startled (from his sleep); but it was (only) a dream!".

§ 2. *MLK. YṢM*[15]

Until quite recently, 1976 to be precise,[16] it was never seriously doubted that the word MLK in 1.19:III:46 was anything but the common Semitic and Ugaritic word for 'king', with Dan'el – the only visible candidate for the title – as its referent. The allusion was seen as confirming Dan'el's royal status in the poem as a whole and has served – even unto this very day – as a point of departure for explicating both the immediate and the wider contexts of the poem.[17] It may well be doubted whether any single mistranslation in *Aqht* has had comparably dire consequences for its interpretation on the 'micro' as well as 'macro' levels.[18]

Yet already Virolleaud – who was so far from a proper understanding of the poem that he misordered the tablets – registered misgiving when he observed: "le nom de Dan'el n'est nulle part accompagné du titre du roi".[19] But neither this caveat of the thirties nor the growing realization of the seventies – as reflected in the studies of Gibson,

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[12] Cf. *e.g.*, Ex. 15:14; Isa. 14:9 (!); Am. 8:8; Hab. 3:16, 2 Sam. 22:8, etc.

[13] Cp. also Ps. 4:5 רִגְזוּ וְאַל תֶּחֱטָאוּ which may well be a play on $\sqrt{ḥṭ'}$ both as 'sin' and as 'tremble'.

[14] Cf. (also in *Krt*!) perhaps LQR < *LQR' (1.14:III:16, *apud* WUS s. v. 2448) and, with greater likelihood, BQR in 1.114:9 (rd.: *bqr* {...} *ʾttrt. wʿnt. ymġy* = "At the call ... of Astarte and Anat (Yariḫ) comes over").

[15] The discussion is based on, and partly reproduces, UF 16:152–54.

[16] UF 8 (1976): 172–77.

[17] Cf. e.g., TO, 402: "Le héros de la légende ... est un roi. Il n'y a pas lieu de lui contester ce titre, puisqu'à [1.19:III:46] il est appelé *mlk*." To be sure, this statement antedates our discussion in UF 8:172 ff.; but not so Del Olmo Lete (MLC, 356); H. Cazelles and E. Jacob, SDB fasc. 53, col. 1433 (contrast Cazelles, *Annuaire*, École Pratique des Hautes Études – V[e] Section (1978–79): 215; but the grounds given are inadequate, which may explain the subsequent 'relapse' in SDB); and most recently, J. C. De Moor, OTS 24 (1987): 1–20 (cf. pp. 14–16).

[18] The case of 'Kinnereth' in line 41 is somewhat different because the issue there is mainly epigraphic rather than philological.

[19] *Dan'el*, 166.

Günther-Westermann, and Xella – that the hero and his ambience show greater affinity to the Patriarchs of the Pentateuch than to the kings of the chronicles (1 Sam. – 2 Kgs.) has succeeded in deterring scholars from making Dan'el's kingship a lynchpin of interpretation.

Our own misgivings, which found preliminary expression in UF 8, originated in problems of poetic scansion. Utilizing a modified version of the Ley – Sievers model of prosodic analysis, I reached the inescapable conclusion that (a) the stichometry underlying the prevalent interpretations, viz., *qr. mym*(.) ^{46}*mlk. yṣm*, was erroneous and that it wreaked havoc with any attempt to make prosodic sense of the text; and that (b) only a stichometry which placed MLK at the beginning of the verse-line comprising four verse-units (*mlk...qr. mym*) was prosodically acceptable.

By this time it was also clear to me that, again contrary to the reigning consensus, QR. MYM was not a toponym but rather an allusion to the 'Kinnereth' mentioned by name in line 41 (this determination also the result of a prosodic impasse created by taking QR. MYM of line 45 other than as the conclusion of the verse-line beginning TŠḪṬA(.)NN and as the B-word parallel of QBR. BNY in line 44).

Only later did I become aware that the assumption of MLK as an oblique designation of Dan'el was absolutely precluded for reasons of *narrative style* no less than of prosodic structure, and that this argument must be conceded even by those who are skeptical of arguments based on prosody, viz., that nowhere in the poem of *Aqht* are the dramatis personae ever referred to by their epithets alone. In the score repetitions of Dan'el's stock epithets, one never finds MT. RPI or ĠZR. MT. HRNMY without the accompanying proper-noun DNIL (though the converse, viz., PN alone, does occur occasionally). The goddess Anat is cited as ʿNT or BTLT. ʿNT, never as BTLT alone. Similarly Aqht, Pughat, and Ytpn: one never finds ĠZR or ṮKMT. MY(M) or MHR. ŠT without an accompanying PN.

In other words: even if MLK were a title otherwise predicated of Dan'el and narratively apt, an allusion to the hero solely as **mlk. yqtl*, without the accompanying PN would be suspect either as a scribal error of omission or as a homonym with a meaning other than 'king'.

This argument, which I believe is both decisive and irrefutable, may be supplemented with yet another, viz., 'rendundancy'.

If one reads lines 42 – 48 consecutively and without interruption, one cannot avoid the feeling that the presumed intervention by the narrator in lines 45^{b} – 46 – "The king curses: ..." – is as enigmatic as it is redundant. For the curse of the Kinnereth/QR. MYM follows immediately upon the oath sworn by the same Dan'el in lines 42 – 45^{a} against the hawks overhead and introduced (line 42) merely by the standard and formulaic (*w*)*yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ*. Do we really need a reminder in line 46 that Dan'el is the speaker? After all, there's no one else around!

Or, is his utterance against the sea so very different from the oath – in effect, a conditional curse – pronounced on the birds as to require a special introduction and classification as √*yṣm*? And if one insists on a difference, then surely the second and third curses pronounced on M.T.B. and ABLM respectively are of a piece with that pronounced on the sea. Yet in neither of the latter cases does the poet resort to √*yṣm*, but is content with the formulaic *yšu. gḥ. wyṣḥ*, and without further specification of the speaker.

The problem of MLK, and its 'corollary' YṢM, is really a 'pseudo-problem' created by faulty stichometry and an insufficient attention to literary style. Its resolution is readily at hand once MLK is recognized for what it is, viz., a suffixed noun ML, cognate with Ar. √*m(y)l* 'incline, lean, slope', referring to the downgrade outlet of the lake to the Jordan, with the choice of word determined by an etymological word-play, the appreciation of which depends on the audience's acquaintance with the name of the river which, according to Palestinian-Jewish tradition,[20] originates at this very point.

As for YṢM, its interpretation as 'he curses', is otherwise unknown in Ugaritic and is based on a rather liberal extension of the presumed Ar. cognate *waṣama*, for which Hava gives the following meanings: 'spoil, mar; crack; bind hastily; languish, be exhausted; a defect, blemish; (>) dishonour'.[21] Dozy[22] gives 'vituperavit' which admittedly comes close to 'curse' but is more precisely rendered by English 'insult, vituperate'. Is this a proper description of Dan'el's maledictions?

Semitic, we should recall, is rich in terminology for 'curse' (which is a much more serious affair than 'insult'. A basic term is √*'rr*, Akk. *arāru*, Heb. ארר, to which Akk. adds *nazāru* and Heb. √*qll* and √*qbḥ*.[23] The strongest Arabic term is *laʿana*[24], for which the less 'dangerous' *šatama* 'revile' is frequently substituted, not however *waṣama*.[25] In short: from such a rich assortment of terms, one cannot but wonder at the poet's alleged choice of so arcane a term as √*yṣm* which even in terms of alliteration is far from self-evident.[26]

As a matter of fact, it is quite clear that the analysis of YṢM as √*yṣm*, allegedly 'curse', is motivated by, and derives its cogency from,

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[20] TB *Bekh.* 55[a]; Tosefta *Bekh.*., ch. 7 § 4.

[21] *Op. cit.*, 874.

[22] *Supplément*, vol. II, 813[b].

[23] Cf. CAD, vol. A-2, 234 ff.; vol. N-2, 139 ff.; HAL, s. vv.

[24] Hava, *op. cit.*, 689[b].

[25] *Ibid.*, 351.

[26] In UF 11:537–57 and JNSL 8:57–79, I argued that the use of *hap. leg.* and 'odd' forms of words could be accounted for quite often as a response to the exigencies of an alliterating poetry and a desire to maximalize alliterative compatibility.

the prior analysis of MLK as 'king' rather than from any intrinsic philological merit. Once this initial premise is removed and MLK is reinterpreted as suggested above, one must surely prefer an analysis of YṢM as $\sqrt{ṣm(m)}$ = Ar. *ṣamma* 'stop-up, plug (a flask)' = MHeb. $\sqrt{ṣm(ṣ)m}$ 'restrain, confine, squeeze, etc.'; indeed, such an analysis of YṢM imposes itself as all but self-evident! One is hard put to find a term as appropriate to describe the scenario envisaged in the hero's curse of the Kinnereth.

§ 3. *YLK*[27]

The word is generally, and correctly, analyzed as a compound of two semantic elements, the second of which is the suffixed preposition LK 'to thee'. Opinion is however divided as to the nature of the initial Y-. Some take it to be the well-known vocative particle Y-, literally 'O...'[28], but here (allegedly) employed in the sense of 'woe' – a usage, be it noted, otherwise unknown.[29] Others assume a homonymic interjectory particle – also *hap. leg.* – meaning 'woe! alas!'. Gordon, who is partial to the latter interpretation, gives no etymology, whereas Driver cites Ar. *way* 'alas'. However, the Arab *way* denotes an expression of commiseration with the victim (possibly oneself) which is hardly appropriate here.

Nevertheless, the rendering "woe-to-thee" is correct; it is the analysis which is mistaken. The initial Y- should be understood as Y(L) < **yl*, a noun deriving from a middle-weak $\sqrt{y(y)l}$ 'wish someone ill' and cognate with Ar. *wayl* 'calamity, mishap'[30]. The word YLK thus reflects **yl* + *lk* "woe/calamity-to-thee", identical in meaning, and nearly so in form with Ar. *wayka* < **way(l)aka*.

The poet's reason for choosing this otherwise unattested word becomes clear when considered together with his previous choice of ML(k) < $\sqrt{m(y)l}$: the result is an impressive alliterating/assonating M(ê)L(u)K(a). Y(u)ṣ(a)M(ma). Y(ê)L(la)K(a), with the quadriconsonantal sequences MLKY - MYLK following each other in quick succession (and continuing in part into the B-line of the verse: d'LK. Mḫṣ...).

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[27] Cf. already UF 16:154 f.

[28] Cf. *e.g.*, YŠPŠ "O, (DN) Špš" (1.6:IV:1,22); YBN "O, my son" (1.16:VI:55); YB'L "O, Baal" (1.119:28).

[29] Cf. e.g. UT § 19.1061; Driver, CML, 63, 165 (= CML², 119).

[30] Hava, *op. cit.*, 899; Lane, AEL (Supp.), 3062; Dozy, *op. cit.* II, 847ᵇ. There also may be an ESA cognate (*apud* Biella, *Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, 126 f., with question-mark. There is no corresponding entry in A. Beeston, et al., *op. cit.*).

§ 4. *AMD. GR*[31]

Both words, singly and together, have proved troublesome for commentators, some deleting, others emending, and collectively spawning a variety of renditions mostly proffered tentatively and with hesitation. In retrospect, as one surveys the history of interpretation, it is quite clear that the failure to make sense of this portion of the text illustrates the severe limitations of an 'atomistic', word-by-word approach to philological problems, without benefit of context and with only etymology as one's guide.

The correct interpretation of AMD was advanced already by I. Al-Yasin,[32] citing Ar. *'amad* 'extreme point in time'. The Ug. term as used here is identical in meaning with Ar. *'alay-(il)'amadi* 'eternally'.[33] The word GR, as generally recognized (but inadequately comprehended) derives from $\sqrt{g(w)r}$ 'abide, reside (as an alien)', known from Heb. and ESA. As employed here, it appropriately, and subtly, defines Aqht's new – and involuntary! – residence in the 'House-of-El' (*bt. il*), after having been abruptly and prematurely removed from his home in the 'land of the living' (cf. Isa. 53:8) and 'exiled' to the 'land-of-no-return' (*erṣet-lā-ṭāri*). The combination, at first sight contradictory, of AMD and GR is intended to convey at once the idea of 'eternity' of the exile and its prematurity, causing Aqht to feel 'alien' in a house inhabited by the greybeard El and in a Netherworld inhabited (for the most part) by age-old spirits. One hears here the faintest echo of a protest.

Seen in this perspective, the curse of premature death entails not merely the deprivation of terrestrial life but also an 'alien' status in the eternal Hereafter. Anat's crime is not merely the ruination of a young man's *life*; in a very real sense, and even more importantly, she has ruined Aqht's 'death', i.e., his 'after-life' (Ug. AṮRYT), making him a 'stranger' in 'Infernity'.

§ 5. *BT. IL*

The allusion to the mythical 'house-of-El' in 1.19:III:47 has far-reaching consequences for the much debated question of 'El's abode' in

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[31] Cf. already UF 16:155 f.

[32] I. Al-Yasin, *The Lexical Relation Between Ugaritic and Arabid* (N.Y., 1952): 40, § 33, followed most recently by C. H. Gordon, *Berytus* XXV:26 (in UT § 19.220 the entry AMD contains only a citation of context).

[33] Hava, *op. cit.*, 13; Blachère, *op. cit.*, I, 201.

Canaanite mythological tradition.[34] In retrospect, it is E. Lipiński who came closest to the solution mandated by this hitherto overlooked piece of evidence from *Aqht*.

In a wide-ranging and erudite presentation, Lipiński argued – and, I believe, demonstrated – that from the OB period into the Common Era – two full millennia! – Mt. Hermon (Ug. ŠRYN) was a 'Canaanite Olympus', a place of 'divine assembly' (*phr. m'd*).[35] He also marshalled impressive evidence connecting El's subterranean aqueous abode, and the proximate mountain alternately designated ĠR. LL and ĠR. KS (1.1:III:12; II:24 (restored); 1.2:I:20), with the 'cave of Paneion' (mod. Bāniās) at the foot of Mt. Hermon.[36]

Lipiński draws attention to the onomastic connection between ĠR. KS 'mountain-of-the-cup' and (mod.) *Birket er-Rān* (var. *Rām*) which in Greco-Roman times was known as 'Phiale':

> "The pool derives its name *Phiale* from its circular form: the water always fills the basin to the brim without ever subsiding or overflowing."[37]

Josephus continues to relate how Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis (= Golan/Bashan), 'demonstrated' the pool's subterranean connection with the cave of Paneion "where the ancients believed that the [Jordan] stream had its origin". Lipiński remarks: "One might suppose that the name [Phiale] was the translation of an old Semitic name KS and that ĠR. KS 'the mountain of the Cup' where El lives is precisely Mount Hermon". But Lipiński resists the enticement – mistakenly, in my opinion – when he continues: "the connexion between the name and *Birket er-Rān* is not otherwise justified".[38]

Quite the contrary! The supposition is clever as well as correct, and reflects precisely the kind of literary camouflage of which the Ugaritic poet is so fond and which we observed in connection with QRT. ZBL. YRḪ, and especially, MRRT. TĠLL. BNR. In fact, had Lipiński pursued this line of thought in relation to ĠR. LL, 'mountain of the night'[39], he might have realized that this is a word-play on ŠRYN (O.T. *śiryôn*)

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[34] Cf. (e.g.) M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (SVT 2 [1955]: 61–81; *idem.*, in *Wörterbuch d. Mythologie* (ed. H. W. Haussig), vol. I (1965): 281 f.; E. Lipiński, "El's Abode. Mythological Traditions Related to Mount Hermon and to the Mountains of Armenia", OLP 2 (1971): 13–69; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973): 36–39.

[35] Lipiński, *loc. cit.*, 34.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 36 ff.

[37] Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Bk. III (10,7), §§ 509–13.

[38] Lipiński, *loc. cit.*, 40.

[39] LL = [*lêl*], Heb. *lāyl*(a^b); cf. Lipiński, *ibid.*, 43. Cf. also De Moor (AOAT 16:128 f.) where LL 'night' is taken to be a PN.

derived (playfully!) from $\sqrt{šry}$, otherwise unknown but assuredly cognate with Ar. $\sqrt{sry}$ 'travel-by-night'.[40]

Lipiński makes extensive use of Ugaritic literary materials in his discussion. But unaware of the *Aqht* evidence connecting El with the Sea of Kinnereth, he rejects the idea "that El's abode, as presented in the Ugaritic myths is ... to be looked for near Mt. Hermon", and concludes that "the traditions concerning Mt. Hermon must ... be considered as belonging to another West-Semitic cultural milieu."[41] His reasons for rejecting a Hermon locale for the Ugaritic El are based on: (1) a problematic, to my mind extremely doubtful, interpretation of El's epithet AB. ŠNM as 'father-of-(DN) ŠNM', identified with the Cassite-Babylonian deity Šumaliya;[42] (2) the evidence of the Hitto-Canaanite tale of 'Elkunirša' which locates El at the sources (!) of the Māla River in Armenia.[43]

It is my view that the Ugaritic data, comprehensively viewed and correctly interpreted, points unmistakeably and unequivocally to El's identification with the fresh-water sources of the Jordan – emanating from the Hermon range near Dan; with the Jordan itself as it flows through the Ḥuleh Valley = 'El's marshland' (ĠL. IL); and with the reservoir of the Kinnereth into which these waters flow. The stereotyped formulae describing his residence refer to the 'confluence' (Ug. *'dt*) of the twin sources (Ug. MBK) of the Jordan (= NHR(M)!) south of t. Dan, itself a centre of worship of 'Bull-El'. This cult, we should recall, was taken over by the 'Israelite' tribe of Dan[44] at the beginning of settlement in Canaan (12th cent. B.C.E.), with no less a personage than the grandson of the legendary Moses as high-priest (Ju. 18:30). It was

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[40] Cf. Hava, p. 319[b]; Lane, AEL, 1355 f. – Of course the Ugaritic poet knew that the *real* etymology of ŠRYN was 'be high' (cf. Ar. *sarāt* 'summit, peak').

[41] *Loc. cit.*, 57. He goes on to say: "It may reasonably be inferred ... that Mt. Hermon became the mountain of the gods in an earlier phase of the history of the West Semitic peoples. This older tradition is recorded in the Amorite, i.e., Old-Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epic, and it is preserved in the more conservative Palestinian traditions [= O.T.]." My principal disagreement with Lipiński is the position of the Ugaritic traditions of El in this chain of development.

[42] *Loc. cit.*, 66 ff.

[43] *Ibid.*, 56 f. – The Hittite evidence is, *at best*, a reflex of the Hitto-Hurrian transformation which this myth underwent. Cf. already Otten, MIO 1 (1953): 140: "Doch scheint mir die Stelle in dieser Hinsicht nichts zu beweisen, weil ... die Situation dafür spricht, daß sich der Gott außerhalb seines Hauses in der Fremde aufhält". Note also that Otto does not consider the equation of 'Māla' with 'Euphrates' a certainty (*ibid.*, 139 f., and n. 46. But cf. E. von Schuler, in: WdM I, *op. cit.*, 164.).

[44] Cf. Y. Yadin, AJBA 1/1 (1968): 9–23 for the theory that the Israelite tribe of Dan is an offshoot of the Mycenean Greek *Danaoi* and related to the later (Karatepe) *Danuna*/ D-N-N-M.

duplicated some two centuries later, as part of a 'reformation', at the Ephraimite shrine of Bethel – Heb. *bêṯ-'ēl*/Ug. BT. IL ! – where strictly orthodox Yahwists worshipped without qualms a century thereafter (2 Kgs. 2).[45] Even as late as Hellenistic times (ca. 200 B.C.E.), it is not unlikely that El is still 'the god who is in Dan',[46] a situation conceivably anticipated already in the name of the Ugaritic hero 'Dan'el' (= 'Dan' of El?).

§ 6. *ʿDB. UḪRY (mṯ. ydh).*[47]

Few lines of Ugaritic poetry have elicited so bewildering a variety of translations, leading a pair of scholars to wonder jointly why "this very simple stichos has mystified [so] many scholars".[48] It may or may not be a coincidence that the scholar whose interpretation comes closest to (what I believe is) the correct solution is the very same (non-specialist!) who, alone in the post-war era of Ugaritic studies, has opted for the 'Kinnereth hypothesis' in *Aqht*, though without being fully cognizant of its ramifications.

(α) ʿDB

The first observation to be made is the QTL rather than the YQTL form of the verb ʿDB in all three of its occurrences (1.19:III:49, 56; IV:7). This signals a thematic-narrative as well as a structural-prosodic break with the preceding text-material, and should dissuade us from attempting to link it directly therewith.

The second point to be noted is that the act described by ʿDB is followed by a departure to, and an arrival (√*mġy*) at a new site. Coupled with the absence of any reference to riding, it should be clear that *MṬ. YD- is a 'walking-stick' elsewhere designated MRḤ (= Heb. *rom^{a}ḥ*, etc.), GRGR (< √*grr* 'drag'), and ŠBR (= Ar. *sabara* 'spike').[49] The

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[45] Stripped of its polemical bias (directed against the secessionist north-Israelite kingdom), Ex. 32 suggests that this tradition of the 'bull-cult' was legitimated by tracing its origins to the period of the desert-wanderings and to the family of the Aaronid priesthood, while 'El-worship' as such was attributed to the Patriarchs (cf. 'E' and 'P').

[46] Cf. A. Biran, *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem 1977): 142–51, and my discussion of the inscription in OLP (1989) [forthcoming].

[47] Based on UF 16:156–58.

[48] Dijkstra–De Moor, UF 7:209. For a brief summary of scholarly opinion, the reader may consult the article cited in the preceding note.

[49] Cf. 1.16:I:47 f. (MRḤ // GRGR) and 1.92:12 f. (MRḤ // ŠBR) – cf. JNSL 8:74, n. 41. Cp. also administrative text 4.385, where MRḤ(m) = a surgeon's '(two) lance(s)'.

verb ʿDB is thus a transitive verb having 'walking stick' as its object and denoting an act performed as one sets out (on foot!) on a journey.

The conclusion is thus unavoidable: as noted first by Ullendorff,[50] ʿDB...MṬ. YDH can only mean in this context, "he picked up ... his walking-stick" (and departed). Ullendorff also suggested that in this meaning Ug. ʿDB is etymologically cognate with ESA ʿḎB 'repair, renew, put-in-order'.[51] But Ullendorff failed to note that semantically more akin to the Ugaritic word is the rare Heb. ʿZB (II) 'pick, raise up', most notably (if not singly) attested in the *Book-of-Covenant* (Ex. 23:5):[52]

> "If you see your adversary's donkey crouched beneath its burden (and unable to rise) ... help him raise it up."[53]

LXX correctly renders συναρεῖs for the second $\sqrt{ʿzb}$ (v. 5^b) after having rendered the initial $\sqrt{ʿzb}$, again correctly, by (οὐ) παρελούση. The later *Code of Deuteronomy*, less appreciative of the word-play and/or to avoid confusion, will 'modernize' the text by substituting (Deut. 22:4) $\sqrt{q(w)m}$ for $\sqrt{ʿzb}$ (II) of Exodus 23.[54]

The present *Aqht* text is not the only example of Ug. ʿDB (II).[55] Another occurrence is in *Baal-Mot* (1.6:I:50–52) where, after Baal's death, Asherah proposes as his replacement a character named YDʿ. YLḪN, lit., 'he-who-knows-how-to-moisturize' ($\sqrt{lḥḥ}$). Fastening on the initial consonants YD (in Ugaritic a euphemism for the male genital organ) and the concluding consonants -LḪN (Ar. *laḥana* = wield, brandish'), the aged El, ever keen on ribaldry, formulates his rejection of the candidate thus: *dq. anm. lyrq*(!). *ʿm. bʿl // lyʿdb. mrḥ. ʿm. bn. dgn* = 'Feeble (lit., 'small') is he of 'strength',[56] he can't 'climb'[57] with Baal / He can't 'raise' the 'staff' like the son-of-Dagan".[58]

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[50] JSS 7 (1962): 343 f. (Any additional reference to Ullendorff in this discussion is to this publication.)

[51] Cf. A. L. Beeston, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, 12 f.; J. Biella, *op. cit.*, 354 f.

[52] Contrast H. Williamson, ZAW 97 (1985): 78 f.; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, UF 17 (1985): 105–16.

[53] Rd.: *l(ū)-ʿazôḏ*, taking לוּ as an asseverative with following impv. construction (cf. Gen. 23:13).

[54] Note too the ethically more significant substitution of 'brother' for 'adversary'!

[55] There is still a question as to the relation of Ug. ʿDB (II) < PS *ʿḎB to the Ug. substantive ʿḎBT, attested (*hap. leg.*) in 1.4:IV:14 ff. (*Baal-Mot*), in parallelism with the equally obscure ḪRN. In my opinion it is not unlikely that the rare ʿḎBT preserves the original PS root meaning 'raise up', whereas the verb *ʿ*aḏaba* has already merged (as has PS **ḏ* generally, but not entirely, in Ugaritic) with the common ʿDB (I) 'do, etc.'. If this interpretation is correct, then ʿḎBT and ḪRN would form a 'merism' for construction equipment, with ʿḎBT denoting something like 'scaffold' or 'pulley' and ḪRN (< $\sqrt{ḫr(r)}$ 'dig-a-hole' (cf. WUS s. v. 1074) referring to excavation equipment.

[56] Cp. Heb. אוֹן 'strength' as well as 'sexual potency (*vis virilis*)'.

(β) UḪRY

Ullendorff's 'thereupon', presupposing an adverbial syntax, is a very good suggestion which has recently been endorsed (without acknowledgement!) by Mlle. Herdner in her study of RS 24.247.[59] There remains however the problem of the initial 'U in view of the well-attested form of the adverb with initial 'A, as in (1.24:32 f.): *aḫr*(.) [33]*nkl. yrḫ. ytrḫ* = 'Thereafter did Yariḫ wed Nikkal".

The 'U of UḪRY may be explained as due to 'vowel harmony' with a medial [u], corresponding to Heb. *'aḥôr-* 'backside' (Ex. 33:23) and *'aḥôr*(*ānit*) 'backwards'. Thus, if UḪRY is not merely a phonetic variant of *AḪR(Y) – cf. Heb. אַחֲרֵי – it may denote the act of 'bending down' or 'stooping over', causing protrusion of the backside. This explanation is also supported by our interpretation of UḪRYT in 1.17:VI:35 as the anatomical posterior.

Our interpretation of UḪRY is admittedly not congenial in RS 24.247; but even Ullendorff's 'thereafter' is marked as questionable by Herdner. That text will bear further study.[60]

ACT III – SCENE 4 (1.19:IV:7–40)

TEXT

[7]*'db. uḫry. mṭ. ydḥ*	4		
[8]*dnil. ⟨l⟩bth. ym{ }ġyn*	3	6	10
yšt[9]*ql. dnil. lḥklḥ*	3		

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[57] The root is $\sqrt{rqy}$, cognate with Ar. *raqiya* 'climb'. For this reading (still unknown to CTA) cf. KTU, p. 25, n. 1.

[58] Underlying the ribaldry of course is the elaborate sexual metaphor of 'fertility' involving the (feminine) earth and the fertilizing/impregnating (masculine) sky. Thus, if YD'-YLḪN can't 'raise' like Baal, he can't adequately fertilize the earth with seminal rain.

[59] *Ugaritica* VII, 54. The text is 1.103 in KTU.

[60] Cf. J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 22 [1987]): 271 ff. ("There is a clear tendency for like vowels to appear on either side of a guttural ... In most of the examples, assimilation is to the following stressed or long vowel ..."). – The word UḪRY is also known from the so-called *šummu izbu* text 1.103:40. D. Pardee (AfO 32 [1986]: 118), *seq.* Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartín (UF 7:138) renders 'descendants' (*wuḫry. ykly.ršp*). But *-y* is a very suspect desinence for a m. pl. noun in Ugaritic.

ʿrb. b[10]*kyt. bhklh*	3		
mšspdt. bḫzrh	2	5	
[11]pẓġm. ġr. ybk	3		
laqht(.) [12]*ġzr. ydmʿ*	3		9
lkdd. dnil(.) [13]*mt. rpi*	3	6	
lymm. lyrḫm(.) [14]*lyrḫm. lšnt*	(2 : 2) 4		
ʿd(.) [15]*šbʿt. šnt. ybk*	3		
laq[16]*ht. ġzr. ydmʿ*	3		9
lkdd(.) [17]*dnil. mt. rp*[i]	3	6	
[m]*ḳ. bšbʿ*(.) [18]*šnt*	3		
wyʿṅ[. dnil. m]*ỉ. rpi*	3		9
[19]*y*⟨*t*⟩*ṯb. ġzr. m̀*[t. hrnmy]	3	6	
[y]*šu*(.) [20]*gḥ. wyṣḥ*	3		
t[bʿ. aṯty. bbt]*ẏ*	3		
[21]*ḅkyt. bhk*[l]*y*	2		
mšspd̀t(.) [22]*bḫẓry*	2	6	9
pẓġm. ġr	2		
wyqr̀[y] (.) [23]*dbḥ. ilm*	3		
yšʿly. dġṯḥ(.) [24]*bšmym*	3		9
dġṯ(.) *hrnmy. d̀*[k][25]*ḅkbm*	3		
ʿd̀[bt. pġt. tph ?]	3		
[26]*ʾlh. yd. ʿd*[b]*t*	3		8
ḳl̀ [atm.]*m̀ṣ*[27]*ltm*	2		
mrq̀dm. dšn. l̀ [k(lk)m ?]	3		7
[28]*wtʿn. pġt. ṯkmt. mym*	4		
[29]*qrẏm. åb. dbḥ. lilm*	4		
[30]*šʿly. dġṯḥ. ḅšmym*	3	7	
[31]*dġṯ. hrnmy. dkbḳḅm̀*	3		10
[32]*ltbrḳn. alḳ. brḳt̀*[m?]	3		
[33]*tmrn. alk. nmrṙt*	3	6	

[34]*imḫṣ. mḫṣ| aḫy*	3	6	
akl [.]*m*[35]*kly*[. ʿ]*l. umty*	3		9
wyʿn. dn[36]*il. mt. rpi*(!)	3		

npš. tḫ[.] *pġt*(.) [37]*ṯkmt. mym*	4	7	
ḫspt. lšʿr(.) [38]*ṯl*	3		10
ydʿt. hlk. kbkbm	3		
[ḫy ?] [39]*npš. ḫy. mḫ*	3?	6?	
tmḫṣ. mḫṣ[. aḫk]	3		9?
[40]*tkl. mkly. ʾl. umt*[k]	3		

Synopsis

Upon his arrival home, Dan'el initiates mourning rites, led by professional mourning women. A sacrifice, accompanied by musical activity, officially concludes the seven-year (!) mourning period. Daughter Pughat now requests, and receives, her father's permission and blessing to undertake the 'redemption-of-the-blood'.

General Comments

The scene divides into two more or less equal parts:

(a) lines 7 – 22[a], describing the mourning in Dan'el's house, led by professional mourning women designated BKYT // MŠSPDT, corresponding to the O.T. מְקוֹנְנוֹת (Jer. 9:16 – 19);

(b) Lines 22[b] – 40, describing the post-mourning festivities, designated DBḪ, in the course of which Pughat, now featured as a minstrel, asks for and receives her father's permission to undertake the mission of blood-redemption to the camp of the Sutean.

§ *1.19:IV:7 – 22[a]*

1. The institution of professional mourning women is one of the cultural 'universals' of ancient and pre-modern societies.[1] But in the ritual acts of mourning, including bodily mutilation, all the members

[1] Cf. H. Jahnow, *Das Hebräische Leichenlied* (1923): 57 ff.; M. Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses dans l'Égypte Ancienne* (Bruxelles, 1938); M. Cramer, *Die Totenklage bei den Kopten* (Wien – Leipzig, 1941): 78 ff.; E. Laroche, OLZ [1956]: 420; H. Otten, *Heth. Totenrituale* (Berlin, 1958): 129; R. Jakobson, in: *Selected Writings*, vol. IV (1966): 427 f. In Rabbinic Judaism, cf. TB *Moʿēd Qāṭān*, 28[b]; *Šĕmachôṯ* [= *Abēl-Rabbati*], ch. XIV, § 7.

and friends of the family participate, male as well as female, here designated by the masculine PẒĠM. ĠR.[2]

To fully appreciate the situation here implied we have only to note 1.5:VI:11 – 22[a], describing El's mourning of the dead Baal:[3]

[11]apnk. ltpn. il [12]dpid	"Thereupon did LṬPN, the god of mercy,
yrd. lksi. yṯb [13]lhdm	Descend from the throne, sat on the footstool,
wl. hdm. yṯb [14]larṣ	And from the footstool onto the ground.
yṣq. ʿmr [15]un. lrišh	He poured *straw*-of-mourning on his head,
ʿpr. plṯt [16]lqdqdqh	Dirt of the floor on his pate;
lpš. yks [17]mizrtm	He donned a MIZRTM as his raiment.
ġr. babn [18]ydy	He gashed (his) skin with a stone,
psltm. byʿr [19]yhdy	He cut this twin-braids with a razor.
lḥm. wdqn [20]yṭlṯ	He 'furrowed' cheeks and whiskers,
qn. drʿh[.] yḥrṯ	He 'ploughed' the shoulder of his arm,
[21]kgn. ap lb	Like a garden (he 'ploughed' his) chest;
kʿmq. yṭlṯ [22]bmt	Like a valley he 'furrowed' (his) back."

An illuminating parallel is furnished by the biblical text of Jer. 41:5. Following the death of Gedalyahu b. Aḥiqam, but before word of his death had spread, "men came [to Jerusalem] from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria – eighty in all – with shaven beards, torn clothing, and gashing (their skin)...[4] This behaviour, to be sure, stands in contradiction to the Deuteronomic legislation in Deut. 14:1: "Ye are sons of YHWH, your god: ye shall not gash (your skin),[5] nor shave (the head in the area) between your eyes[6] (when mourning) for the dead".[7]

2. The seven-year mourning period is obviously a mythological motif. It most likely originates in a myth – no longer extant – of *Baal and the Sons of Asherah*, a small portion of which has survived frag-

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[2] For further discussion of this phrase, cf. Excursus below, § 1.

[3] Cf. my discussion of this text in MLD, 129 ff. – As late as the 5th cent. C.E., an Armenian Church-father named Mandakuni (d. 500 C.E.) describes, and decries, virtually identical rites practiced by 'pagans' of Anatolia, Cf. M. Cramer, *op. cit.*, 78 f.

[4] Heb. מְחֻגֻּדִּים(וּ).

[5] Heb. לֹא־תִתְגֹּדְדוּ.

[6] Apparently referring to a bald swath running from the forehead to the nape.

[7] One may assume that the Deuteronomic legislation (cf. also Lev. 21:5, restricted to priests!) is at least partly motivated by anti-Canaanite polemic with a view towards establishing a social differentiation between 'Hebrew' and 'Canaanite'. But the realities of life and the force of 'sacred tradition' prove stronger than the ideology of 'reform', at least at the outset.

mentarily in a Hittite recension as the so-called 'Myth of Elkunirša'.[8] A passing allusion to this myth may also occur in *Baal-Mot* (1.4:II:21 – 26).[9]

The co-option of this motif here in *Aqht* seems at first glance to clash with the 'realism' which pervades the story of *Aqht* generally (though as the 'birds-episode' and the 'oracle' attest, not exclusively).[10] The choice is nevertheless quite deliberate and its twofold function clear:

(a) it evokes, as it corresponds to, the 'seven//eight' years of drought and dessication pronounced by the oracle in 1.19:I:42 f., the post-mourning sacrifice to Baal (= HRNMY !)[11] thus coming as a gentle 'reminder' to the storm-god (or his hypostasis) that the prescribed period of affliction is terminated.

((b) the use of hyperbolic numbers, together with the occasional 'miracle', is a literary hallmark of legendary tales about heroes and ancestors in the 'olden days'. Its purpose is to suggest a time and atmosphere when 'things were different' and men were more like gods, less constrained by 'natural law'; a time of 'dialogue', when man spoke to god, and god to man "face-to-face, as one speaks to a friend". This literary convention can still be identified in the 'pre-settlement' narratives of the O.T., and finds its most characteristic expression in the extraordinary longevity of 'heroes' and ancestors.[12]

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[8] Cf. conveniently the translation by A. Goetze in ANET[3], 519 (and lit. *ibid.*). – The basis for our conclusion that a common source underlies 'Elkunirša' and the present *Aqht* passage (which was drawn into the discussion already by H. Otten in his *ed. pr.* publication [cf. MIO 1 (1953): 134: "Die beste Parallele [z. Elkunirša] bietet die siebenjährige Totenklage um Aqhat"]) is the *combination* of 'seven years of mourning' and the presence of professional mourning-women (Hitt.: [$^{sal.me}$]^{š} *tapturuš*; cf. E. Laroche, *loc. cit.* n. 1), together, of course, with the self-evident Canaanite provenience of the Hittite story.

[9] Upon beholding the advance of Baal and Anat, a panic-stricken Asherah cries out: *mḥṣy. hm* [. m]*ḫṣ* ^{25}*bny. hm*[. mkly. ṣ]*brt* ^{26}*aryy* = "My assassins are they! Lo, the assassins of my sons are they / [The exterminators] of my family are they". Cf. already MLD, 31.

[10] Contrast the 'realistic' seven-*day* mourning period in (O.T.) Gen. 50:10; 1 Sam. 31:13; in post-biblical *Judith* 16:24, and *Ben-Sira* 22:12; and culminating in the 'shiva' of Rabbinic Judaism still very common today amongst Jews.

[11] Cf. above, EXCURSUS I, pp. 251 ff.

[12] Cf. e. g., Jacob's complaint of Gen. 46:9. One can in fact detect in O.T. historiography a clear pattern of descending life-spans as one proceeds from the myths of 'pre-history' to the 'legends' of 'proto-history' and finally, to the records of 'history'. The generations of Man before and during the Flood live lives of 900+ years (itself a miniaturization of Sumero-Akk. tradition!). The Patriarchs/Matriarchs average 120+; Moses reaches 120, Joshua, 110. By the time of the Judges, we are in the 'real world' of 'history' and the notices of age at death disappear entirely (cf. Ju. 2:11; 8:32; 10:2; 12:7, 15; 1 Sam. 25:1, etc.).

§1.19:IV:22^{b}–40

The combination of 'feasting' – i.e., the slaughter of an animal partly offered (|√*qrb*)[13] in sacrifice to the gods but largely consumed by the participants – and musical activity as here described, recalls both in theme and language text 1.108:1 ff., a feast of 'ancestor-worship' similarly 'set' in Bashan, in nearby Ashtaroth-Edrei.[14]

[wh]*n. yšt. rpu. mlk. ʿlm*	"[Now beho]ld, the *Rapian*, king of yore,
wyšt. [il?] *gṯr*	Now [the god?] drinks *spirits*;
wyqr. il. yṯb. bʿṯtrt	And the divine Yaqaru[15] resides in Ashtaroth,
il. ṯpṭ. b(h/i!)drʿy	He rules (as) a god in Edrei.
dyšr. wyḏmr. bknr. wṯlb	There is singing and playing of lyre and flute,
btp. wmṣltm	Of tambourine and cymbals,
bmrqdm. dšn	Of castanets (made) of ivory[16],
bḫbr. kṯr. ṯbm	In the company of Koshar (*singing*) *sweetly.*
wtšt. ʿnt. gṯr ...	Now Anat was drinking *spirits...*
aklt. ʿgl. ʿl. m{.}št	Eating veal (served) on a platter[17]."

The minstrel activity of Pughat, reflecting the traditional rôle of women as singers and dancers in the ancient Near East,[18] provides the symmetrical counterweight to the professional mourning women who earlier chanted dirges and laments.[19] But viewed on a macro-narrative scale, the mourning women are themselves the symmetrical counterpart of the KṮRT (1.17:II:41) whose name translates as 'skillful', thus bringing to mind the epithet 'wise-women' which the biblical prophet-poet uses to describe the 'wailing-women' (Jer. 9:16 ff.). The KṮRT appear at

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[13] Cf. EXCURSUS below, § 3.

[14] Cf. above, EXCURSUS I. – This kind of abrupt change from sorrow and mourning to festive rejoicing which one encounters fairly often in the religious behaviour of the ancients would appear to be rooted in the ritual mourning for the departed god-of-vegetation of the Tammuz-Adonis type, and the subsequent rejoicing at his revival. A literary reflex of this phenomenon can be seen in *Baal-Mot* (1.4–5–6) where the mourning of 1.5:V–1.6:I is followed shortly thereafter by the news of Baal's resurrection and El's 'elation' (|√*šmḫ*) upon notification.

[15] Cf. above, EXCURSUS I.

[16] Cf. A. Caquot, *Syria* 53 (1976): 295–304, and EXCURSUS below, § 5.

[17] MŠT is a *mqtl* noun-formation of √*š(y)t* 'set down'.

[18] For the O.T. witnesses, cf. e.g. Ex. 15:20; Ju. 11:34; 1 Sam. 15:7; Cant. 7:1 ff. For the extra-biblical evidence, cf. conveniently ANEP ##208–11. Males tend to be better represented as *professional* musicians. But the spontaneous, improvised 'song-and-dance' is generally a distaff affair.

[19] Cf. TB *Moʿed Qāṭān*, 28^{b} (loc. cit.). – It is not difficult to imagine that from among these experts in the composition of poetic dirges there should have arisen occasionally an epic poetess as well!

conception, possibly also at birth, the BKYT at death: the one to escort[20] the hero into life, the other to escort him out. Again we see the distinctly 'feminist' bias of our poem: 'womankind' stands at the epicentre of the 'Life-Afterlife Process', as indispensable for the one as for the other. Even Pughat's minstrel activity, signifying a 'return-to-life' on the part of the living, can be subsumed here. This indeed is the quintessence of the message of *Aqht*, *viz.*, that in contrast to the men (and the misogynist Anat) who are expert in the *taking* of human life, the women are expert (|√*ktr*!) in the *creation* of life, both in its ephemeral manifestation on earth as well as in its abiding manifestation in the Netherworld.

But all of this festivity, unlike the preceding mourning, is but a brief interlude in our story; for there remains some very important and unfinished business to attend. The typical songstress thus makes a very atypical request of her father, to 'redeem' her brother's blood.[21]

We are not informed by the poet of Dan'el's emotional reaction to this seemingly incredible request. At the least we can infer from the silence of the poet that 'his brow did not break out in sweat, his back didn't wobble, nor did his feet shake' from either fright or consternation. From the same silence we can also infer that he did not protest his daughter's initiative, much less rebuke her for her 'lunacy'. In fact, the alacrity of Dan'el's response suggests that he is all too ready to confer his blessing as requested (an 'enthusiasm' which the clever Pughat may well have anticipated, knowing her father's 'heroism'...).

It is difficult to imagine a more devastating mockery of Raphaite pretensions of 'heroism', or a more derisive contempt for the 'mighty ĠZR' whose "arms [are] mighty, his heart stout / ... Wily in launching a fight ... / A bowman without ... equal / ... Stout-hearted in the hour of combat ... / Firmhearted like a bull ready for battle / ... Like a wild lion in a valley of goats / Who goes forth in valor [and] returns in triumph."[22]

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[20] Cf. Ps. 68:7, where, as I have suggested elsewhere (JANES 4 [1972]: 53–612; 113–17) the task of the Kosharot is to 'escort' (H |√*yṣ'*) together with YHWH the newly married in the wedding procession.

[21] Heb. גּוֹאֵל הַדָּם, which is different from |√*nqm* 'take revenge'. For the purpose of 'revenge' is 'retribution' for damage incurred by the avenger, whereas the purpose of 'blood-redemption' is to release the murdered victim from his agony (cf. Gen. 4:10). The 'avenger' profits (if he is successful) from his revenge; the 'redeemer-of-the-blood' risks his life but gains no personal benefit (except the 'good feeling' of having granted peace to his slain kin). – Note well that the O.T. (e.g., Num. 35, *passim*; Deut. 19:6, 12; Jos. 20:5, 9; 2 Sam. 14:6 ff.) tacitly assumes that the 'redeemer' is a male; it never speaks of גּוֹאֶלֶת הַדָּם.

[22] The quotation is from the introduction to Ramses II's 'Kadesh Battle Poem', Ramses himself, the self-styled '*mhr* of Anat' representing the epitome of Raphaite ideology. This is a subject which bears further investigation. (The translation is that of M. Lichtheim, AEL, vol. II [1976]: 57 ff.).

The supreme irony of *Aqht* is surely the fact that, excepting the 'mighty arms', virtually every word of this bravado is more suited to Pughat than to Dan'el; and nowhere more so than at this very point in the story.

For Dan'el is brave only with words, cursing and blessing with exemplary vigour. To be sure, in swearing an oath on his life,[23] he serves notice to the gods that the failure of his daughter's mission, and her consequent death, will entail the forfeiture of his own life as well. Dan'el thus commits his own life to his daughter's undertaking – but only vicariously so. Pughat will risk her life in body; Dan'el will risk his only in words. If Pughat fails, she will die of a broken neck; Dan'el – at most! – will die of a broken heart!

A final observation: any illusions which may still linger as to Dan'el's kingship should be totally and irrevocably banished by the present scene. An ancient Near Eastern king, no matter how petty, is inconceivable without military retainers;[24] and Dan'el obviously has none, or else he would surely have sent *them* (with or without himself present) to avenge Aqht rather than his daughter (and now only-child!). Dan'el agrees to Pughat's request because he knows that the alternative is for him (or his wife...) to go in person and alone!

Excursus XVII: Philological Notes

§ 1. PẒĠM. ĠR[1]

Virtually all recent commentators, and some of the olders ones, take this phrase to mean 'bruising/lacerating the skin', with $\sqrt{pẓġ}$ related to Heb. $\sqrt{ps^{\epsilon}}$ and ĠR to Heb. עוֹר.[2] But the presumed equation of the Ugaritic and Hebrew verbs is made problematic by the alleged Arabic cognate $\sqrt{fṣ^{\epsilon}}$.[3] The anomaly is twofold: Ug. ẓ = Ar. ṣ, and Ug. ġ = Ar. *ʿayin*.

The difficulty in relating Ug. $\sqrt{pẓġ}$ to Ar. $\sqrt{fṣ^{\epsilon}}$ is semantic as well as phonological. The Arabic root properly means 'squeeze (dates) out (of their skin); pull, force out',[4] rather than 'cut, inflict injury' as required

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[23] For the philological basis of this statement, cf. EXCURSUS below.

[24] Cf. 1 Sam. 8:11.

[1] Based on UF 16:158–60.

[2] Cp. *e.g.*, WUS, s.v. 2255: "Haut Aufschlitzende"; Fenton (UF 1:69): "those who cut the skin"; Caquot–Sznycer (TO, 454, n. p); "ceux qui meurtrissent la peau"; Del Olmo Lete (MLC, 397): "los que se laceran la piel".

[3] Cf. HAL, 899; Ges.-Buhl, HAWAT, 6753 (but citing also Barth's alternative proposal of Ar. $\sqrt{ṣf^{\epsilon}}$ 'thrash').

[4] Hava, *op. cit.*, 564f.; Lane, AEL, 2419.

by the context of Ug. √*pẓǵ*. Perhaps it is for this reason that Aistleitner (s. v. 2255) provides an alternative Ar. cognate √*fḍǵ* 'break'. Though more suitable semantically – 'injure' < 'break (the skin)' – it too produces a phonological anomaly, viz., Ug. *ẓ* = Ar. *ḍ*.

One should consider, I submit, the possibility that both Ug. √*pẓǵ* and Heb. √*pṣ*ʿ are rather cognate with Ar. *faẓaʿa* 'be hard; unseemly', related to the bilitteral *faẓẓa* 'be rough, course, hard'.[5] *A priori*, this seems a more plausible predicate of 'skin' than 'squeeze out' and certainly closer to the sense of 'mutilate(d)' required by the Ugaritic context. An additional advantage of course is that, like Aistleitner's proposal, it reduces the phonological anomaly to one, viz., the correspondence of Ar. *ʿayin* = Ug. *ǵ*; but this irregularity is more easily explained than is Aistleitner's. One possible explanation is etymological variants of what is ostensibly and basically a bilitteral root *√*p-ẓ*. An alternate explanation would see the anomaly as related to the well-known irregularity in the phonetic correspondences of Ug. *ǵ* with either Ar. *ẓ* or *ǵ*. Accordingly, Ug. √*pẓǵ* < √**pẓʿ* might well reflect the partial regressive assimilation of radical /ʿ/ to the preceding /*ẓ*/, resulting in /*ǵ*/; or, the progressive dissimilation of /*ẓ*/ to /*ǵ*/ in a presumed development of *√*pẓẓ* > √*pẓǵ*.[6]

The etymological equation of Ug. PẒĠ (and Heb. PṢʿ) with Ar. FẒ(ʿ) does not, to be sure, facilitate a translation 'cut lacerate' for the Ugaritic. However, on quite other grounds one should be skeptical of 'cut, lacerate' as the *basic* meaning of either Ug. √*pẓǵ* or Heb. √*pṣʿ*. The term used for 'lacerating (the skin)' in 1.5:VI:11 ff. (*Baal-Mot*) is √*ydy* (< **wdy*), lit. 'scratch', while the 'cutting (of the braids [*psltm*])' is described by *yḥdy* (< **ḥdy* 'cut').[7] Other terms used in Ugaritic to denote 'cut' are √*ǵṣr* (= Ar. √*ǧdr*) in the expression *ǵṣr. arṣ*, 'edge of the earth' and √*ksm* (= Akk. *kasāmu*) in the sense of 'portion' (1.17:I:31, etc.; cf. above). For the ritual laceration of the skin in mourning, BHeb opts for √*gdd* (= Ar. *ǧadda*) 'cut' and √*śrṭ* 'scratch'. It also knows the etymon √*ḥtk* 'cut'.

Admittedly, this argument is not decisive for a Semitic lexicon rich in (poetic) synonyms such as Ugaritic and BHeb. But it does at least warrant keeping an open mind to the possibility that Ug. PẒĠM. ĠR refers to the 'unseemliness" of the skin which *results* from mutilation – the injury – rather than the specific act of 'laceration'; in other words, by 'lacerating' (√*ydy*) the skin, the mourners render it √*pẓǵ* (Heb. *paṣûʿa*)!

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[5] Lane, AEL, 2418; Hava, *op. cit.*, 568.

[6] A more mundane, non-linguistic explanation may also be considered, viz., *pẓǵm* as a scribal error for **pẓ*(ʿ)*m* induced by the anticipation of the following *ǵr*.

[7] Cf. my discussion in MLD, 132. Contrast D. Marcus, BASOR 226 (1977): 57 f.

§ 2. *(l)KDD*

Elsewhere[8] I have discussed at some length and in detail the historical evolution of the present-day scholarly consensus which takes Ug. KDD to mean 'child', allegedly cognate with Aram. *k-d-d* and Akk. *k/qudādu*. Here I shall only discuss the pertinent data and the conclusions to be drawn.

(a) Aram. *k-d-d* 'child' may well be a figment of scholarly imagination! The alleged philological basis is a *hap. leg.* – in a language documented for some two millennia on a myriad of subjects ! – in an idiosyncratic incantation (written in syllabic cuneiform!) dating to Hellenistic times, and variously read (alphabetically) as *ḏdq(y)*, *ḳdd(y)*, and most recently,[9] as *ḏddq(y)*, the latter supposedly related to standard Aramaic *drdq* 'child'.

(b) The alleged Akk. cognate *qudādu*, var. *k/gudādu*, has yet to be redeemed from the status of 'lexical only'. As recently as 1956, the CAD (vol. G) defined *gudādu* (var. *qudādu*) as a 'cripple'; and as late as 1971 (vol. K) it did not even acknowledge the existence of a variant *kudādu*. Only in vol. Q (1982) is *qudādu* (A) – now alongside variants *kudādu* and *gudādu* – defined as 'small child', apparently under the influence of AHw, 925 (= fasc. 10 [1971]). But AHw itself, though now viewing *qudādu* as a(n inferior) variant of *g/kudādu*, knows nothing of the latter in its earlier fascicles (s. v.); and the principal support cited for *qudādu* = 'sehr klein; winzig' is the aforementioned Aramaic *hap. leg.* and ... the Ug. *hap. leg.* KDD here in *Aqht*!

One cannot but agree therefore with the conclusion reached by S. A. Kaufman[10] that "the interpretation 'child' for Ugaritic KDD no longer finds support in Akkadian or Aramaic."[11] The question is: can the Ug. evidence support itself? The answer, I believe, is an unequivocal negative.

(1) There is nothing in the Ugaritic text at hand which favours – much less requires – taking KDD as '(small) child', even if it does not categorically preclude it. The word occurs in syn. parallelism with AQHT ĠZR (in prose, it would be considered appositional). ĠZR denotes basically a lad or young man of military age, at the very least (and youngest) a teenager 'come-of-age'. The middle-aged Dan'el still bears the title ĠZR (no doubt honorifically) while Aqht, as we have

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[8] UF 16:160–62.

[9] S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influence of Aramaic* (AS 19 [1974]): 86.

[10] *Loc. cit.*, 279.

[11] This statement apparently antedates not only CAD's vol. Q but also AHw, fascicle 10. However, its validity does not seem to be impaired by these publications, at least insofar as the Aram. is concerned, without which the Akk. lexeme remains, I believe, quite enigmatic.

seen, is no child (much less a 'small child') at the time of his death. He is rather a strapping youngster, capable of stringing a composite bow, skillful in repartee, and – if we can believe Anat's testimony – not lacking in *vis virilis*. Admittedly, Anat herself apparently used the word YLD as she stood weeping over the expired lad (1.18:IV:39). But aside from the possibility that the word is intended in the sense of 'born-of' rather than 'little boy', it itself (if admitted as evidence) would tell against KDD as 'child' (though in that case the argument from context would lose some of its force).

(2) The construction KDD. DNIL bears formal comparison with MDD. IL – variant YDD. IL – referring to 'El's darlings', Mot and Yamm. Indeed, in at least one usage of this formula (1.4:VIII:29 ff.) one finds the same parallelism involving the PN of the 'darling' son – also designated ĠZR ! – and YDD in construct with the PN of the father, very much like the present *Aqht* passage:

1.4:VIII:29 ff. ... *wrgm. lbn. ilm. mt // ṯny. lydd. il ġzr*
1.19:IV:11 ff. ... *laqht. ġzr. ydmʿ // lkdd. dnil. mt. rpi*

Thus it seems not unlikely, *prima facie*, that KDD might be another nominal formation of √*dd* 'love', a variant of MDD and YDD, with asseverative-*k* prefix as part of the formation.

Yet even this 'solution' cannot be proffered without misgiving. The only conceivable reason for the poet to prefer the *hap. leg.* KDD to its alleged synonyms MDD or YDD would be 'alliteration'. However, KDD, though a reasonable choice in this respect, is not superior to either of the variants: cp.

KDD : ...yb*K*. *L*aqht....yDmʿ. *LK*DD. Dnil...
YDD : *...YDmʿ. lYDD. Dnil....
MDD : *...yDMʿ lMDD. Dnil...

This impasse leads one to (re-)consider whether KDD may, after all, mean something other than YDD or MDD. But, if despite the doubtful etymology we take KDD to mean 'child' – i. e., as synonymous with YLD – the same question can be put, viz., why the preference for the *hapax* KDD over YLD? For the alliterative properties of YLD make it an equally good choice as KDD: *...YDmʿ. LYLD. DniL...

The 'bottom line' is that no entirely satisfactory solution suggests itself at present for Ug. KDD. But for the repetition of the word in line 16, one would probably have had little hesitation in emending to M!DD or Y!DD (although the close proximity of the two references [lines 12, 16] makes them rather good candidates for 'Gresham's Law' of textual corruption). Be this as it may, the problem does not materially affect our understanding of the passage, so we can be patient in awaiting a solution.

§ 3. QRY. *dbḥ*[12]

Although scholars are unanimous in understanding √*qry* as denoting 'offer up, present to', there is considerable diversity in the philological analysis of the term. This is due, at least in part, to the attempt made at reconciling seemingly contradictory and mutually exclusive occurrences of this root elsewhere in Ugaritic.[13]

There are two problems to be confronted:

(1) the semantic field of √*qry* 'offer up; present to': does it include 'meet with; encounter' (as in 1.17:VI:43 above) or not?

(2) can √*qry* 'encounter' and √*qry* 'offer up' properly encompass √*qry* in the idiom √*qry mlḫmt* (1.3:III:14 ff., etc.), where the meaning required by the context is almost certainly 'take away, remove'?[14]

A solution to both problems may be found in comparing a well-known *Krt* passage which bears a strong thematic resemblance to the *Aqht* passage at hand (1.14:II:23//IV:4 ff.):

ša. ydk. šmm⟨h⟩	"Raise your hands ⟨to⟩ the sky,
dbḥ. lṯr. abk. il	Sacrifice to the Bull, your father El;
šrd. b'l. bdbḥk	Make offering (to) Baal with your sacrifice,
bn. dgn. bmṣdk	(To) son-of-Dagan with your repast".

As noted already by Gordon and Young[15] ŠRD corresponds to Ar. *awrada* (√*wrd*) denoting 'present, offer (something to someone)'.[16] This

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[12] The following is a condensed and partly revised version of the note in UF 16:162–64.

[13] UT Glossary (§ 19.2277) observes that "some other occurrences [subsumed under this entry] require other meanings". Among these other occurrences is the present *Aqht* passage, with √*qry* considered "reminiscent" of Ar. *qry* 'provide a guest with food', as well as √*qry mlḫmt*, thought to be related to Syr. √*qry* 'be contentious'. – For De Moor (AOAT 16:103) "the G-stem means 'to meet', the D-stem 'to bring (a sacrifice) to' ", the latter with reference to the present *Aqht* passage as well as √*qry mlḫmt*. Del Olmo Lete (MLC, 621) distinguishes QRY I 'topar, encontarse con; salir al paso', corresponding to Heb. √*qrḥ* and Ar. *qarā(w)*; and QRY II 'ofrecer' [= Ar. *qarā(y)*], considered *hap. leg.* in our passage. The latter is basically our position as well.

[14] De Moor's rendering of this usage (*ibid.*) by 'put an offering of MLḪMT into the earth' is based on the dubious assumption that MLḪMT is a variant nominal formation (*mqtl*) of LḪM 'bread, meat, food'. Cf. the extended discussion of this expression, constituting one of the noblest thoughts in all of Ugaritic literature, in TO, 163, note e.

[15] UT, p. 86, note 4 (cited in the name of his former student G. D. Young [Sr.]).

[16] Hava, *op. cit.*, 862. – It seems to me that this interpretation (which differs from my view in UF 16:163) requires positing two homonymous roots √*yrd* for Ugaritic: (1) 'go down, descend' (= Heb. ירד) – note the clever word-play effected by *wyrd. krt. lggt* following close on *šrd. b'l.* etc. in 1.14:II:26 (// IV:8); (2) 'draw near to, arrive at' (= Ar. √*wrd*), in the Š-stem, 'offer, present to': cp. Heb. √*qrb* 'approach, draw near', in causative H-stem 'offer up sacrifice' (also nominal *qorbān* 'sacrifice').

is also the meaning of √*qry* here in *Aqht*. But the more detailed *Krt* passage makes it possible to define the nature of the 'offering act' with greater precision which may be helpful in determining a more basic meaning for √*qry*.

The act designated by ŠRD follows the 'raising up' of the hands. The implication is that both the act of √*dbḥ* and of (Š)√*yrd* are performed with arms aloft. It is thus not improbable that both ŠRD and QRY denote actions performed by raising up the hands in a gesture of offering.

This understanding of QRY, if correct, may also help in explaining √*qry mlḥmt barṣ*, viz., as the 'raising up (with a view to removal or transfer) strife from the earth'. A similar semantic development characterizes Heb. √*nś'* 'lift up, carry, bear' which in suitable context can denote 'removal' – lit., 'carry off' – from one place to another.

In sum: we can distinguish in Ugaritic (at least) two homonymous roots √*qry*:

– QRY (I): (= Heb. √*qrb*): 'meet, encounter, come upon (by chance)'

– QRY (II): (= Ar. √*qry*[17]): 'lift, offer up (sacrifice); remove-by-lifting'.

§ 4. *DĠṮ*[18]

The word is unknown outside the present *Aqht* passage. The parallelism with DBḤ and the predication by √*'ly* (Š) make it clear that DĠṮ designates some sort of 'sacrifice'.

But if the general semantic frame of reference is clear enough, the precise meaning and etymological derivation of the word remain moot. For some three decades scholars sought in vain a Semitic etymology. A turning point in the history of the discussion was a short note published in 1964 by H. A. Hoffner, wherein DĠṮ was interpreted as "a cult term [duġuiš] denoting 'smoke' ... or perhaps 'smoke-offering' ... brought to Ugarit by Anatolian cult personnel".[19]

Shortly thereafter, and following Hoffner's lead, De Moor proposed to connect the Ugaritic term with Hittite *tuḫḫueššar* 'incense'.[20] This view has found acceptance in the two most recent comprehensive translations of the Ugaritic literary texts (CML²; MLC).

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[17] Meaning 'provide a guest with food' (Hava, *op. cit.*, 603).

[18] Based on UF 16:164–66.

[19] Cf. JNES 23 (1964): 66–68. The quotation is from p. 68.

[20] JNES 24 (1965): 355, subsequently revised in UF 2 (1970): 200, in the wake of Güterbock, RHA 74 (1964): 106 f.

Although the rendering of DĠṮ as 'incense' is almost certainly correct, as we shall see momentarily, the 'Hittite connection' is neither simple nor self-evident: neither the etymological nor the semantic correspondence between Ug. DĠṮ and the alleged Hittite cognates is without difficulty.

(1) The phonetic equivalence of Hittite T and Ug. D is possible but not mandatory; in fact, Hoffner sees in the alleged equation the confirmation of a "voiced dental pronunciation of the Hittite [/t/]". But this may be begging the question.

(2) None of the derivatives of Hittite *tuḫḫi-*, (e. g.), *tuḫḫai* 'gasp, choke'; *tuḫḫui* 'smoke', have inherently the cultic-sacrificial connotations presupposed by the Ug. DĠṮ (bearing in mind that we are talking about a possible LW rather than an etymological cognate). This is true *a fortiori* for *tuḫḫueššar*, where the signification 'incense' is only a more or less probable *inference from context* rather than an unequivocal lexical datum.[21]

Elsewhere,[22] and inspired by a passing allusion in Hoffner's aforecited article, I have suggested that Ug. DĠṮ is related etymologically to Classical Greek θύος/ον, denoting a 'burnt-offering; incense'[23] but in Homer 'fragrant; perfumed'.[24] The Linear B cognate *tu-wo* and *tu-we-a* signify 'aromatic substance(s) used in the making of perfume'.[25]

Assuming that Hittite *tuḫḫi* and Mycenean-Greek *tu-wo-* are etymologically related, we may conclude with Hoffner that DĠṮ, like ḪTṮ 'silver', is an Anatolian LW, reflecting **duḫḫuiš*, but meaning 'fragrant-smoke; incense', with the emphasis on the 'fragrance' rather than on the 'smoke'. Cp. Heb. *q^{e}ṭoreṭ ha-sammîm*, lit., 'the smoke-offering of fragrances' (cf. Ex. 30:34 ff.).

This interpretation provides at least a partial answer to the query as to why the Ug. poet chose DĠṮ rather than a form of Semitic $\sqrt{qṭr}$. For the latter properly means 'smoke' (cf. similarly Akk. *qatāru*). Only in a suitably specifying context or with a modifier (cf. Heb. *sam*; *bosem*; *niḥo^{a}ḥ*) does it have the precise sense of DĠṮ. Yet here as elsewhere in cases of *hap. leg.* and foreign loanwords, due weight should be given to

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[21] Cf. Güterbock (loc. cit.): "...TUḪḪUEŠŠAR *may* have something to do with smoke or incense burning ... it *may* be the substance used to produce smoke [i. e.] 'incense' [even though] we are *never* told that TUḪḪUEŠŠAR is burned" (Emphasis added – B.M.).

[22] Cf. UF 16:164 – 66.

[23] Liddell – Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (New Edition; Oxford, 1940): 811, s. v.

[24] Cf. *Iliad* XIV, 171 f.

[25] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenean Greek* (Cambridge, 1959/^{2}1973): 223. Cp. also p. 411 of the 1959 (!) edition: "[Gr. θύος] orig(inally) 'fragment smoke'." The observation is curiously absent in the 1973 edition (p. 588).

the rôle of 'alliterative suitability' in determining the choice of words. Given the phonetic affinity of Ug. Ṯ/Š and Ġ/ʿ respectively, there can be no doubt but that DĠṮ is superior to $\sqrt{qṭr}$ in terms of alliteration: cp.

(1) ...wYqrY. *D*bḥ.....Yšʿlʿ*Y. D*ġṯh...
(2) ...yšʿly. dĠṮh. bŠmym....
(3) ...bšM*YM. D*ġṯ. hrn*MY. D*kbkbm...

(Note the 'deviant' formation ŠMYM (normally, ŠMM), surely *allit. cs.*).

§ 5. *MRQDM. DŠN*[26]

Both reading and meaning are assured by the brief *mrzḥ*-text 1.108 (lines 3–5) – cf. discussion above – where the phrase terminates a listing of musical instruments which include the lyre, the flute, the tambourine, and cymbals. Formed presumably on the pattern of MṢLTM (= *m* + $\sqrt{ṣll}$ + fem. *t* + dual-*m*), the MRQDM are obviously "des instruments servant à rhythmer la danse [$\sqrt{rqd}$]".[27]

Only slightly less certain is the determination of the MRQDM as 'castanets'. Made of ivory (ŠN), they obviously cannot be a stringed or chime instrument. On the other hand, ivory was one of the materials from which castanets were made in Hellenistic Egypt (our earliest documentation).[28] It goes without saying that as an idiophonic percussion instrument, the castanet is especially favoured by dancers.

There is reason to believe that the Ug. MRQDM is identical with the etymologically less transparent biblical (2 Sam. 6:5) מְנַעֲנְעִים. The LXX renders κύμβαλα, derived from κύμβος 'cup' presumably because held in the cupped palm of the hand. Even more suggestive is the Targumic R-B-ʿ-N, related etymologically to the R-B-ʿ-T, an instrument mentioned in the Mishna (*Kēlîm*, ch. 16 § 7)[29] as belonging to the ʿLYT-women (of mourning). Now, unless we are dealing with an instrument comprising four parts, it seems rather likely that the root $\sqrt{rbʿ}$ of RBʿN and RBʿT is identical with that of Ug. (Š)$\sqrt{rbʿ}$ encountered in 1.17:V, alluding to the superimposed layers of the composite bow, and meaning basically 'lie-one-on-top-of-the-other' (hence 'mate' in Lev. 19:19).

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[26] Based on UF 16:166–68.

[27] Caquot–Sznycer, TO, 455.

[28] Cf. *Lexicon d. Egyptologie*, vol. I (1975): 1255 (s. v. Elfenbein); H. Hickman, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik* Suppl. vol. 4 (Leiden, 1980): 147.

[29] Astutely cited in the present connection by TO, 455 (and followed, without acknowledgement, by CML², 121).

One is hard put to think of a more appropriate designation of the two-part, interlocking castanets, the respective halves of which are known in modern Spanish as *hembra* 'female' and *macho* 'male'.

§ 6. NMRRT

We encountered Ug. $\sqrt{mrr}$ and the word-pair $\sqrt{brk}$ // $\sqrt{mr(r)}$ earlier in this study.[30] The reason for drawing attention to the present text here is that, if correctly read, it establishes beyond question that the formulaic B-word of $\sqrt{brk}$ does, or can, comprise two R's, at least in the 'intensive' stems. As observed by W. A. Ward,[31] this datum effectively undercuts the attempt to dispute the signification 'strengthen, fortify' for Ug. $\sqrt{mr(r)}$ on the grounds that such a signification presupposes a denominative usage, hence the D-stem, with gemination of the second root radical to form a 'strong' trilitteral base.[32] We have seen above (EXCURSUS XVI) that the same phenomenon of a trilitteral $\sqrt{mrr}$ 'be strong' almost certainly underlies the pseudo-toponym MRRT. TGLL. BNR.

We can thus safely acquiesce in the translation of the phrase *alk. nmrrt* proposed by (e. g.) Caquot – Sznycer[33]: "je m'en irai fortifiée". The benedictory word-pair $\sqrt{brk}$-$\sqrt{mrr}$ may be assumed to connote the two most important and characteristic features of (ancient) blessings: '(have) many/much' (= $\sqrt{brk}$[34])' and '(be) strong'; in more modern idiom, 'may you be healthy and wealthy'.[35]

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[30] Cf. 1.17:I:24//35 f.; 1.19:III:50 ff.; and previous discussion in UF 15:70.

[31] UF 12 (1980): 357 – 60, citing evidence for $\sqrt{mr(r)}$ 'bitter, strong' as Egypto-Semitic in origin.

[32] Cp. Dietrich – Loretz, UF 5 (1974): 121 (pre-dating KTU!); D. Pardee, UF 10 (1978): 250; *idem.*, VT 35 (1985): 114, n. 5 (in response to W. A. Ward, *loc. cit.*).

[33] TO, 456; similarly CML^2, 120, and MLC, 398.

[34] Contrast M. H. Goshen – Gottstein, *Lešonēnu* 32 (1967/68): 59 – 62, where $\sqrt{brk}$ is thought to be related to the semantic field of 'strength' (on the basis of Ug. *brk* // *mrr*!); and the commonly assumed connection between 'bless' and 'knee'.

[35] As a biblical aside: the determination of Ug. $\sqrt{mr(r)}$ 'be strong', which has led to various suggestions in O.T. exegesis (cf. UT § 19.1556; Dahood, *Bib* 39 [1958]: 308 f.) – note especially Eccles. 7:26 in light of Cant. 8:6 and perhaps 'Sheol' = Š-stem of $\sqrt{{}^{\circ}(w)l}$ 'strong' [Ar. *awwal*]) – may be useful in redeeming the "very bad riddle" (thus G. F. Moore, *Judges* (ICC), 335) in Ju. 14:14 (on which see most recently O. Margalith, VT 36 [1986]: 225 – 34). The riddle is based, understandably enough, on 'word-play' ('punning'): (1) the first line, which cannot be solved without the second, is a paradox: the 'eater' as the source for the 'edible'; (2) the second line must contain the clue to the riddle (the solution of which must be independent of the particular circumstances connected with the 'riddler'). – Now any reasonably intelligent and literate Canaanite could be expected to know that אריה = 'honey' as well as (more commonly) 'lion', i. e.,

§ 7. AḪ // ʿl. UMT[36]

Scholars today generally demur from Virolleaud's equation of UMT with UM 'mother', preferring to see in UMT a cognate of Heb. *ʾumma*^{h}, Ar. *ʾummat*, and meaning 'family, clan, tribe'. However, the literary context here and in *Baal-Mot*, where the UMT recurs in the identical idiom,[37] strongly suggests that Virolleaud's original surmise was correct.[38]

In *Baal-Mot* (1.6:IV:19), the expression ʿL. UMT is used by the sun-goddess with reference to the dead Baal in her response to Anat, still grieving for her beloved brother (1.6:II:26 ff.). Having received a report of Baal's revival – "the heavens rained oil, etc." – Anat turns to his celestial crony ŠPŠ for assistance in locating the 'port-of-entry' of the *deus redivivus*; to which the sun-goddess replies (lines 17 – 20):

> "I'll cast an eye (*šdyn. ʿn*) from the dome of the earth (*bqbt. tbl*),
> And I'll seek out (*/bqṯ*) Puissant Baal,
> (I'll seek) the *bulge* (?) of your ʿL. UMT".[39]

The two texts are as nearly identical in their respective settings as can be. A beloved brother has been slain; a distraught sister, unable to recover the *corpus delictae*, takes (or, would take) violent action against her brother's assassin.[40] It seems inconceivable that in such similar circumstances the phrase ʿL. UMT should be rendered differently in each case.[41] But if the signification 'clan, tribe' is at least a theoretical possibility for UMT in *Aqht*, given the rural-village ambience of the

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אֹרִי contains the notion of עֹז 'strength' and מָתוֹק 'sweet', of 'eater' and 'edible'. In its present form, therefore, the solution to the riddle is simply the single word: אֹרִי! (3) The reason the riddle wasn't immediately guessed was, I suspect, because in its *original* form (in 'Old-Hebrew' of the 2nd millennium) the riddle was more difficult: instead of עֹז, the riddler said מָר! This created a second paradox, viz., 'sweet' from 'bitter' and required that the listener recognize a second word with double-meaning, viz., מָר = 'bitter, strong'. – Thus reconstruct: RIDDLE – מָתוֹק {...} מַאֲכָל וּמַמָּר {...} מַהֲאֹכֵל; SOLUTION – אֹרִי.

[36] Based on UF 16:168 – 70.

[37] A third occurrence may be restored in 1.18:IV:38 f.; cf. above, *loc. cit.*

[38] One might be more partial to the view of UMT as 'clan' if the words were spoken by Dan'el, the *pater familias* and (possibly) a clan-chieftain; or, more credibly, by a cousin or uncle, with AḪ in the attenuated meaning of 'friend'.

[39] For a detailed philological discussion of the passage, cf. MLD, 170 ff. (Be it noted that our translation here reflects the transposition of lines 20 and 19^{b}: rd.: *wabqṯ. aliyn. bʿl // lyt. ʿl. umtk.*).

[40] Note well the irony: the heart-broken sister of *Baal-Mot* becomes the heart-breaking murderer of *Aqht*!

[41] Thus (e. g.) M. D. Coogan, *Stories from Ancient Canaan* (1978): 46, 113, rendering ʿL. UMT in *Baal-Mot* as 'mother's child' and as '(your) relative' here in *Aqht*.

story, there is no room for this interpretation in *Baal-Mot*. The only plausible rendering in the latter is 'a mother's (or: nurse-maid's[42]) suckling', with ʿL derived from $\sqrt{ʿ(w)l}$ 'feed, (give) suck'.[43]

Additional support for this interpretation comes from a passage in *Krt* (1.14:I:8–9), where a wifeless, hence childless, king is in danger of losing his throne to one of seven (or eight) brothers waiting, so to speak, 'in the wings': *dšbʿ. aḫm. lh // ṯmnt. bn. um.* The parallelism AḪ // BN. UM, also known from the Bible,[44] can hardly be dissociated from AḪ // ʿL. UMT, with ʿL = BN and UM = UMT. The difference between the two word pairs is less semantic than emotive: *AḪ // BN. UM* registers a cold biological fact, commensurate with the air of suspicion and mistrust surrounding king Krt's relations with his brothers, whereas AḪ // ʿL. UMT is charged with the pathos of sibling affection.

Accordingly, we take UMT to be either

(1) a *de facto* synonym for UM, derived etymologically from $\sqrt{ʾmn}$ 'nurse' and related to Heb. אֹמֶנֶת 'nurse(-maid); caretaker';[45] or

(2) a feminine alloform of UM 'mother', corresponding to Heb. אִמָּה (Ezek. 16:44). The phenomenon is illustrated in Ugaritic by ḪR, var. ḪRT 'hole, cavity, pit', and TMN, var. TMNT 'frame, body'. Moreover, the plural UMHT 'mothers' points to a sg. *UMT, on the analogy of ILT - ILHT and AMT - AMHT.

§ 8. *ṅpš. HY. MḪ*[46]

The idiom HY. MḪ is the feminine counterpart of HW. MḪ encountered earlier in 1.17:I:39. The correct interpretation of MḪ originates with Caquot–Sznycer:[47] "MḪ doit être un particule renforçant le pron. personnel indépendent... Cette particule semble avoir son origine dans le nom de la 'moëlle'." However, it is only with the text as read by KTU (still unknown to TO) that the antecedent feminine noun of HY becomes apparent, thus enabling a proper interpretation.

In line 39, Dan'el is reiterating – albeit not verbatim – the oath which he began to swear in line 36; both the reiteration and the phrase HY. MḪ are intended as emphasis, so as to leave no doubt in the mind

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[42] Heb. אֹמֶנֶת. Cf. shortly below.

[43] Cf. Heb. *ʿul(îm)* 'suckling(s)'; *ʿālôt* 'mother-cows'; OAram. (*Sef.*) ʿL. (A generally unrecognized occurrence of $\sqrt{ʿ(w)l}$ is Gen. 49:4; rd.: יְצוּעֵי עָלָה "the bedding of a nursing-mother").

[44] Gen. 27:29, and with 'formulaic substitution' (*allit. cs.*!) of 'father' for 'mother', Gen. 49:8.

[45] *I.e.*, UMT = *[umatt-] < *[umant-].

[46] Based on UF 16:170f.

[47] TO, 423.

of Pughat (and the audience) as to the gravity of the oath and the totality of his commitment. Both NPŠ. TḤ (line 36) and [ḥy?] NPŠ. HY. MḪ are euphemisms for 'my soul, may it perish (if thou, dear Pughat, art not successful in redeeming thy brother's blood)'. Dan'el thus commits his own life (verbally, to be sure) to the success of his daughter's mission; psychologically, this is the only way he can cope with the thought – and the very distinct possibility! – of a double-bereavement,[48] as well as with the knowledge of his own impotence.

Idiomatically, H(W/Y). MḪ is the equivalent of MHeb. *h(w/y)'. ʿṣm(h/w)*, '(him-/her-/it-)self', with the Heb. ʿṢM, lit., 'bone' a virtual synonym for Ug. MḪ 'marrow'. The MHeb usage is presaged, if not fully anticipated, in the O.T. use of ʿṢM as a word of emphasis meaning 'precisely', as in (Lev. 23:14, etc.) עַד עֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה "to this very day". The more concrete signification of 'essence; quick; innermost part' (idiomatic English 'heart') is still discernible in Ex. 24:10: "And they beheld the God of Israel; and beneath His feet (there was a radiant glow) like a brick (made) of sapphire[49] and as pure as the heart of heaven (וּכְעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְטֹהַר)."

ACT III – SCENE 5 (1.19:IV:41 ff.)

TEXT

[td][41]*d. ttql. ỉbym*	3		
trtḫ[ṣ. ydm] (.) [42]*ẉ*{.}*ṯ̊km*	3		
tid!m. bǵlp(.) *ym̊*	3	6	9
[ṣdp ?] (.) [43]*dal̊p. šd*	3		
ẓuḥ. bym. t[šlp(n) ?]	3		
[44]*tlbš. n̊pṣ. ǵzr*	3		
tšt. ḫ[lp(n).] *ỉ*[45]*nšgḥ*	3	6	9
ḫrb. tšt. btʿr̊[th]	3		
[46]*wʾl. tlbš. npṣ. aṯt*	4		
[aṯr] (.) [47]*ṣbi. nrt. ilm. špš*	4		
[(p/t)]*ṯ̊*[(t)pš(t)] (.) [48]*p̊ǵ̊t. minš. šdm*	4	7	
lmʿr̊[b] (.) [49]*nr̊t. il̊m. špš*	3		

[48] Cp. Gen. 27:45[b], the point of which is that Esau is 'lost' to Rebecca because of her betrayal of him, while Jacob is in danger of becoming 'lost' in the strict sense of the word!

[49] Heb. כְּמַעֲשֵׂה לִבְנַת הַסַּפִּיר lit., "like that which a brick of sapphire-stone does", viz., emits a radiant glow.

mǵẏ[t] (.) [50]*pǵt. lahlm*	3		
rgm. lyṭ[pn. y][51]*bl*	3		
agrtn. bat. bḏdk	3		
[ʿnt] (.) [52]*bat. b⟨a⟩hlm*	3	6	
wyʿn. yṭpn. m̊[hr](.) [53]*št*	4		
qḥn. wtšqyn. yn	3		
q̊ḥ̊(.) [54]*ks. bdy*	3	6	
qbʿt. bymny	2	8	
ṭq̊[55]*ḥ. pǵt. wtšqynh*	3		
tq!*ḥ̊*. [ks.] *b̊dh*	3	6	
[56]*qbʿt. bymnh*	2	8	12
wyʿn. yṭ[p]*n*[. mh]*r*(.) [57]*št*	4		
byn. yšt. ila. il(.) *šṭ̊*[.]	4		
i̊l(.) [58]*dyqny. ḏdm*	3	7	
yd. mḫṣt. aq̊[h]*ṭ̊. ǵ*[59]*zr*	3		
tmḫṣ. alpm. ib. št	3	6	
[y]*št*(.) [60ᵋ](!)*ršm. lahlm*	3		
pm̊[la.] *km*(.) [61]*ẏbl. lbḥ*	3		9
km. bṯn. y[mk.] *l̊ah*	3	6	
ṯnm. tšqy. msk. hwt	4		
tšqy[. m]*s*[k. (m)škr ?]	3 ?	7 ?	
...*	...		

Synopsis

After bathing in the sea (of Kinnereth) and disguising herself as Anat, Pughat makes her way to the Sutean encampment at ABLM. The disguise works and she is ushered into Yṭpn's private quarters. After a

* *whndt. yṭb. lmspr*

(libation-)toast to ILA, 'the god of the Suteans', Pughat and Yṭpn recline. She plies him with wine until his strength ebbs and he (presumably) falls asleep. At this point, we assume that Pughat drew the dagger tucked in her waistband and slew the Sutean.

General Comments

The scene opens on the eastern side of the Kinnereth and terminates – abruptly and *in medias res*, due to the material limitations of tablet 1.19 and the missing continuation – on the western side at Kh. Kērak. It divides into three unequal parts:

(a) Lines $40^{b}-46^{a}$, describing how Pughat meticulously executed phase I of her plan, viz., to disguise herself as Anat. She bathes in the fresh water of the sea so that her wet skin will hold the red murex dye (M. trunculus[1]) which she then applies to her body.[2] Next she dons a ĠZR-uniform, which she presumably took from Aqht's wardrobe, carefully concealing a dagger in her waistband. On top of this uniform – probably some form of 'tights'[3] – she dons a woman's dress, thus achieving the precise attire which was Anat's 'trademark'.[4]

(b) Lines $46^{b}-50^{a}$, describing how Pughat set out – on foot! – in the direction of the setting-sun (*ṣbi. špš*[5]), the allusion hinting perhaps that she timed her arrival for around dusk, when visibility, even from close range, would be less than optimal, thus improving the chances for her disguise.

(c) Lines $50^{b}-61^{bis}$, describing how Pughat was announced as Anat[6] by the sentry to Yṭpn who greets her in his tent with a manly

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[1] Unlike the *M. brandaris*, which oxidizes into a deep blue violet, the *M. trunculus* produces a scarlet-red hue when exposed to sunlight, thus making it a likelier choice for 'rouging' (TIDM): cf. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Technology*, IV (1956): 117. – For a modern, laboratory-based study of the *Murex trunculus* in the Bay of Acre, cf. E. Spanier "Behavioural Ecology of the Marine Snail ... (MUREX) TRUNCULUS", in H. Shuval (ed.), *Developments in Arid Zone Ecology and Environmental Quality* (Philadelphia, 1981): 65–70.

[2] For the murex-dye used as a cosmetic rouge, cf. R. J. Forbes, *op. cit.*, vol. III (1955): 40.

[3] Cf. my discussion of Ug. MD in RB 90 (1983): 556–62.

[4] Cf. discussion of *Chester Beatty Papyrus VII* immediately below.

[5] Cf. my discussion of this expression in RB 89 (1982): 423–26. The reconstructed PS root is $\sqrt{ḍb'}$ (= Ar. *ḍb'* 'blot out'). ESA $\sqrt{ḍb'}$ 'wage war' would appear to be a by-form of $\sqrt{ṣb'}$ with the same meaning (= Ug. $\sqrt{ṣb'}$, Heb. צבא). Cf. Biella, *op. cit.*, 415, 433; Beeston et al., *op. cit.*, 40, 140).

[6] The name is restored in line 51 (cf. already Dijkstra–De Moor, *loc. cit.*), but the A-word parallel, AGRTN, lit., 'our employer' ($\sqrt{'gr}$), leaves no doubt on this matter. Cf. discussion below.

dose of condescension and arrogance. Pughat is forced to participate in a ritual 'toasting' of "the god who created tent(-camp)s", thanking him for his assistance in the slaying of Aqht, and accompanied by the prayer-wish (recalling Ju. 5:31), in effect, 'so may perish all the enemies of the Suteans'. (Pughat's ability to master her emotions is here put to one of its severest tests.) This is followed by the introduction of a (double-) couch – *ʿ(!)ršm* – into the tent, and a most colorful description of Yṭpn's intoxication.

Even without benefit of analogy (Jael, Judith) one can easily reconstruct the contents (if not the actual text) of the next few lines. Yṭpn's head grew heavy in Pughat's lap, his eyes closed; he is asleep. Pughat takes out her dagger and plunges it sure and true into his heart bloated with alcohol. Under cover of darkness, Pughat steals out of the tent past the sentries, and treks silently homeward to inform her father of her successful mission.

§ 1.19:IV:40^{b}–46

1. In light of all that has preceded one can hardly doubt that the YM referred to in line 41 is the 'sea of Kinnereth' (Num. 34:11). But we are not totally dependent on the preceding. The poet's allusions to the dye-producing murex, utilizing the formulaic expressions for 'long distance' – *alp. šd. // rbt. kmn* – indicate that the molluscs are not of local origin.[7] If Pughat were thought to be bathing in the Mediterranean anywhere between the Bay of Acre and Ugarit, this description would be much less appropriate, if not also a cause for wonder.[8] For it is precisely along the Mediterranean coast that the murex snails are most abundant. We are thus led to assume that Pughat rouges herself with a cosmetic adaption of the murex-dye manufactured at one of the coastal centres of the murex industry, most likely Tyre.[9]

2. Pughat's rouging, however, is not to be understood in purely cosmetic terms, as if she were a lady making up her face for a festive

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[7] Cf. already Ginsberg (ANET/RANE), followed and developed by De Moor (*Or* 37 [1968]: 212 ff.) This interpretation of *ǵlp. ym* is still unknown to either WUS or UT Glossary (s. v.). For archaeological discussion of the ancient Canaanite murex-dye industry, cf. C.F.A. Schaeffer, AAAS 1 (1951): 188–92; E. Puech, in: *Tell Keisan* (OBO – Series Arch. 1 [1980]): 226 f., 233.

[8] Cf. my discussion in UIR, 144 ff., and note immediately following.

[9] Cf. the quotation from Strabo cited by R. J. Forbes, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, 118, which reads in part: "Tyre purple has proved itself by far the most beautiful of all; and the shell-fish are caught near the coast". This remains the case even today. In a recent experiment (cf. E. Spanier, *loc. cit.*, [n. 1]) the *Murex trunculus* were found in relative abundance a few hundred meters from shore, at a depth of 6 m. of water.

occasion. Pughat's rouging is part of her disguise; and it recalls, in language as well as in purpose, the rouging by the male Krt prior to his setting out on a military expedition to Udm (1.14:II:9//III:52). This type of rouging functions as 'warrior paint', is used by men, and covers the entire face. A reflex of this Bronze-Age tradition still survives in the 7th cent. biblical *Nahum* (2:4):

> "The shield(s) of his warriors are (painted) red,
> Men-of-war, scarlet(-of-face);
> The chariots (painted red) ⟨like⟩ fiery steel[10]...,
> Their appearance (fiery-red) like (burning) torches..."[11]

3. Although we possess no explicit testimony to Anat's ruddied complexion, this is the necessary inference from the present *Aqht* text; it is also fully consistent with her unequivocal rôle and image as a 'warrior goddess'. Thus is she referred to in fact in an Egyptian papyrus of the 13th cent., magical-incantational in nature but preserving a unique fragment of an ancient Canaanite mythical tale in Egyptian dress. A comparison of a section from this fragment with our *Aqht* text indicates the extent to which they are mutually enlightening and complementary:

1.19:IV:42–46	*Chester Beatty Papyrus VII*
tid!m...	"[Then] came Anat the divine ...
tlbš. npṣ. ǵzr...	the victorious, a woman acting as
w'l. tlbš. npṣ. aṯt	a warrior, clad as men and girt as women."[12]

Taken together, these two texts yield the following composite picture of the goddess Anat:

(1) Anat is clad in the uniform of a Raphaite warrior (ǴZR), and this necessitates that her face be constantly and fully covered with red war-paint.

(2) The unique feature of Anat's outfit is its 'hybrid' nature: her attire contains womanly as well as manly elements. In the Egyptian text she is 'girt' as a woman, possibly reflecting Ug. ḤBŠ (1.17:VI:8) but more likely referring to the stylized 'girdle of Isis.'[13] Here in *Aqht*, the womanly trait is represented, more 'authentically', by a 'woman's outfit' (*npṣ. aṯt*) worn *over* the military uniform (*npṣ. ǵzr*), corresponding to

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[10] Rd.: *k!'š* for MT's *b'š* (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Propheten* (4th ed.; Berlin, 1963): 161).

[11] This interpretation of the text differs somewhat from that to be found in the standard commentaries and translations, and is here proffered for critical evaluation.

[12] Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1935), vol. I, 62 f.; W. Helck, *Beziehungen...*, *op. cit.* (²1971): 461.

[13] Cf. R. Barnett, MUSJ 45 (1969): 405–22.

the manly 'over-coat' (Heb. מְעִיל) worn over the *mad(dîm)* by Israelite soldiers.[14] This 'woman's outfit' was presumably not unlike the modern 'dress', with blouse and skirt, and thus fitting easily over the body-tight military livery.[15]

In his discussion of the Egyptian text, W. Helck voices the following opinion:[16]

> „Das erhaltene Stück ... ist bezeichnend in seiner Art, indem es gerade in der Betonung der erotischen Züge aber auch der Mannweiblichkeit der Anat ganz unägyptisch ist ... so daß man ... an eine unmittelbare Übersetzung denken möchte."

This hypothesis of direct Egyptian translations of Canaanite myths and tales goes far towards explaining the far-reaching and penetrating influence of 'Raphaite ideology' beginning with the XIXth dynasty (Seti I), when the goddess makes her first appearance in Egypt[17] and reaching its peak during the long reign of Ramses II, who seems to have fancied himself a Raphaite 'hero' par excellence.

§ 1.19:IV:46^b–50a

Pughat's trip (⌊√*ndd*) to the sea in lines 40 f. was described in three words and one verse-line; her trip to ABLM/Kh. Kērak comprises four verse-lines ([*aṯr*]...*lahlm*) and fills an entire strophe. This is another example of poetic art imitating dramatic action: the heroine lives on the slopes of the Golan Heights overlooking the eastern shores of the sea; her walk to the beach is a short one. But to ABLM on the south-western side the journey is considerably longer.[18]

And more precarious! Pughat is an unaccompanied female in a Sutean-infested countryside. Though disguised as Anat, she lacks the goddess' innate invulnerability. To avoid meeting people who might molest her, or recognize her beneath the disguise, Pughat avoids the main thoroughfare (if such existed) by trudging (⌊√*r*[pš]) through the fields (*šdm*).

The phrase MINŠ. ŠDM (line 48) which the poet substitutes for Pughat's formulaic epithet ṮKMT. MYM, commands our attention.[19]

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[14] Cf. I Sam. 18:4, and my discussion in RB 90:559 f.

[15] Cf. 1.4:II.6 f., where Asherah's *ṯn. npyn* is perhaps to be understood as the "folds (or, pleats)" of a woman's dress. Cf. my discusion in RB 90:556–62.

[16] *Op. cit.*, 461.

[17] Helck, *op. cit.*, 460.

[18] Taking modern Ein-Gev as the minimum point of departure from the seashore, and the Bateiḥa Valley at the northeastern corner as the maximum, the distance of Pughat's journey can be estimated as between 15 and 25 kms.

[19] For a philological discussion of this expression, cf. below, EXCURSUS XVIII, § 1.

We are thus informed, and slightly comforted by the knowledge, that Pughat's companions on this fateful journey are the fields whose acquaintance she has made from several years of work on the farm.

§ 1.19:IV:50^{b} – 61bis

I

The manner in which Pughat-alias-Anat is first sighted, then formally announced, suggests a well-organized military-style encampment guarded by armed sentries. This military aspect of Yṭpn is reflected in his title MHR as well. It may also account for the absence of womenfolk here as in 1.18:IV (cf. above).

This section in fact provides us with some of our most valuable data for determining the identity of Yṭpn.

(a) The word AGRTN – $\sqrt{}^{5}gr$ 'hire'[20] – indicates that Yṭpn is a mercenary hired by Anat, rather than, as most scholars believe (on the basis of a mistaken interpretation of the epithet MHR. ŠT) a religious devotee of the goddess.[21] Since there is no hint of commercial negotiation or contractual engagement in the scene of Anat's visit to ABLM in 1.18:IV, we are forced to conclude that the description of this part of the conspiration was lost in the radical telescoping which we observed in our discussion of 1.18:IV above.

Yṭpn's alacrity and obvious pleasure in receiving Anat into his quarters is thus understandable. He assumes that she is coming to pay him (and to judge by the plu. suff. *-n* on the verb, his men) for services rendered. How much, and in what form, payment was to be made is necessarily a matter for conjecture (the allusion here presumably presupposing a non-telescoped recension wherein these details would be known to the audience from 1.18:IV). But in view of 1.18:I:20 ff. (Anat's 'reconciliation' with Aqht) and the likely reference here (lines 59 f.) to a '(double-)couch' brought into the tent shortly after Pughat's entry specially for the occasion, one should not be surprised to learn that the Sutean chieftain expected to collect at least part of his payment in the form of sexual favours. For all her precocity and foresight, the lass Pughat could not have known of this clause in the contract; but she can hardly have mistaken her host's intentions once the couch was brought in. She now is faced with a critical choice and with little time for

[20] For philological discussion, cf. below, EXCURSUS XVIII, § 2.

[21] Note also the plural suff. *-n*, suggesting that most, if not all of the company under Yṭpn's command was involved somehow in the operation.

deliberation: to accede to the imminent advances of the – as she believes! – uncouth Sutean, or risk exposure by refusing.[22]

(b) A second most significant piece of information bearing on Yṯpn's identity comes from the 'toast' – presumably taking the form of a libation poured (√*nsk*) before the statue of the god – in lines 57–59. The deity thus invoked is named ILA, the orthography of which provides us with a most important clue to the 'Amorite' dialect spoken by the Sutean and meticulously reproduced by the poet by the addition of an */'a/* sign as a mater lectionis.[23]

The description of this ILA as *il. šṯ*[.] / *il. dyqny. ḏdm* is also of great interest and importance, establishing as it does:

(1) that Yṯpn's epithet MHR. ŠT can mean nothing else but 'Sutean warrior';

(2) that this devotee of ILA is not by chance or contingency ensconced in a tent-camp residence, both here and in 1.18:IV, but that he is rather an inveterate 'tent-dweller', the typical nomad whom the Bible describes as יֹשֵׁב אֹהָלִים and the Akkadian sources as *ašibut ku(l/š)tari*. For Yṯpn, as for the later 'Bedawin' of Islamic times, living in tents is a divinely ordained way of life; for it is the mode of residence of the supreme deity El himself![24]

II

The analogies provided by the O.T. Jael and the Apocryphal Judith are our best guides to reconstructing the missing conclusion of the scene. The three narratives share in this respect an 'anti-heroic' ethos, viz., the ignominius death of a villainous 'macho' at the hands of a woman (cf. Ju. 9:54). The implicit ethos of all 'heroic literature' is 'to make a name'

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[22] The reader should consider how the poet, with a rare genius for the dramatic, has gradually built up the suspense in the present scene almost beyond endurance. First he had us accompany Pughat on her long and perilous journey; then he had us witness the first test of her disguise as she gained admittance to the camp; then he forced us to preside at the toasting of Aqht's murder, where a mere gasp of anguish could have 'given it all away'. And now, this sudden and critical choice, with so little time to 'weigh the odds' pro and con!

[23] Cf. EXCURSUS below, § 3.

[24] Against this background, one better understands and appreciates the opposition of 'conservative' Yahwists in the early 10th cent. to the building of the Temple (2 Sam. 7:4–7). For these people, the Temple signified the 'Canaanization' of YHWH, his transformation from a nomadic 'El-type' to a 'Baal-type' deity. It is surely from these circles and from this 'nomadic ideology' that later prophetic figures like Hosea (2:16–22) and Jeremiah (2:2–3) drew their inspiration for a 'return to the desert' and the nomadic way of life which never ceased in the Near East, ancient and modern (cf. Isa. 13:20; Jer. 3:2, etc.).

(cf. Gen. 6:4; 11:4). Death at a woman's hand is the ultimate disgrace for the would-be hero aspiring to 'epic immortality', and the greatest source of delight for his nemesis.

Prima facie, the similarities are more evident in a comparison of Pughat and Judith, despite the discrepancy in the respective ages of the heroines.[25] Both are heroic women who *initiate* a visit to the lair of the male villain residing in a tent-camp (although in the case of Holofernes, as part of his job rather than as way of life); and both use a sword (*ḥrb*) or the like to slay the victim at a moment when he is overcome by excessive intake of intoxicating beverage.

Nevertheless, the similarities between Pughat and Jael, though less obvious, are not to be gainsaid:

(1) if the Press-Aharoni-Kochavi identification of O.T. *Ēlôn-Bᵉṣaʿana(n)im* is, as I believe, correct, then Pughat's slaying of Yṭpn and Jael's of Sisera will have taken place at virtually the identical place;

(2) both stories contain a nomadic element, but in reverse: in *Aqht* the nomad is the villain whereas in Ju. 4–5 the nomad is the hero(ine). Yet in both stories the hero is a woman who slays a villainous man.

These considerations raise the interesting thought and possibility that the Pughat-Yṭpn and Jael-Sisera stories are 'positive' and 'negative' variations on a single narrative theme at home in the area of *Bêt-Yeraḥ*/Kh. Kērak and *Bêt-Šemeš*/t. Ubeidiyeh in the latter half of the second millennium B.C.E. The nomads told the story with a nomadic heroine and a villainous sedentary; the sedentaries told the same story in reverse. The former found its way into the Hebrew Bible, the latter into the epic literature of Ugarit (and Hazor?).

Excursus XVIII: Philological Notes

§ 1. MINŠ. šdm[1]

The difficulty in interpreting this expression – mostly either omitted in translation or very tentatively rendered – centers on MINŠ. Generally it is viewed as a *mqtl* formation of √*ʾnš* – Heb.-Aram. אנוש, etc. – '(male) person': thus (e. g.) Driver (CML) "the folk (?)"; Caquot–Sznycer (TO) "les (endroits) peuplés" (italicized as uncertain); and Gordon (*Berytus* XXV, 25) "settlements". An opinion which has gained a

[25] However, the 'cosmetics' in each story are not relevant to the comparison because their respective function is entirely different. In *Judith* the cosmetics are a means of beautification and ultimately seduction; in *Aqht* they are a means of disguise.

[1] The following note is based on UF 16:174–76.

following of late, originating with De Moor (SP, 132), is that MINŠ denotes 'meeting-place', allegedly related to Ar. MA'NAS (or MA'NUS), a 'place of alighting or abode in which is ... sociableness'.[2] But, as I have argued elsewhere,[3] this suggestion rests on very flimsy etymological as well as semantic foundations, and – above all – is woefully suited to the narrative context.

The correct interpretation – though not analysis – is that of Aistleitner (WUS, s. v. 135)[4] who construes MINŠ (*šdm*) as a predicate-epithet of Pughat, deriving from the well-attested $\sqrt{\text{'nš}}$ 'be friendly, familiar', here signifying 'comrade (of the fields)'. His error consisted only in the grammatical analysis of the term as a D-participle (fem. sg.).[5] Such an analysis presupposes the feminine desinence *-t* (cp. *mmlat*, etc.) and, to judge by the D-stem PN (alph.) MNḪM – syllabically: *mu-na-ḫi-mu* – ought to have yielded an orthography *MANŠ(T).[6]

Two considerations, apart from contextual suitability, favour this interpretation:

(1) the absence of a preposition *b/l* virtually precludes taking *minš. šdm* as an adverbial complement of the (restored) verb $\sqrt{\text{rpš}}$.[7]

(2) it alone is compatible with the recognition that, whatever its meaning, *minš. šdm* is a 'free substitution' for Pughat's (abbreviated) epithet ṮKMT. MYM which one finds some 20 lines above (1.19:IV:28).

Considering how rigid these formulaic epithets tend to be, the substitution is at first sight astonishing. But on further reflection it is precisely this effect that the poet is seeking! Astonishment is what Pughat's mission is intended to evoke in the audience. As was suggested earlier in this study, Pughat's epithets, unlike her father's, are neither fossilized nor honorific. They are instead genuine, true-to-life reflections of her normal and routine activity. But in this scene Pughat has stepped out of her normal rôle as a 'water-girl' and household domestic who witnesses the departure of the stars each morning. It is thus fitting and – recalling how art imitates life in *Aqht* – characteristic that this rôle-change should elicit a similar deviation on the literary-artistic plane, viz., the abandonment of the conventional cliché for the innovative and creative *minš. šdm*.

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[2] Lane, AEL, 115.

[3] Cf. fn. 1 above.

[4] Somewhat differently, and less satisfactorily, in *MyKT*, 82.

[5] WUS, s. v. 135; earlier in UGU, §§ 4; 118 (the latter with question-mark).

[6] I. e., if $\sqrt{\text{'nš}}$ is substituted for $\sqrt{\text{nḫm}}$, the result is **mu-'a-ni-šu*, which in standard Ugaritic orthography would normally be written *MANŠ.

[7] For this restoration and the arguments against the alternative $\sqrt{\text{'rb}}$, cf. the 'textual-epigraphic notes' above. By no coincidence, Aistleitner (WUS) is one of the few scholars who resist restoring $\sqrt{\text{'rb}}$ at the end of line 47.

But why this *particular* substitution?

The answer, I believe, is twofold:

(a) The choice of the *hap. leg.* MINŠ, rather than the possibly more common *ḫbr*(*t*) or *r*ʿ(*t*), is probably motivated *allit. cs.*: ...MinŠ. ŠdM / lMʿr[b] ... ilM. ŠpŠ / Mġyt...

(b) Psychology (including both heroine and audience): Pughat is on a precarious journey in the open countryside, where she is potential prey for man and beast alike. The tension is building in Pughat's body as well as in the audience. But the poet-dramatist seeks a *gradual* build-up of tension; accordingly, he must be careful to avoid premature peaking at this point. The phrase MINŠ ŠDM provides for heroine and audience alike an element of relief; the familiar fields and their motley inhabitants – birds, rodents and reptiles – are 'old friends', who can be counted on (perhaps...) not to harm the heroine and (hopefully...) to escort her safely to her destination.

§ 2. *AGRTN*

1. Already Virolleaud[8] correctly derived this word from CSem $\sqrt{{}^{\circ}gr}$ 'hire'.[9] Yet as late as 1965, J. Gray (*seq.* Ginsberg) is of the belief that AGRT(n) is a passive participle meaning '(our) hired woman' – i. e., a harlot – with reference to Pughat.[10] It is a measure of how seriously the story of *Aqht* is misunderstood – at the most basic level! – that this interpretation is still considered to be a valid option by Gibson in his 1978(!) revision of Driver's CML.[11]

A slight improvement is registered in the following summary by T. H. Gaster at the onset of the sixties: "Rendering herself as attractive as possible ... Pughat[!] sets out at nightfall [!] to recruit mercenaries to assist in hunting down the murderer of Aqht".[12]

But not all scholars labour under such misapprehensions. As early as 1947, C. H. Gordon will write in his (UH) Glossary:[13] "*agrtn*... 'our lady employer': refers to Pġt who is disguised as, and mistaken for, Anat". However, unaware that Ytpn is a 'Sutean warrior', neither

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[8] *Dan'el*, *op. cit.*, 181.

[9] Cf. CAD, vol. A-1, 146; AHw, 16. The Akkadian *agāru* is considered by HAL (s. v.) to be the origin of the cognates in the other languages, notably Arabic and Aramaic; similarly S. A. Kaufman, AS 19 (*op. cit.*) 33. But the Ugaritic evidence for this etymon makes this a doubtful proposition unless the Akkadian evidence is preponderantly OAkk. and OB.

[10] LC², 125. n. 1.

[11] CML², 121. Cf. also S. A. Kaufman, *op. cit.*, 33n.

[12] *Thespis*², 372.

[13] The corresponding entries in the later UM and UT are unchanged.

Gordon nor the several scholars who have of late followed his lead[14] could fully appreciate the significance of this allusion to Anat's 'hireling'.

2. The Sutean, like the Ḫabiru/*ʿapiru*, is the typical mercenary soldier (and highwayman!) as well as nomad.[15] This is particularly true of the Amarna Age in Syria-Palestine, roughly the time-setting for the compositon of *Aqht*. Thus in EA 169 (lines 25, 29) people designated *amēlū*^{MEŠ} *ṣābu Su-u-du* (Sūtû) are mercenaries in the service of Aziru, king of Amurru.[16] In a letter from Taʿanach in the Esdraelon Valley, a Sutean named *Zi-ri-ya* appears among a group of soldiers, while other Suteans perform similar duties in the service of Biryazawa, king of Upi (Damascus).[17] Slightly earlier, and further east, individual Suteans form part of an 'Amorite' (MAR.DU) contingent of soldiers at Sippar.[18]

In sum: though the poem of *Aqht* certainly doesn't qualify as 'history' – nor, in my opinion, was it so intended (at least by its original author) – it faithfully reflects, as it attests, socio-economic realities of Syria-Palestine at the beginning of the LB Age; in this particular case, the Sutean nomad as a mercenary soldier finds its expression, as we have already noted, in his stereotyped epithet MHR as well as in the military-style organization of his tent-camp. One should therefore consider the possibility that Yṭpn heads a military garrison consisting of Sutean mercenaries in the service of a local ruler (Hazor? Ashtaroth?) stationed at Kh. Kērak[19] and charged with guarding the vital East-West trade route later known as 'The Way of Hauran' (*Darb el-Ḥawarneh*).[20] This route passes through the near-by Wadi Fejjas (n. Yavniel) between Kh. Kērak and t. Ubeidiyeh, linking the 'bread-basket' of n. Transjordania with the Mediterranean port of Acre.

§ 3. *ILA*

1. The consensus view which seeks a supposedly more intelligible text by emending ILA to ILN! is, as I have argued elsewhere,[21] singularly unsuccessful. In fact, it is the emendation which makes this unique

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[14] Cf. e.g., TO 452, note b; Dijkstra – De Moor, UF 7:212; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 400.

[15] Cf. H. A. Hoffner, in: *Studia Mediterranea* (*Fs.* P. Meriggi) [1979], vol. I, 262 f.

[16] Cf. H. Klengel, MIO 10 (1964): 76.

[17] J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades*, *op. cit.*, 100 f.

[18] R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, *op. cit.*, 88 f.; *idem.*, RA 70 (1976): 146 f.; M. Heltzer, *The Suteans*, *op. cit.*, 68 f. – As so-called 'foreigners', Suteans could be hired for jobs other than military ones, *e.g.*, as farmhands during the harvest season (Harris, RA 70:147).

[19] Cf. Ju. 4:17!

[20] Cf. B. Oded, EI 10 (1971): 191 – 97 (in Hebrew), where it is convincingly argued that this route goes back at least to the LB period.

[21] Cf. UF 16:176 f., on which this note is largely based.

textual datum unintelligible, reflecting (as with AGRTN) the generally poor grasp of what is actually transpiring at this point in the story.

The Sutean is toasting *his* god for having seen *him* (and his men) to victory! He addresses this god first by name – ILA – and then by means of two predicating clauses in appositional construction:

(1) *il. št* = 'god of the Suteans';

(2) *il. dyqny. ḏdm* = 'god who creates tent(-camp)s'

Sharing this toast with Yṯpn is the lass Pughat. Now even if she were not disguised and taken for Anat, the only way she could possibly identify with the god thus toasted (as implied in the emended ILN!) would be if she herself were a Sutean and a tent-dweller; which obviously is true neither of Pughat nor of Anat.

In short: the proposed emendation to ILN! 'our god' is not only superfluous; it is highly inimical to common sense as well as to sensibility.

2. The god ILA, who makes this one, and hitherto only, appearance in Ugaritic literature (as extant), is also known from the so-called 'Amorite' (formerly 'East Canaanite') onomasticon. Most scholars who have worked with this material consider it a generic for 'god', equivalent to Akk. *ilu(m)*.[22] But already Th. Bauer, in his comments on the PN I-la-AN – "in dem AN und *i-la* als Subjekt und Prädikat gleichgesetzt [werden]" – concludes that I-la can not easily be analyzed as merely a phonetic variant of AN.[23]

To this example by Bauer may now be added two *bona fide* Sutean names from the OB period which confirm I. J. Gelb's categorical affirmation of an Amorite deity I/E-la a generation after Bauer:[24]

– *Milki-lu-ila* "Ila-is-my-counsellor-indeed"[25];

– *Yu-/Ya-mi-ila* "Ila is my ..."[26]

The nomadic origins of this god are a self-evident conclusion from the predication 'he-who-creates-tent(-camp)s'. The same reference also establishes his organic connection with the Ugaritic-Canaanite El who similarly – and alone of all the gods – resides permanently in a ḎD (//QRŠ), and whose consort is designated *qnyt. ilm*, he himself qualifying as *ab. adm*. Whether by chance or by design, a predication of El by √*qny* is not attested in the Ugaritic poetry. But 'extra-Ugaritic' Canaanite

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[22] Cf. J. Lewy, ZA 38 (1928): 249; H. B. Huffmon, APNMT, 165; J. J. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (1972): 128.

[23] *Die Ostkanaanäer* (1926): 75.

[24] *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar* (²1961): 148; *idem.*, in *Rendiconti ... dei Lincei*, 13 (1958): §§ 3.2.2.1.4 and 3.2.5.2. – The OSA equivalent of the Amorite I-la is Ilāh (> Allah): cf. W. Caskel, in: *Le Antiche Divinita Semitiche* (1958): 114 ff.

[25] Kupper, *Nomades*, *op. cit.*, 88; Frankena, ABB VI (1974): text 10; M. Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 69 f.

[26] Huffmon, *op. cit.*, 17, n. 30; Heltzer, *op. cit.*, 114.

(and quasi-Canaanite) sources of the second as well as first millennia B.C.E. indicate that El is, or was, conceived by his worshippers as a 'creator-god'.[27]

The Amorite ILA thus represents an earlier stage in the traditio-historical evolution of the Canaanite El, from a vigorous and creative 'god of the nomads' to the elderly 'pensioner-god' who is nominally head of the Ugaritic pantheon. In a word, ILA is the Ugaritic El in his prime! This development reflects of course the socio-political transformation of the nomadic 'Amorite' into the sedentary 'Canaanite', of the steppe-land pastoralist into the *Kulturland* farmer, the one dependent primarily on the subterranean fresh-water sources identified with El and Asherah, the other on the celestial precipitation represented by Baal-Hadad.

To be sure: there is also a synchronic aspect to this historical process. At any given moment in time, the Amorite ILA co-exists with the Canaanite ILU in the Syro-Palestinian expanse, precisely as do Dan'el and Yṯpn. Dan'el/El and Yṯpn/ILA represent different yet contemporaneous phases of Semitic civilization. Yṯpn is the cultural forebear of Dan'el as ILA is the religio-historical precursor of El.

Our poet is no less aware of this situation than we are; and it is for this reason that (s)he portrays Yṯpn as a sort of mirror-image of the 'civilized' Raphaite hero. Raphaite 'culture', says (s)he, has yet to rid itself of its Sutean heritage.

Excursus XIX: The Ending of AQHT and Its Putative Connection with the so-called 'REPHAIM-texts' (1.20 – 22)

I

1. As with most questions Ugaritic, scholars are divided as to whether or not texts 1.20 – 22, the so-called 'Rephaim-texts', constitute a continuation, direct or otherwise, of the narrative poem called *Aqht* (1.17 – 1.19).[1] To be sure, all acknowledge the incontestable fact that the hero Dan'el, complete with formulaic titles, receives explicit mention in one of these texts (1.20:II). But because of their deplorably fragmentary state of preservation, these texts have not yielded thus far a narrative sequence which could be plausibly 'spliced' onto the extant *Aqht* story.

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[27] But the Ugaritic texts do know the nearly synonymous √*ḥrš* as a predicate of El: cf. 1.16:V:25 f., and especially 1.12:II:61, where *bt. ḥr*[š] may be a formulaic substitution for **bt. il.*

[1] For some representative opinions on the matter, cf. Caquot – Sznycer, TO, 461 – 68; M. Dijkstra and J. C. De-Moor, UF 7:171 f.; Driver-Gibson, CML², 27, n. 2; G. Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 410 ff.

The question for us, in this commentary, is not so much whether texts 1.20–22 are related to, or continue, the story of *Aqht* – to be answered, with all due reserve, in the affirmative even for the more demanding latter alternative[2] – but rather, what if anything can be learned from these texts which will advance our knowledge and deepen our understanding of what has transpired in the extant *Aqht*, or what may be plausibly thought to have transpired in the lost continuation. In other words, can the 'Rephaim-texts' clarify some still obscure points in 1.17–19 and/or assist us in a conjectural reconstruction of the continuation?

2. After much deliberation, and an original work-plan to include the *Rephaim*-texts as an integral part of this commentary, it is my submission that these texts teach us very little in either respect, so that nothing can be said about the continuation of *Aqht* which isn't very sheerly speculative, neither gaining nor losing in probability as a result of anything found in 1.20–22. Before these texts can be of use in advancing our knowledge of *Aqht*, they themselves must first be subjected to a meticulous textual-epigraphic study, aided and guided by the results of the present study. Such an undertaking is, understandably, beyond the scope of this work, already sufficiently long, and is best dealt with in a special monograph. – Nevertheless, in the comments which follow in this EXCURSUS, we shall venture some preliminary thoughts on this subject which may prove helpful for future endeavours.

II

§ 1.20:I

The vocabulary – $\sqrt{dbḥ}$; $\sqrt{lḥm}$; $\sqrt{šty}$ – in conjunction with the RPUM // ILNYM indicates a funerary feast otherwise known as MRZḤ, in these texts occurring apparently as MRZ^{c}(Y).[3] This theme, recurring in 1.21:II and 1.22:I, is undoubtedly the principal *topos* in these texts. Yet there is nothing in this MRZḤ/MRZ^{c}(Y) feasting which recalls the poem of *Aqht*; the latter never once mentions the RPUM//ILNYM, even in the section of the filial duties dealing with the ancestors-cult and necromancy and despite the several scenes of eating and festive ban-

[2] If Dan'el were a god, his appearance in a second, unrelated tale would not be anomalous. But just as a fragment inscribed with the words KRT. T̲^{c} would properly be considered as belonging to the story recounted in 1.14–1.16, so too a text with Dan'el's name and epithet cannot plausibly be viewed other than as related to, if not necessarily a continuation of, the preserved *Aqht*. In theory, the fragments in 1.20–1.22 might be part of the missing beginning of the story.

[3] Cf. M. H. Pope, in: *Essays ... in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (ed. M. de J. Ellis; New Haven, 1977): 164–82; *idem.*, in (G. D. Young, ed.), UIR, *op. cit.*, 174f.

queting (1.17:II;V;VI). The nearest one comes to such an allusion is the reference to GPRM//ILNM in 1.19:I:10 f.; but these terms denote the chthonic deities in charge of the Netherworld; and they do not participate in anniversary feasts in honour of the dead.

§ 1.20:II

This column contains one of the more coherent portions because it can be partly reconstructed on the basis of identical formulae in 1.21 and 1.22. Herewith our proposed reconstruction of lines $1^b - 11^a$:

Str.	*Text*	...	*Translation*
I.	[*aṯrh. rpum*] [2]*tddn*	3	"The shades proceed to 'the place (of
	aṯrh. tdd. iln[ym]	3	MRZḤ)'[4] // The godly proceed to 'the place (of MRZḤ)';
	[lsmm. *t*][3]*asr*	2	They tie [the steeds],[5]
	sswm. ṯṣmd	2	They fasten the horses,
	dṣ[m. tmdl]	2	[They harness the pr]ancers.[6]
	[4]*tʿln. lmrkbthm*	3	They mount their chariots,
	ti[*ty. (l)ʿrhm*]	2	They de[part (from) their 'city'].
II.	[5]*tlkn. ym. wṯn*!	3	They journey a day and a second,
	aḫr. š[*pšm. bṯlṯ*]	3	On the morrow of the third,
	[6]*mġy. rpum. lgrnt*	3	The shades arrive at the granaries,
	i[*lynm. l*]*mṯʿt*	2	The [godl]y [at] the orchards.
III.	*wyʿn. dnil.* [*mt. rpi*]	3	Then declared Dan'el [the Rapian],
	[8]*yṯb. ġzr. mt. hrnmy*	3	Respond did the hero, devotee of the Rainmaker:
	[ʿrbtm?][9] *bgrnt. ilm*	3	ʿ[Ye have entered?][7] the threshing-
	bqrb. m[*ṯʿt*]	2	grounds, (O) divine-ones // (Ye have entered) into the or[chards].

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[4] Cf. the parallelism AṮR // MRZḤ in 1.114:14 f.: *yṯb. il. ... laṯr*[h] // *il. yṯb. bmrzḫh*; and the discussion of AṮR in 1.17, above *ad. loc.*

[5] Restored on the basis of 1.6:VI:21 *ymṣḫn. klsmm* "(Baal and Mot) stamp like steeds" (cf. MLD, 188). – *Alliteration*: ...iLnyM :: LsMM; lSMM. taSr. SSwM.

[6] $\sqrt{d(w)ṣ}$ 'prance'; JAram. דְּיְצָא denoting 'an animal of the *deer* or *gazelle* species' (Jastrow, *op. cit.*, s. v.). – *Alliteration*: ... TṢMD. DṢ[M. TMDl]. For the word-pair ṢMD//MDL, cf. above, 1.19:II:3 ff. and discussion *ibid.*

[7] [ʿrbtm]: cf. $\sqrt{ʿrb}$ in 1.17:II:26; 1.19:IV:9. – *Alliteration*: ... hRnMy :: [ʿRbtM]; [ʿRBTm] BgRnT; [ʿrbt*M.*]*B*grnt. il*M. B*qr*B. M*[ṯʿt].

[ʿrs?][10]*dtit. yspi*	3	[Barley?][8] of ... they did consume,
spu. q[ẓm]	2	Sum[mer fruit][9] they consumed;
[bʿṣm?][11]*tpḫ*	2	Apple(s) [from the trees?][10]

This most interesting text, of considerable importance for the problem of the RPUM,[11] contains the only explicit reference to Dan'el in the fragments. It also shares some stylistic features with *Aqht*: the word AṮR used as a technical term for the site of MRZḪ occurs in the list of filial duties (1.17) as the burial site of the deceased father; the word pair ṢMD // MDL (if correctly restored); and a use of $\sqrt{ndd}$ 'go, proceed' similar to that of 1.19:IV:40 f. (restored in part).

However, the discrepancies outweigh the similarities by far. Dan'el, it will be recalled, rides a donkey or a mule (ʿR // PḪL), not a horse. Indeed, unlike *Krt* horses and chariots are conspicuous by their absence in *Aqht*. If these RPUM // ILNYM are Dan'el's ancestors, then they come from a social and cultural background which differs radically from that of the hero of *Aqht*. These RPUM were in their lifetime *maryannu*-type warriors, a professional class forming part of a complex social organization typical of large, centralized states. Nothing could be more unlike the rural-village ambience of *Aqht*.[12]

Another a-typical feature is the word-pair GRNT // MṮʿT. Texts 1.17–19 know only the singular GRN; and it is less the site of actual threshing than the locale in front of the city-walls where the assembly of 'elders' (*adrm*) meets to 'adjudicate the poor and the widowed'. Here, by contrast, the GRNT seem to be a place where grain is present if not also stored; what Dan'el in 1.19:II:18 (//25) designates as ASM (cf. Heb. אָסָם). Furthermore, in the latter context Dan'el makes the rounds of his estate whose fields are variously named; but nowhere does one encounter the word MṮʿT ($\sqrt{nṭʿ}$), though admittedly *prʿ. qẓ* (1.19:I:18) does dovetail with *spu. q*[ẓm] here in 1.20:II:10 and presupposes the existence of fruit-trees as part of Dan'el's agricultural stock.

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[8] [ʿrs]: cf. above 1.18:IV:15. This food item is to the GRNT what the **qẓ* and the *tpḫ* are to the MṮʿT.

[9] *q*[ẓm]: cf. CML and MLC, *ad loc.*

[10] [*b*ʿṣm]: implicit in the term MṮʿT are ʿṢM 'trees', otherwise well known in Ugaritic (cf. DM. ʿṢM = '(grape-)juice; wine'). Apples, we may note, grow very well on the cool Golan Heights, even (indeed especially!) today. Of the O.T. allusions to the 'apple (-tree)', cf. *Canticles* 2:3 and 8:5.

[11] Cf. B. Margulis (Margalit), JBL 89 [1970]: 300; C. L'Heureux, HTR 67 (1974): 265–74; *idem.*, BASOR 221 (1976): 83–85. Contrast M. H. Pope, UIR, *op. cit.*, 174.

[12] For the validity of the inference from 'way-of-death' to 'way-of-life', cf. (e. g.) Isa. 14:9; Ezek. 32:27; Job. 3:18.

§ 1.21:II[13]

If line 8 (*wy'n. il*) is not a scribal error for **wy'n. ⟨dn⟩il*, then it is difficult to see this portion of the fragments as anything but a divine *thiasos* reminiscent in its language of 1.114 (RS 24.258). How this relates to *Aqht* is anybody's guess!

§ 1.22:II

This section bears a resemblance to 1.20:II, but an even stronger resemblance to 1.21:II. If, as seems probable, we must restore lines 17 – 18 (with Virolleaud, et al.) *yu*[ḫd. ksa. mlkh] // *nḫ!t. kḥṭ. dr̊*[kth], language otherwise known from the mythological *Baal* and *Anat* texts (1.3; 1.6), then one is indeed hard put to imagine this portion of the fragments as even related to, much less continuing, the story of *Aqht* as we know it.[14]

§ 1.22:I

This is certainly the most tantalizing, and frustrating, portion of the fragments, containing as it does the words *hn. bnk* "Behold, your son!". Could we be completely sure that this is an allusion to (the ghost of) Aqht, we would have here decisive proof of both relatedness and continuation to the story in 1.17 – 1.19. Even more, such a demonstration would provide a plausible basis for reconstructing a subsequent, if not concluding sequence in the poem, viz.: 'in the course of a MRZḤ-feast in honour of one or more of the ancestral shades, Dan'el was able to meet his son, perhaps even to kiss him (*ṣġr. tnšq. sptk*)'. Such a scenario is in no ways improbable if one recalls 1 Sam. 28, where king Saul and the shade of Samuel speak to each other with full recognition and, in the case of Samuel, with total recall of the past (vss. 15 ff.).

Another significant feature of this part of the fragments is the banquet scene at its conclusion, obviously hosted by Anat and taking place 'on the summit, on the peak of (Mt.) Lebanon', a site which we may confidently identify with Anat's mythological home of Mt. Inbb. Anat is, as we have seen, a central figure in *Aqht* (though not in *Aqht* alone), and one of her most dramatic scenes, also a turning-point in the story, is the 'coming-of-age' party in 1.17:VI. Now, if we take the scene here in 1.22:I to be the conclusion of the entire poem of Aqht (with a

[13] We follow here the order of the texts in CTA (cf. similarly MLC).

[14] It is worth calling attention to the fact that in his *ed. pr.* publication, Virolleaud included as 'IV-D' only that fragment of the '*Rephaim*-texts' in which Dan'el is explicitly named (= 1.20)!

gap of unknown proportions separating it from the end of 1.19:IV), then this scene would qualify as a 'feast-of-reconciliation' not unlike the indisputable conclusion of *Baal-Mot* in 1.6:IV:44 ff.:[15]

ltlḥm(.) *lḥm. trmmt*	"They eat bread of reconciliation,[16]
ltšt(.) *yn. tġzyt*	They drink wine of appeasement;[17]
špš. rpim. thtk	ŠPŠ is hostess[18] for the shades,
špš. thtk. ilnym	ŠPŠ is hostess for the godly.
ʿdk. ilm. hn. mtm	Unto thee (Baal are come) gods, even Mot!
whṯss. dʿtk	Yea, Ḫasis, thy crony."

The text in 1.22:II does not speak of TRMMT and TĠẒYT, and Anat is here in place of ŠPŠ. But the presence of the RPUM // ILNYM in both 1.6:IV (where they are not expected!) and here in 1.22 seems to me to counterbalance these differences, if not outweigh them.

[15] Cf. MLD, 193 ff. – The prevalent view of this text as a hymn to the sun-goddess ŠPŠ is one of those curiosities of Ugaritic studies of which the less said the better!

[16] TRMMT < $\sqrt{rmm}$ (= Ar. *ramma* 'repair; make whole').

[17] TĠZYT < $\sqrt{ġzy}$ 'propitiate; appease', whence nominal MĠẒ (1.4:I:22) 'a present, gift'; cf. E. Lipiński, OLP 3 (1972): 107 f.

[18] $\sqrt{ḥtk}$, lit., 'care for', the semantic equivalent of Akk. *paqādu* (cf. J. F. Healey, UF 12:408 f.; correct accordingly MLD, 197 ff.). Note also ḪTK = (1) 'father', lit., 'caretaker'; and (2) 'scion', lit. 'one-cared-for'.

Part III

§ 1. The Poem of AQHT: An Overview

A. The Geographical Setting

The poem of *Aqht*, set along the shores of the Kinnereth, stands at the forefront of the mounting evidence for a 'Canaanite' background of the Ugaritic literary texts generally, and for a view of this corpus as (the remains of) a 'Canaanite Bible' expressing the *Weltanschauung* of a West-Semitic people inhabiting northern (Galilean) Canaan and northern Transjordan (Bashan/Golan) in the middle of the second millennium B.C.E.[1]

This view of Ugaritic literature, which characterized Ugaritic studies in their infancy, can trace its renascence to the small corpus of literary and ritual texts published by Virolleaud in 1968, following the 24th archaeological campaign at Ras esh-Shamra:[2] specifically, and especially, text 1.108 (= RS 24.252) with its explicit reference, in poetic parallelism, to (O.T.) 'Ashtaroth' and 'Edrei', and couched in language reminiscent of the 'Amorite' king of Bashan who "ruled (lit., 'sat') in Ashtaroth and Edrei" (Deut. 1:4, etc.) supposedly at the time of the Israelite Exodus. Another text from the same corpus (1.100 = RS 24.244) mentions Bashanite Ashtaroth as the 'home' of the deity MLK, presumably related to the (later) Ammonite national-god 'Milkom' and the deity disparagingly vocalized by the later tradition as 'Molek̲'.

But *Aqht* and text 1.108 are only the tip of the iceberg. A close scrutiny of the other literary texts reveals unmistakeable signs pointing

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[1] The term 'Canaanite' is first encountered in the Mari texts of the 18th cent., and recurs some three centuries later in the inscription of Idrimi, king of Alalaḫ, with reference to the Phoenician coast. The term is fairly common also in the 14th cent. Amarna letters. Although referring in the strictest sense to the coastal region of Phoenicia, it is also used more broadly to describe the entire Palestinian and south-Syrian domain under Egyptian hegemony. The borders of Canaan at this time, according to Y. Aharoni (*Land of the Bible* [²1967]: 69) are precisely those described in Num. 34:1 – 12. This area is bordered in the north-east by *Lebo-Ḥamat* (mod. *Lebwe*), on the edge of the *Beqa'* Valley, includes all of Transjordan north of the Yarmuk River, and both sides of the Sea of Galilee, whose southern tip is the northern-most point of the eastern boundary in Cisjordan.

[2] Ch. Virolleaud, "Les Nouveaux Textes Mythologiques et Liturgiques de Ras Shamra", *Ugaritica* V (Paris, 1968): 545 ff. Text 1.108 corresponds to Virolleaud's text #2 (pp. 551 ff.).

in the same direction. A case in point is Baal's mountain residence ĠR. ṢPN.

The equation of ĠR. ṢPN (= *Ṣapānu* or *Ṣapūna*) with Mt. Ḫazzi (= Classical Greek ὄρον κάσιον), just north of the city of Ugarit is well-known.[3] But it is attested only in the ostensibly later, non-literary texts written in syllabic cuneiform. The equation is not valid for the major literary texts where the proper-name 'Ugarit' does not make even a single appearance, and where such geographical references as are found point away from Ugarit and northern Syria in the direction of Canaan.

E. g.: in the story describing the construction of Baal's palace (1.4:VI) we learn that timber was cut and brought from Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Hermon, rather than from Mt. Amanus; and when Baal decides to 'take a day off' to hunt, he chooses the marshes of Lake Ḫuleh (*aḫ. šmk*) rather than of Lake Ni(ḫ)i.

The 'extra-Ugaritic' evidence is no less compelling. When the anonymous author of the so-called 'Job Stone' inscription – a LB Egyptian stela found at or near t. Aštara/Ashtaroth – refers to 'Baal-Ṣaphon', he more likely intends the storm-god of near-by Mt. Hermon rather than Mt. Casius. Similarly, when the biblical poet compares (Ps. 48:2–4) Mt. Zion, YHWH's 'mountain of holiness' with the 'heights of *Ṣāpôn*' (*yrkty. ṣp(w)n*), he can hardly have had in mind anything but the mythical home of the Canaanite storm-god atop majestically snow-capped Mt. Hermon. For to an Israelite speaker of Hebrew 'Ṣaphôn' means 'north'; and in a (poetic) language where יָם = '(Mediterranean) Sea' and 'west' and נֶגֶב = 'desert' and 'south', צָפוֹן can hardly denote anything but 'Hermon' and 'north'.

In short: the Ugaritic 'Baal-of-ṢPN' (Heb. בַּעַל צָפוֹן) in the literary texts of Ugarit is almost certainly to be understood as 'Baal-of-Hermon' (Heb. בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן [Ju. 3:3]). The equation ṢPN = Ḫazzi reflects a typical transfer of a divine abode, corresponding to the migrations of Canaanites – or, as I should prefer, 'Raphaites' – from their ancestral homeland in Bashan/Golan to the environs of Ugarit where they eventually established a dynastic house. The entire process has its analogy in the transfer of the (Midianite) YHWH from his abode in the Sinai peninsula to Mt. Zion, in the wake of the Israelite 'conquest' and settlement in Canaan.

Even the 'royal epic' of *Krt*, whose theme *a priori* would seem to bear directly on the history of the dynastic house of Ugarit, is not only free of specific allusions to the latter city but may well provide additional support for a Canaanite localization of Ugaritic literature.

The poem mentions or implies four toponyms, two of which can be identified with relative ease: (1) ṢR(m) 'Tyre'; (2) ṢDYN(m) 'Sidon';

[3] Cf. W. Röllig, RLA IV (1975): 241 f.

(3) (BT) ḪBR, apparently Krt's royal residence; and (4) UDM. The first two are obviously 'Canaanite', even in the strictest definition of the term. The last, UDM, has been the subject of much speculation, notably in the by-now discredited equation with biblical 'Edom' in s. Canaan. But in the wake of 1.108, there is good reason to believe that UDM is none other than Bashanite *Udumu*, mentioned in EA 256 and implicitly situated in the vicinity of Ashtaroth, in the direction of Pella. This suggestion, first raised as a possibility by A. F. Rainey,[4] has since been endorsed by J. C. De Moor and K. Spronk.[5]

From the description of Krt's military campaign in 1.14:IV:31–48 we learn that the 'shrine of Asherah' near Tyre-Sidon is located about 3-days' (forced) march from BT. ḪBR and midway to UDM. Assuming UDM = *Udumu*, near Ashtaroth, we can posit a distance of 100–120 kms. from Tyre to UDM as from Tyre northward to BT. ḪBR, thus placing the latter in the vicinity of 'Beirut'/Byblos.[6]

2. *Date of Composition*[7]

The date of the actual writing of the extant copy (and recension) of *Aqht* is provided by the colophon at the end of the first tablet (1.17). It establishes the mid-14th cent. as a *terminus ad quem* for the literary composition. The task of determining a *terminus a quo* (or *post quem*) is more complicated, as it is based on inferences from the narrative contents and the forms of expression. It is necessarily a more subjective and conjectural affair. Nevertheless, in the following comments an attempt will be made to provide some reasonably objective criteria for dating the composition, or at least for narrowing the chronological limits.

a. Linguistic Criteria

(α) The formulaically fixed word pair ŠD // KMN, denoting a unit of (usually linear) measure, occurs some eight times in the literary texts, twice in *Aqht*.[8] Both terms are apparently Akkadian borrowings: Akk. *šiddum*, originally 'side, edge', then 'area (of a country, field or building)'; and *kumānu*, probably of Hurrian origin first attested at Alalaḫ (level

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[4] JAOS 94 (1974): 184–94.

[5] UF 14 (1983): 165.

[6] The final lines of *Krt* contain an unmistakeable (if secondary) allusion to 'Byblos/Gubla' and the 'Lady of GBL', *Baalat*; cf. my note in UF 8 (1976): 160 ff.

[7] The following comments in this section are based on, and largely reproduce, my discussion in *SBL Seminar Papers* (Scholars Press, 1986): 248 f.

[8] For fuller discussion and bibliographical references, cf. UF 15:79.

IV) and at Nuzi as well as in the nearly contemporaneous MAss legal archives. But it is only in 15th cent. Alalaḫ that one finds the explicit equivalence of ŠIDDU and KUMĀNU, both equal to 1/4 (or 1/6) of an *iku*, roughly 900 (or 600) sq. metres.

The synonymity of ŠD and KMN in Ugaritic epic poetry, reflected in their use as a word-pair in parallelism, can hardly be dissociated from their identity in 15th cent. Alalaḫ.

(β) The place-name ḪKPT, which occurs in 1.17:V:21 (also in 1.3:VI:13, written ḪQKPT) as the home of Koshar-Ḫasis, corresponds to Egyptian *ḥ(w)t. k}. ptḥ* = 'the Temple [lit., 'the house of the *k*}] of Ptaḥ, who is Koshar's Egyptian counterpart.[9] In the O.T. it is called *Nōp* or *Mōp*; in Greek times it is known as 'Memphis'.

Although the existence of a 'House of Ptaḥ' at Memphis can be traced to the Ancient Kingdom, the use of this term for the city as a whole is unknown prior to the mid-16th century and the beginning of the New Kingdom. Furthermore, the Ugaritic spelling shares with Amarna *Ḫikuptaḫ* (EA 84:37 = 139:8) the loss of the fem. suff. of *ḥ(w)t* which characterizes New Kingdom vocalization.

b. Thematic Criteria

(α) The character designated Yṭpn is a prototypal 'nomad' and 'mercenary' residing, as we have seen, in a tent-camp in the meadowlands surrounding Kh. Kērak. As an ethnic group the Suteans are first encountered in cuneiform sources dating to the OB period; and from the contemporary Egyptian 'Exceration Texts' it would appear that the Sutean presence in central and northern Transjordan is so pronounced that the area as a whole is designated (Upper/Lower) '*Sūtū*-land'.

However, it is only ca. 1500 B.C.E. that the term 'Sutean' becomes a generic for 'West-Semitic nomad', replacing the earlier 'Amurru/MAR.DU'. This is the situation reflected most probably in *Aqht*: Yṭpn is of no interest to the storyteller except insofar as he embodies certain sterotyped features of nomadism; and it is in this manner that the LB audience is expected to perceive him. Nevertheless, the proximity of Kh. Kērak to Transjordan leaves open the possibility that Yṭpn is a Sutean both in the specifying 'tribal' as well as in the generic sense of the term.

One can hardly dissociate Yṭpn's title of MHR. ŠT from the expression *ṣābê sūtû* encountered in the 15th cent. Idrimi inscription and in the Amarna letters.

(β) The 'bow' presented to Aqht by the artisan god Koshar and which is so central to both the structure and dynamic of the story, has long been recognized as a so-called 'composite bow'. Whatever its

[9] For fuller discussion and bibliographical details, cf. UF 15:80.

origins, it appears as an 'operational' weapon in Syria-Palestine only in the New Kingdom era. The Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th dynasties were the first to make extensive use of it in battle, and the young Tut had several specimens to accompany him on his journey to eternity.

A sense of the bow's novelty as well as its preciousness is very much in evidence in *Aqht*. The bow is expressly described as ṮMN (= Ar. *ṯamin*) 'costly', and its manufacture is considered befitting the talents of a divine craftsman. Anat's hypnotic fixation on the bow and her subsequent irrespressible craving leading to homicide are similarly indicative.

The conclusion suggested by this varied if not quite conclusive evidence is that the poem of *Aqht*, in its present form, cannot be earlier than ca. 1550 B.C.E., and is best dated to the 15th cent., more or less contemporary with Idrimi and Alalaḫ V. If so, the gap between authorial composition and the scribal copy in our possession would be about a century.

B. Characterization of the Dramatic Persons[10]

a. Anat

A ruthless misogynist and a creature of passion, Anat is a goddess who never 'grew up'. She personifies for the poet all that is corrupt and contemptible in Raphaite culture and society.

Capricious and amoral, cunning and shrewd, Anat is the power of Evil in Aqht. Lustful and deceitful, she is the antithesis of her 'brother' Baal, the life-giving power of Good, as well as of the wise, hard-working, and self-controlled Pughat. Anat is driven by a ferocious will unbridled by moral sanction or conscience. She is the slave of her passions.

This negative portrayal of Anat is underscored by her association with the Sutean mercenary Yṭpn and by the symbolic equation with ṢML, the withered mother of killer-hawks. Anat is the revered cultic mother of Raphaite warriors;[11] but she herself is a barren woman, a perpetual 'virgin', who feeds on the children of real, flesh-and-blood mothers.

b. Dan'el

Standing at the pinnacle of Raphaite society – one of the 'nobility' (*adrm*) if not the foremost among them – *Dan'el* is at once the symbol and the embodiment of its values, a staunch upholder of its traditions.

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[10] This section reproduces for the most part *SBL Seminar Papers* (1986): 250–55.

[11] Cf. the Ramesside inscription from Tanis quoted above, in which Anat addresses the king as "my beloved son ... I am your mother ... Anat, mistress of the sky [= Ug. (1.108!) *b'lt. šmm*].

A well-to-do landowner, noble and pious, he is a humble servant of the high-gods and a devoted caretaker of the ancestral cult, providing amply for the material needs of his divinized ancestors. He is an honest and hospitable man, and (in his spare time) a just adjudicator. He is a good family-man, providing well for his wife and doting on his one and only son, born after prolonged wait and by divine grace. On the surface of things Dan'el is a picture of virtue and righteousness, leading 'the good life' in harmony with nature and the gods. This is also the picture fostered by the sacred tradition preserved by Raphaite society of LB Ugarit, and the one which reached the Hebrew poet Ezekiel several centuries later.

But the author of *Aqht* is unimpressed. Casting a perspicacious and critical eye on his/her contemporaries, (s)he sees beneath the glittering and harmonious exterior. (S)he perceives the enormous gulf between the pretenses and reality, the formal piety devoid of feeling, the fancy military titles concealing a flaccid body and a weak mind. Dan'el is conventionally addressed as MT and ĠZR; yet he can't mount a mule unassisted! He shouts bloody curses, but he sends his daughter to 'redeem' his son's blood. He invokes life-giving Baal and peace-loving El when in need; but it is the bloodthirsty Anat who is divine guest-of-honour at his son's 'coming-of-age' party.

The want of true courage and physical prowess goes hand in hand with a dearth of intellectual acumen. Dan'el speaks for a male-dominated society in which females are little more than menial servants as wives or daughters, and treated accordingly. Yet the story of *Aqht* is, in essence, a story of female heroism, with the men – pompous titles and all – consistently upstaged, outwitted, and outgunned by the supposedly inferior females. Pughat not only works harder than her father; she also thinks faster. Even the vain 'Sutean warrior' is no match for Pughat's courage or cleverness. Yet she remains basically nameless throughout the story. And like Wisdom, she enters late in the story, too late to save her brother's life but able to 'redeem' his blood and her father's – i.e., society's – honour.

The Sutean is actually an alter-ego for Dan'el, his mirror-image. Like Dan'el, the Sutean bears the title of a youthful warrior (MHR); but this 'warrior' fights for money and preys on defenceless boys. He too is pious and prone to religiously sanctioned drunkenness. Indeed, the picture of a drunken Dan'el carried home by his teenage son (cf. the mythological reflex in 1.114!) is a proverbial stone's throw removed from that of the drunken Yṯpn, his sleepy head in the lap of the teenaged Pughat, about to forfeit his life.

It may be said that for the poet(ess) of *Aqht*, Raphaite culture is merely a veneer of refinement and gentility concealing a quasi-Sutean degeneracy. The complacent and dignified Raphaites, in their passionate

devotion and voluntary bondage to a bloodthirsty goddess, are in fact on a path to self-destruction, and a return to 'uncivilization'. And Dan'el is their pathetic leader and inspiration on this journey!

c. Pughat

The (symbolically) nameless daughter of Dan'el is the true heroine of *Aqht*, the poet's model character, the figure most representative of his/her ideal of human conduct.

It comes as no surprise therefore to learn that Pughat is conceived as the polar opposite of Anat. It will take a head-to-foot disguise to make Pughat look, and act, like Anat. The true, undisguised Pughat cannot carry out a homicide even for the noblest of reasons. The real Anat does so for the basest of them.

Pughat epitomizes the poet's belief in the intrinsic worth of women *qua* women, in their superior intelligence as well as courage, both of which go unrecognized in Raphaite society. The nameless 'Lass' is provided with literary epithets formally alike those of her male peers. But unlike their epithets, hers are not purely honorific, with little or no relation to factual truth. Pughat's epithets describe her as she really is: industrious, ingenious, and humble.

Pughat is a 'wise-woman' type. But her sagacity is not the 'book learning' of her more privileged 'kid brother'. Pughat 'knows' the courses of the stars because she rises early and retires late. She 'knows' the fauna and the flora well because she works in the fields. It is this 'knowledge' which enables her to discern the ominous signs of trouble before her educated father.

Pughat's sagacity is equalled only by her strength and courage. At its most obvious and dramatic, her courage finds expression in her mission to redeem her brother's blood in the tent-camp of the Sutean Yṭpn. But Pughat's courage is not restricted to 'one-shot' acts of bravery. For it reflects, and is nurtured by, an inner strength at once impressive and inspiring. Pughat's true strength lies in the mastery of her emotions.[12] She displays exemplary self-control even in the most trying of circumstances. Pughat, like women generally, cries easily. But she does so inwardly.

The supreme test of her self-control comes when she puts her life on the line in the Sutean camp, as she stands alongside her brother's murderer and is forced to toast his god for a mission well accomplished. Our admiration for her is enhanced by the realization that neither Dan'el nor his fellow Raphaite noblemen could have handled themselves with

[12] Cf. the Talmudic aphorism (TB *Abot*, 10a): "Who is truly strong? He who masters his emotions". Cf. also Prov. 16:32.

such aplomb and self-control. For theirs is the strength of bluster and brawn, not of the mind. And the author of *Aqht* leaves no doubt as to which of the two fortitudes is mightier and worthier of admiration.

d. El

As elsewhere in Ugaritic literature, El is both a comical and pathetic figure in *Aqht*. His authority is uncontested; but his ability to act is severely circumscribed. Most if not all of El's characteristic features derive from his very advanced age, with incipient signs of senility.

It is El who is supplicated by the son-less Dan'el; but to no avail until the more attentive Baal prods the aged deity, doubtless suffering from impaired hearing, to respond. The response, significantly, is purely verbal. El's powers, such as they are, reside in what he says rather than in what he does. El blesses, and Dan'el begets. El's rôle, like father Dan'el's at the end of 1.19, is to confer blessing. It is the rôle of a 'pensioned' patriarch in a traditional (and reverential) society. It is a rôle of impotence.

El's response in 1.17 reveals another, less dignified side of his character. In spite of his age (some would say because of it) El is obsessed with sex and delights in scurrility, words again replacing action and providing vicarious pleasure.

This portrait of the jovial granddad with the prurient interests is superseded in the later confrontation with Anat by the pathetic figure of a cowering father intimidated by a bratling child. Anat won't act without her father's consent; but she threatens him with physical violence when he waivers.

To be sure, no one speaks to El in this manner save Anat, who is the villain of the story. But Anat is also the epitome of contemporary (LB) Raphaite society, at least in its idealized form. The confrontation between Anat and her father can thus be seen as allegorizing Raphaite society's attitude to its ancestral past. El is a vestige of that past, and an anachronism: outdated, old-fashioned, an object of pious lip-service in the 'high-cult' but otherwise the butt of crude jokes.[13] The gentle, soft-spoken wisdom of El, the power of the kind and creative word, belong to a by-gone age of (idealized!) Raphaite history as surely as his tent-abode. The present belongs to the muscle-flexing bellicosity and the strident harangues which characterize the cult of Anat.

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[13] Cp. *e. g.*, 1.18:I:25 f. (restored). One may assume that such *bons mots* were a feature of 'manly talk' in Raphaite society.

e. Baal

Baal makes only one direct appearance in *Aqht*, though his name is mentioned on several occasions. Accordingly, very little of his personality comes to the fore. In fact, the most conspicuous feature of Baal's activity in *Aqht* is his silence. Following Aqht's murder, Baal speaks only through his nebulous hypostasis, or not at all.

Baal, as we learn from the myths, is the vigorous god of life-giving rains. The cessation of celestial precipitation following Aqht's death is described as Baal's 'affliction' (√*ṣrr*); and the sound of winter rainwater rushing in the riverbeds is metaphorically 'Baal's sweet voice'. But Baal can also be counted on for other things, such as responding to Dan'el's request to lower the hawks to earth for inspection, and then repairing them good-as-new (except for ṢML...). In contrast to El, Baal is the god of (righteous) action, ever attentive and responsive to the cry of his devotees. Baal indeed is a paragon of virtue, in *Aqht* as in Ugaritic literature generally.

If so, why is Baal's rôle in *Aqht* such a minor one? The reason, as I have suggested, is that the dominance of Anat in *Aqht* allows little room or scope for Baal to act. If El is overtly cowed into submission by Anat, Baal is reduced to the rôle of a lethargic by-stander, shrouded in silence.

It is one of the more subtle ironies of the poem that when sister Anat raises her murderous hand against the mortal Aqht, she unwittingly slays her beloved immortal brother as well. She undermines his moral stature and dooms him to a prolongation of his seasonal incarceration in the Netherworld, now also Aqht's place of residence. For Aqht and Baal embody the same principles of youthful vitality and innocence; and Anat is their common foe.

f. Aqht

A novice 'hero' (ĠZR), widely read and overly indulged, Aqht is a child-prodigy of extraordinary charm and eloquence who loves to flaunt his burgeoning knowledge in lengthy monologues. But this aspect of Aqht corresponds to the superficial reality of the story, to its 'microcosm'. For like Anat and Dan'el, Aqht is really a facet of Raphaite culture and society.

If Anat represents, as I believe, Raphaite society at its most criminal and corrupt, and Dan'el is this same society as its most pretentious and flaccid, then Aqht is its idealized former vigour, what it once was (supposedly) and still pretends to be. Aqht's confrontation with Anat pits honesty and innocence against guile and deceit, wisdom and perspicacity against folly and illusion; and above all, youthful vitality against adult impotency.

The tragic irony of life in Raphaite society is that he who affirms Life ends up forfeiting his own. Aqht's death is an expression of the suicidal tendencies of this society.

C. Comparison of AQHT with other works[14]

a. KTU 1.3 (Anat)

The poem of *Aqht* has strong literary and thematic affinities with this fragmentary Ugaritic composition, both of which feature Anat in a central rôle. The connection is most evident in 1.3:III, where the near-verbatim correspondence with 1.19:IV:40–43 underscores the fact that Pughat is disguising herself as Anat.

Even more significant is the implication that the two compositions share a conception and perception of Anat as a sadistic goddess who revels (/ḥdy) in the massacre and mutiliation of young warriors (MHRM // ĠZRM, etc.), now plausibly identifiable as the young 'heroes' of the type reflected in *Aqht*, and epitomized in the image of Dan'el's son.

The connection with *Aqht* also serves to clarify the philosophical point-of-view in text 1.3. Just as Anat's behaviour in *Aqht* is an extension of her bloodthirsty character in 1.3, so too is the critical perspective in *Aqht* valid for text 1.3. The portrait of Anat in the latter should not be viewed as reflecting a callous indifference or 'scientific' detachment – much less a paean of praise – on the part of a supposedly 'primitive' and morally degenerate Canaanite. Instead, it should be viewed as a literary assault by a morally sensitive and anguished poet(ess) on the distorted moral values inherent in the official cult of Anat in LB Ugarit/Canaan, with its celebration of military prowess and, especially, its glorification of battlefield bloodshed as 'heroism'.

b. Gilgamesh[15]

Some scholars have been impressed by supposed structural and thematic parallels between the Ugaritic *Aqht* and the Sumero-Babylonian *Ishtar-Gilgamesh* epic. I consider the comparison misconceived, notwithstanding some shared motifs which may perhaps bespeak a common origin.[16] The comparion is based on the mistaken notion that Anat has a romantic interest in the lad Aqht as Ištar has in the young man Gilgamesh. In fact, Anat is nowhere portrayed in Ugaritic literature as

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[14] Based on, and largely reproducing, *SBL Seminar Papers* (1986): 255 f. – For a succinct comparison of *Aqht* and *Krt*, cf. above, § 1, pp. 44–46.

[15] Based on, and largely reproducing, *SBL Seminar Papers* (1986): 258 f.

[16] One thinks especially of the 'running-to-Papa' motif and the plotting to punish the arrogant hero.

a goddess of romantic love. The counterpart of Ishtar in Ugaritic literature is Asherah; and Ishtar's dogged interest in Gilgamesh finds its closest analogue in Asherah's pursuit of Baal (cf. 'Elkunirša').

It can in fact be argued that not only are *Aqht* and *Gilgamesh* not, as some contend, mere variations on a common theme, but that, to the contrary, they are so different as to be virtually antithetical.

T. Jacobsen writes:[17]

> "Throughout the epic Gilgamesh appears as young, a mere boy, and he holds on to that status, refusing to exchange it for adulthood as represented by marriage and parenthood. Like Barrie's Peter Pan, he will not grow up."

And again:[18]

> "Gilgamesh is fleeing death by fleeing old age, even maturity; he is reaching back to [the] security [of his] childhood. The loss of the plant stands ... for the illusion that one can go back to being a child. It brings home the necessity for growing up, for facing and accepting reality."

Jacobsen's words can apply almost without further qualification to the Ugaritic Anat as portrayed in *Aqht*. A perpetual 'virgin' (*btlt*), she too rejects marriage and parenthood; and she peddles illusions of immortality to gullible mortals. But unlike Gilgamesh, Anat is immutable; she remains what she is – a willful, violent, irrational child with an adult capacity for cynicism and deceit.

By contrast, the youthful Aqht is the epitome of realism. He knows that to be human is to be mortal, and he rejects Anat's offer of immortality as so much blarney. He has no illusions about death, nor does he fear it. The confrontation between Aqht and Anat is between an adult adolescent who 'knows what it's all about' and a childish adult.

Aqht thus bears little or no resemblance to Gilgamesh, who spends a lifetime growing up. In *Aqht*, the young teach the old; wisdom is placed in the mouths of babes. The adults in *Aqht* are weak, foolish, immature, treacherous, vain, and hypocritical; and they owe all these 'qualities' to the goddess they so devoutly adore.

Gilgamesh, ultimately, is 'conventional wisdom'. It speaks for a positive view of the gods and for a negative view of Man whom it regards as a foolish, vainglorious child throughout most of his life. *Aqht*, in contrast, is full of admiration for the young. In *Gilgamesh*, Man progresses with age: he acquires a little wisdom and much peace-of-mind. In *Aqht*, Man deteriorates with age, spiritually as well as physi-

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[17] T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness. A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (1976): 218.

[18] *Ibid.*, 219.

cally. The innocence, truthfulness, and vitality of youth are superseded by decadence and impotence.

The story of *Aqht* is ultimately a bitterly ironic commentary on adult-human folly.

D. Literary Themes and Motifs[19]

a. The Composite Bow

The composite bow is central in *Aqht*, to its themes no less than to its plot. The story is inconceivable without it; and it itself is fraught with multilevel symbolism.

(1) The bow symbolizes maturity and manhood, though not necessarily – much less exclusively – sexuality. By depriving Aqht of his bow, Anat – wittingly or otherwise – would deprive him of his manhood and his creative potential, much as Delilah does with Samson.

(2) The composite bow epitomizes the societal norms of Raphaite culture. Like the suitors of Penelope, men are sized up in accordance with their proficiency in handling the composite bow, be it in hunt or in battle. The bow is 'a man's weapon', as Aqht says to Anat, in a society which counts only men.

(3) The composite bow is an extremely lethal weapon; but it is also very fragile. It snaps like a lyre on impact, as Anat learns to her chagrin. So too Raphaite society: a façade of brawn and fancy titles conceals an inner frailty and weakness. Like the composite bow which they value so highly, the 'warriors' of Raphaite society lack the inner strength and substance of a Pughat. Neither bow nor society can withstand much external pressure.

b. The Nomadic

Nomadic motifs and terminology are quite prominent in *Aqht*, so that a familiarity with ANE nomadism in its historial, sociological, and cultural aspects is vital to a correct interpretation of the poem.

The Sutean of *Aqht* is not the idealized figure of 19th cent. Romantic literature. The author of *Aqht* shares with the audience a deeply-rooted antipathy towards the nomad and his way of life. The nomad in *Aqht*, as in the O.T., is the absolute negation of civilized human existence, a 'wild-ass' of a man, a braggart, a thief, and a mercenary killer.

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[19] Based on, and largely reproducing, *SBL Seminar Papers* (1986): 259 f.

E. Raison d'Être[20]

The author of *Aqht*, whether male or female, is not a pacifist. Nor is (s)he a benign, soft-spoken apologist for the ancestral faith and its institutions.

The author of *Aqht* is an indignant, yet subtly ironic critic of a warrior-aristocratic ('Raphaite') society which appears to have held sway in LB Ugaritic (and elsewhere?) of the 15th cent. B.C.E.[21] The voice in *Aqht* is a voice of protest – of necessity muted – directed at the 'patron-saint' of Raphaite society, Anat, and her cult of violence and bloodshed, whose devotees, spurred on by promises of epic fame and immortality, shed their blood endlessly in feats of putative 'heroism', leaving behind the broken hearts of parents, widows, and orphaned children.

The author of *Aqht* challenges the orthodox theology as well as the prevailing social ethos of Raphaite culture by means of a fascinating inversion of categories. The villain of *Aqht* is a god(dess), the hero(ine) a mortal. The male social-elite, the official 'heroes', emerge as cowards and fools; the heroes are the nondescript and nameless farm-girls.

'Religion' is ambivalently portrayed in *Aqht*. Baal and El are 'good'; but they hardly figure in the story. Anat is 'bad'; and she occupies center-stage: a fearsomely dominating presence. The poet is thus saying in effect:

(a) Man's existential Life-or-Death choices depend on a critical discernment of Good and Bad, and on the selection of proper divine models of ethical and religious behaviour;

(b) Raphaite society, by choosing Anat, has chosen Evil. Sister though she be to Baal, Anat is actually more akin to Mot, the god of Death.

Alone of the birds called down to Earth by Dan'el for inspection, the mother-bird ṢML is not reconstituted and restored to life by Baal. For a mother who feeds on her children does not deserve to live in the hearts of people. This is the operative message of *Aqht*: an urgent, anguished call to Raphaite society to rid itself completely and irrevocably of ṢML-Anat and her cult of violence.

In light of Anat's near-total eclipse in the 1st millennium B.C.E., it is gratifying to muse on the possibility that the poem of *Aqht* may have played a part in this beneficent development.[22]

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[20] Based on, and largely reproducing, *SBL Seminar Papers* (1986): 260 f.

[21] Cf. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (London, 1939): 12 – 17, with reference to the strata dated by him to the 18 – 16th cents.: "The warlike character of the civilization of this period is reflected in the numerous daggers, battleaxes, and spears found in the graves...".

[22] Cf. H. L. Ginsberg, BASOR 97 (1945): 10, who would trace this development to "the diminished war-mindedness of the later Phoenicians".

§ 2. Ugaritic Literature and the Hebrew Bible

1. The Ugaritic-Biblical Connection: the General Problem

A. The discovery of the Ugaritic texts and their study during the past six decades have undoubtedly left an indelible imprint on our perception as on our comprehension of the ancient Israelite literature preserved in the (so-called) Old Testament. The imprint is evident in the lexicographic clarification of individual words and expressions; in the elucidation of the mechanics as well as the dynamics of poetic style and structure; and, perhaps above all, in the field of the history-of-religions: the revelation of a life-giving Baal-Hadad who 'rides the clouds'; of an ophidic and insatiable Mot who rules the Netherworld and a regal Yamm who rules the sea; of a seven-headed hydra named 'LTN'; of a benevolent and bewhiskered El as nominal head of the pantheon; and, not least, of an irascible and bloodthirsty goddess hitherto familiar to the student of the Bible only as matronym or toponym.

For all that, there seems to be a question today, nearly sixty years after a peasant's spade uncovered the first Ugaritic tablet, as to whether the student of the Hebrew Bible still has anything to learn from the Ugaritic literary texts. One has the impression that the extraordinary interest of twenty or thirty years ago has waned considerably, and has been superseded by a sense of *déjà-vue*, and of a field more or less 'played out'.

The reason for this development is, I believe, not far to seek. It results in large measure from the dawning realization by biblical scholars of the spatial as well as temporal gaps between ancient Israel and the LB kingdom of Ugarit, a realization fuelled by the prevalent opinion among the leading Ugaritic specialists that the city of Ugarit was never part of the geopolitical unit known as 'Canaan', and that even the language we call 'Ugaritic' can not be classified without qualification as 'Canaanite'. It is this 'de-Canaanization' of Ugaritic literature which has precipitated a decline in the *special* interest in Ugaritic studies on the part of O.T. scholars. The 'proprietors' of Ugaritic are increasingly specialists in north-Syrian history and the culture of the LB age who leave off, chronologically and figuratively, where the Bible comes in. Biblical scholars, for their part, are turning elsewhere for their insights and inspiration, as well as for their models of analysis. The result is a gradual parting of the ways not unlike what one finds today in the field of archaeology.

B. If the reasons for this development are understandable, the development as such is as unjustified as it is undesirable. Elegizing the Ugaritic-Biblical connection is still very much premature. The relationship of Ugaritic and O.T. literature is, to be sure, in need of re-evaluation. But in my opinion, a proper re-evaluation will show not only that scholars of the past have for the most part not exaggerated the importance of Ugaritic for illuminating the Hebrew Bible but that the connection is much closer and more immediate than most were ever inclined to believe.

The prerequisite however for such a re-evaluation is the recognition that the Ugaritic corpus of literary texts, the major poetic works in particular, merits serious consideration as 'literature', *i.e.*, as works of *art*, characterized by a self-conscious grappling in a literary mode with the fundamental questions of human existence, with the tragic fates and bitter ironies of Life and the quest for Meaning, but without neglecting the major objective of *all* literature worthy of the name – to cultivate in the audience (whether as reader or listener) a literary aesthetic as a source of pleasure and delight.

In the past, Ugaritic scholars of the first rank have generally shown more interest in the language than in the literature, while those of second and third rank have tended to treat Ugaritic literature as if it were an appendix – or a prolegomenon – to the Hebrew Bible. Between these two approaches, the study of Ugaritic literature as such and *per se* has been neglected, with the paradoxical but unequivocal result of short-changing and distorting the relevance and importance of Ugaritic literature for the O.T.

For the most significant contribution which Ugaritic literature can make to our understanding of the Hebrew Bible is not in the 'magical' solution of venerable *cruces interpreta* or as a seemingly endless source of 'parallels' to one biblical verse or another. The contribution rather takes the form of a challenge inviting a response, viz., the re-definition and re-evaluation of the relationship of biblical thought and its literary expression to the Canaanite environment from which it emerged, and of establishing its proper place, free of apologetics and special pleading, along a cultural and religio-historical continuum, as a literature different in detail but identical in substance with that of Israel's highly creative and extraordinarily talented neighbours, from whom the Israelites absorbed the techniques as well as the aesthetics of literature.

We ought never to lose sight of the fact that the Canaanite literary tradition did not come to an end with the cataclysmic destruction of the city of Ugaritic in ca. 1200 B.C.E., any more than it began with its founding. If the Canaanites we call 'Phoenicians' could be brought back to life for a visit, they might well protest the fact that we reserve our praise of literary achievement for their neighbours and (usually) allies,

the Israelites, while ignoring them who in fact owned the technical copyrights.

C. Most of the hypotheses spawned by the pioneers of Ugaritic studies in the thirties have been subsequently discarded as philologically untenable. But on one major and fundamental question it is they rather than their critics who were right. Ugaritic literature is indeed 'Canaanite literature', irrespective of whether the city-state of Ugaritic was or was not considered part of Canaan, or whether the Ugaritic language is or isn't, strictly speaking, a Canaanite dialect.

Much of the evidence for this proposition has been placed before the reader in the course of this study, both by way of explicit statement and conclusion and by inference and implication. Insofar as *Aqht* is the measure, one can state categorically that the origins of the mythological and literary traditions we call 'Ugaritic' lie in northern Canaan and Transjordania (Bashan/Golan) and not in northern Syria. In fact, it is not unlikely – though this problem must be investigated separately and in depth – that the language we call '(literary) Ugaritic' was that spoken in Ashtaroth and Edrei around 1500 B.C.E., viz., a basic Canaanite (characterized, *e.g.*, by 'Barth's Law'[23]) streaked with '(proto-) Aramaic' highlights: the retention of (accented) long *-ā*;[24] the use of *ḏ/d* as *nota genitiva*; possibly also the use of Š- rather than H-causative and the shift of **ḏ* to *d*.[25]

2. AQHT and the Hebrew Bible

Of the three major poetic works preserved in Ugaritic – *Baal-Mot* (1.4–1.6); *Krt* (1.14–1.16); *Aqht* (1.17–1.19) – it is the latter which reveals the closest affinity with the literary corpus of the O.T. This affinity, whose detailed expressions we have noted in the course of this

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[23] Cf. A. F. Rainey, UF 3 (1973): 164: "... the presence of the fully effective system expounded by Barth (ZDMG 48 (1894): 1–24] is perhaps the most striking grammatical feature that the [Ugaritic language] shares with Hebrew...". And shortly thereafter: "... true glosses [in the EA letters] reveal that Barth's law was in force".

[24] Note the West-Semitic ruler of Ashtaroth in the Amarna period named Ayyabu (i.e., [ayyābu]), corresponding to 'Canaanite' *Ayyūbu (> Heb. *ʾIyyôḇ*); even the unreduced diphthong [ayy-] is perfect Ugaritic (cf. UT § 5.18; BGUL § 38.32)! Similarly noteworthy is the spelling *Āpum* (= Damascus) in the Egyptian Execration texts, and the occasional *Ā-pi* (alongside the more common *Ūpe*) in the Amarna letters (cf. W. F. Albright, BASOR 83 [1941]: 35; W. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (Scholars Press, 1987): 35–61. For further discussion of the 'Canaanite shift', cf. EXCURSUS, immediately below.

[25] The reason for the hedging on the Š-causative and the shift of */ḏ/* to */d/* is that neither is characteristic of Old-Aramaic.

study, is probably related to the nearly certain fact that it alone was known in one form or another to the Israelites of the Iron Age. Support if not proof of this contention is provided by the explicit allusions to the hero Dan'el in the *Ezekiel* (ch. 14) and, later still, in the Apocryphal *Enoch*.[26]

But the most striking similarities between *Aqht* and the O.T. are to be found at the opposite end of the literary-historical spectrum, viz., the historiography of the 'patriarchal era'. Again disregarding the by-now well-known particulars, one cannot but be impressed by the common leitmotifs: a 'family history' unfolding in the land of Canaan (on both sides of the Jordan!),[27] in a virtually idyllic atmosphere without any major events of world-history impinging on the consciousness of the personalities as they go about their daily business. In both *Aqht* and the 'patriarchal narratives', men and god(s), though living apart, interact and communicate freely: both Abraham and Dan'el have only to raise their heads towards heaven to establish immediate contact.

To the theological plane belongs what many may consider the most significant similarity of all: the conservative tradition-complexes represented by 'E' and 'P' know nothing of Yahwism in the Patriarchal era. As both Alt and (especially) Cross have shown, the 'god-of-the-fathers' is El; and his cult is centered, appropriately enough, at Ephraimite 'Beth-El'. But given what we know today of Jeroboam's putative 'reforms' in the 10th cent., more 'restorative' than 'reformative' in nature,[28] and the remarkable testimony of Ju. 18:30, we can be certain that the bull-cult of Ephraimite Bethel was duplicated in the pre-monarchic period (Amarna?) at Galilean Dan-Laish. It is precisely here at Dan – which the unique and much-discussed Gen. 14 places within the patriarchal ambience – that the mythological and literary traditions of Ugarit and the 'patriarchal narratives' of Genesis converge and intersect. It is at this centre of El-worship, whose origins, to judge by the archaeological evidence, go back at least to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age,[29] that we may identify the channel through which ancient Canaanite lore and literature such as the story of *Aqht* reached the Israelites who integrated them creatively and imaginatively into their own works and traditions.

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[26] Cf. already Sh. Spiegel, in: *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1945): 307–18; 336–41. Contrast H. H. P. Dressler, VT 29 (1979): 152–61, and my reply in VT 30 (1980): 361–65. (The non-mention of Ez. 28 in this connection is deliberate.)

[27] Cf. above, note 1.

[28] Cf. S. Talmon, VT 8 (1958): 48–58.

[29] Cf. A. Biran, BA 43 (1980): 168–82.

To this 'creative integration' should be attributed what in my opinion is the principal difference between *Aqht* and the 'patriarchal narratives': a difference of ideological *Tendenz*. The story of *Aqht* as we know it is totally devoid of political and nationalistic motives. It is, rather, as we have seen, an incisive social and religious critique of contemporary 'Raphaite' society in the early LB age, a critique cleverly and artistically camouflaged as 'history'. *Aqht* is a consciously fictionalized account of a society ruled by an effete military aristocracy devoted to the cult of a murderous and capricious goddess who is the villain of the story. The author's aim is, so to speak, 'prophetic': with his/her own eyes on the future, (s)he would open up the eyes of contemporary Raphaite society in order to bring about a change-of-course. For this would-be reformer with the prophetic élan, Raphaite society has become suicidal, vainly sacrificing its youth for the sake of posthumous glory; and those who survive are, for all practical purposes, eunuchs.

None of this can be said of the 'patriarchal narratives' in their present form. These narratives are overtly political in their motivation and uncritically apologetic, providing as they do a divine charter of legitimation for the past and the present, viz., the conquest and settlement of the 'Promised Land' and the Davidic dynasty of Jerusalem.

Excursus XX: The Linguistic Classification of Ugaritic (with special reference to the problem of (accented) $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$)

1. Z. S. Harris[1] considered Ugaritic unequivocally "a Canaanite language" which "clearly shared the general history of the Canaanite division [from Proto-Semitic]". The divergences from the later Canaanite dialects – e. g., the absence of (accented) $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ and the Š-causative shared with East Semitic – were explained as due, in part, "to dialectical developments peculiar to Ugaritic", in part as evidence of "early common Canaanite forms which had been lost by the time of the [later] inscriptions from the other dialects".

2. This position was challeneged (*i. a.*) by J. Friedrich[2] who emphasized the deviations of Ugaritic from the normative Canaanite model, especially the retention of $*\bar{a}$ and the phonetic shift of PS $*\underline{d}$ to *d*. Friedrich sets great store by the former datum because the shift of $*\bar{a}$ to $\bar{o}$ is already attested for Canaan in the 15th cent. Amarna glosses, more or less contemporary with the literary texts of Ugarit. By labelling Ugaritic 'Canaanite', Friedrich argues, we are left without valid criteria

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[1] *Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An investigation in lingusitic history* (AOS 16; New Haven, 1939): 10 f.

[2] *Scientia* 84 (1949): 220 – 23.

for distinguishing 'Canaanite' from 'Aramaic' (or 'proto-Aramaic') prior to ca. 1400 B.C.E. For Friedrich, the linguistic usage of the term 'Canaanite' is valid only with reference to, and contradistinction from, Aramaic.

The necessary conclusion, says Friedrich, is that in the mid-second millennium B.C.E. there is as yet no 'Canaanite' language; the use of the label Canaanite' for this period is an anachronism. We must rather assume a uniform 'Westsemitic', characterized by "eine ganze Anzahl Dialekte ... die noch nicht durch scharf kennzeichnende Merkmale als kanaanäische charakterisiert waren".[3]

3. A decade later, in a lengthy and detailed exposition entitled "Die Sprache der semitischen Texte Ugarits und ihre Stellung innerhalb des Semitischen",[4] H. Goeseke will return to Harris' view of Ugaritic as "ein altkanaanäischer Dialekt". The NWS isoglosses in Ugaritic, Goeseke argues, are overwhelmingly 'Canaanite' in character: initial *w* becoming *y*; */ḏ/ > /ṣ/; plural ending *-m*; the conjugations of the *prima-n* and *prima-y* verbs respectively; the idiosyncratic conjugations of $\sqrt{lqḥ}$ and $\sqrt{hlk}$ in the G-stem; the *polēl* (L) conjugation with hollow/geminate verbs; and the use of locative *-h* are but some of the traits which serve as evidence for this conclusion. As for the contrary evidence of *$\bar{a}$ and *$\underline{d} > d$, Goeseke would explain the former in terms of a chronologically and geographically variable process of diffusion, the latter as an independent development in Ugaritic.

4. The historical origins of the 'Canaanite shift' ($\bar{a} > \bar{o}$) were discussed by I. J. Gelb in his classic (albeit pre-Ebla) "Early History of the West Semitic Peoples".[5] Gelb draws the following picture: the existence of a 'Canaanite language', with its characteristic sound-shift, is clearly attested by the beginning of the 15th cent. B.C.E., at which time it is the native language of Palestine and of the Phoenician coast as far north as Byblos. It contrasts with the contemporaneous West-Semitic languages spoken in North-Syria and Mesopotamia, viz., 'Amorite', Ugaritic, and the early-Aramaic of the semi-nomadic Aḫlameans and Aramaeans roaming the steppelands between Syria and Mesopotamia.

Gelb has little to say directly on Ugaritic, which he considers to be an independent, non-Canaanite language, in sympathy with the well-known views of A. Goetze. But he does speak of Ugaritic as "a small coastal enclave" sandwiched between 'Canaanite' to the south and

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

[4] *Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle*, vol. VII/3 (1958): 623–52.

[5] JCS 15 (1961): 27–47. Cf. also his subsequent "Thoughts about Ebla...", SMS 1/1 (1977): 3–29.

'Amorite' (= Alalaḫ) to the north and east. The etiogenesis of this 'enclave' remains unexplained in Gelb's historical reconstruction.

5. The eminent Semitist F. M. Th. Böhl wrote nearly eighty years ago:[6] "Am interessantesten auf dem Gebiet des Vokalismus der Amarnabriefe ist ... die Frage, ob und wie sich bereits hier der ... Lautübergang von *ā* in *ō* findet..." After discussing the relevant data from the glosses he observes: "Die weitaus meisten dieser Formen finden sich bei Abdi-ḫepa von Jerusalem [EA] 285–290 (also im Süden)." In fact, if all the known EA illustrations of the 'Canaanite shift' are plotted on a map, it is easily seen that, disregarding the Phoenician coast, the phenomenon is unattested north of the Esdraelon Valley in Cisjordan and north of the Yarmuk in Transjordan. It is conspicuously absent from the relatively abundant correspondence from Hazor, Ashtaroth, and Damascus.[7]

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[6] *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (*Leipziger Sem. Studien* V/2 [1909/1968]): 25 f.

[7] Gelb (JCS 15:43 f.) considers GN Hazor (O. T. *Ḥāṣôr*, Akk. (Mari) *Ḫaṣūra*) as illustrating the Canaanite shift as early as the 18th cent. B.C. However, it is equally likely that the name reflects a **qatūl* rather than a **qatāl* formation. Cf. already A. Malamat, in: J. A. Sanders, ed., *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century* (1970): 174, n. 14.

Appendix

The Principles of Ugaritic Prosody[1]

1. Definition of terms.

1.1 The Verse-unit

1.1.1 The verse-unit is the smallest structural entity of Ugaritic prosody and the basic component of the verse.

1.1.2 It is mostly co-extensive with the individual vocable or lexeme.

1.1.3 The number of verse-units in a verse (or verse-line) constitutes the 'valence' of the verse(-line) for purposes of scansion.

1.2 The Verse-line

1.2.1 The verse-line, or stich(os), designates the portion (or segment) of the verse either before or after the principal caesura; and in the case of a single-lined verse (monostich) is co-extensive with it.

1.2.2 Like the verse-unit, the verse-line is a component element rather than an independent prosodic structure.

1.2.3 The first line of a verse is its 'A-line'; the second its 'B-line' etc.

1.3 The Verse

1.3.1 The verse is the basic structural form which functions as an independent prosodic entity. It is the 'molecule' of Ugaritic poetic structure.

1.3.2 In its most characteristic form the verse consists of two lines divided by a caesura in accordance with conventionalized "patterns".

1.3.2.1 The pattern of the verse is symbolically represented as the numerical sum of the verse-units in the component verse-lines (4 + 3; 3 + 3; 3 + 2 etc.).

1.3.3 The 'valence' of a verse is identical with the total number of verse-units contained by the verse-lines.

1.3.4 In its characteristic, bilinear form the verse is called a distich. The terms 'monostich' and 'tristich' refer to single-lined and trilinear verses respectively.

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[1] Authorized reproduction (with minor alterations) from *A Matter of Life and Death*: A Study of the Baal-Mot Epic (CTA 4 – 5 – 6) [AOAT 206; Verlag Butzon & Bercker, Kevelaer, Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1980]: 219 – 28.

1.4 The Strophe

1.4.1 The term 'strophe' denotes a conventionally structured sequence of verses in indeterminate quantity ordered in accordance with conventional rules.

1.4.2 The verses of a strophe may be divided into three formal groups:

1.4.2.1 Strophe-opening verses.

1.4.2.2 Strophe-terminative verses.

1.4.2.3 'Torso' verses, consisting of all the verses between the strophe-opening and strophe-terminative verses.

1.4.3 The basic, or typical, verse pattern exhibited by the individual torso verses represents the strophic 'theme'.

1.4.4 The formal indicators of strophic opening and closing are principally two: 'hypercatalexis' and 'brachycatalexis'.

1.4.4.1 The term 'hypercatalexis' ('accretion') refers to the phenomenon whereby a verse-unit or verse-line is added to a verse in accordance with the latter's strophic function. Thus a (4 + 3) distich represents, in addition to a verse-pattern in its own right, a hypercatalectic variation on a (3 + 3) pattern whenever the latter constitutes the strophic theme. Similarly, the (3 + 3) vis-à-vis the (3 + 2) and the (4 + 4) vis-à-vis the (4 + 3).

1.4.4.2 The term 'hypercatalexis' can also refer to the deliberate transformation of a distich into a tristich for strophe-functional purposes. In fact, most tristichic verses are hypercatalectic variations of distichic verses, just as the monostich is mostly attested as a 'brachycatalectic' variation of the distich.

1.4.4.2 The term 'brachycatalexis' ('diminution') designates the converse phenomenon, viz., the diminution of a distich either by the subtraction of a single verse-unit from the total, or the transformation of the distich into a monostichic verse.

1.5 Alliteration

1.5.1 By 'alliteration' is meant the repetition of one or more consonants within a specific structural framework (verse-line, verse, or strophe) with a frequency significantly higher than the other, non-alliterating consonants; or than can be accounted for by mere random possibility.

1.5.2 'Partial alliteration' refers to the repetition under similar circumstances as above of phonetically close ('allophonic') consonants (*p*/*b*, *d*/*t*, *š*/*ṯ*, *ʿ*/*ġ*, *q*/*k*, *ḥ*/*ḫ* etc.).

1.5.3 An 'alliterative sequence' involves the repetition of two or more consonants either in direct or (variously) inverted order, either within the individual word-boundary or outside it.

1.6 Linkage

1.61. The term 'linkage' is used to denote the phenomenon whereby verses or verse-lines, more rarely strophes, are linked together.

1.6.2 Where the linkage is effected on the 'rhythmic' level (i.e., involving verse-units and patterning), the rhythm pattern(s) of one structural entity will be found to complement that/those of another entity in immediate succession. When the structural entity affected is the verse, the result is 'counterpointing'. When the linkage involves strophes, the result is the 'multi-strophic unit'.
1.6.3 Linkage produced via alliteration has no effect on the structure of the entities linked. It entails the establishing of a consonantal sequence, one of whose repetitions involves the final consonant(s) of one structural entity and the opening letter(s) of the next.

2. The Rules of Scansion

2.1 By the term 'scansion' is meant the process of determining the number of verse-units ('valence') per line and verse.

2.2 The principal rule of Ugaritic scansion is that each vocable or lexeme counts as an independent verse-unit unless otherwise indicated.

2.3 Those words which are not reckoned as independent verse-units fall into two classes: subunital and double-unit.
2.3.1 The subunital words are characterized mostly by two features:
2.3.1.1 They are of relatively small size, usually monosyllabic, at most disyllabic.
2.3.1.2 They are usually particles or prepositions.
2.3.2 The subunitals are words such as *al* "surely (not)", *ap* "even", *bl* "not", *bn* "between", *hm* "if; lo!", *kl* "all", *km* "like", *lm* "to, from, for", *ʿd* "until", *ʿl* "upon", and *ʿm* "with".
2.3.2.1 Not included in the subunit class, and seeming exceptions to the rule, are the particles/prepositions *bm* "in", *ht* "now", *my* "who", *mk* "lo!", *mn* "how many", and *tm* "there". All these words are independent verse-units.
2.3.2.2 A very small number of such words appear to be polyvalent, depending on whether they are followed by short (generally monosyllabic) or normal-to-large sized words: examples are the relative pronoun *dt* "which", *hl* "now", and *in* "(there) isn't".
2.3.3 Monosyllabic (with case ending, disyllabic) substantives are normally independent verse-units. However, when two such words enter a construct (or similarly 'bound') relationship, the resultant valence of the phrase is '1' rather than '2'. Examples: *ǵlm il* 'squire of El'; *imr dbḥ* 'lamb of sacrifice'; *ǵr bʿl* 'mountain of Baal'; *ʿmr ʾun* 'straw of lament'.
2.3.3.1 Occasionally, one of the words in question is disyllabic (with case ending, trisyllabic): e.g. *qṣ mri* "a slice/breast of fatling"[2]; *mt rpi*

"Raphaite gent";[2] *lpʿn il* "at the foot of El";[3] and *lbmt ʿr* "on the back of the jackass".[3] Non-construct examples are *aqht ġzr* "Lad-Aqht" and *tlṯ id* "three-fold". All these constructions are, as observed, of single-unit valence.

2.3.3.2 It is important to note that the verse-unit valence of a construct phrase which does not contain at least one monosyllabic word is a normal '2'.

2.3.4 The class of words whose valence is '2' divides into two groups:

2.3.4.1 Words of above-normal length, involving (with case-ending) not less than six syllables. Examples are *lmšknthm* 'to their habitations'; *lmṯbtkm* 'to your seats'; *wtkbdnh* 'and she pays him respects' (D formation). This is a very small class and does not ordinarily include words of the **yqtlnn/yqtlnh*, or even **wyqtlnh*, types where the verbal element is the G formation (unless the suffixed element *-nn* is written separately).[4]

2.3.4.2 The second subgroup, somewhat larger than the first, pertains to phrases of three words whose total valence is '2'. Here we can distinguish three types:

2.3.4.2.1 a double construct phrase: e.g., *ṯpṯ, qṣr. npš* "the case of the short of breath", *npš. lbim. thw* "the soul/appetite of a lion of the wilderness".

2.3.4.2.2 a compound binomial name, or a name + sterotyped epithet, in construct, e.g., *lkḫṯ. aliyn. bʿl* 'to the throne of Puissant-Baal'; *rbt aṯrt ym* 'Lady-Asherah-of-the-Sea' (in effect a trinomial).

2.3.4.2.3 a trinomial name or epithet: e.g., *hyn dḫrš yd* "*Hyn* the (iron-)smith"; *lmrrt. tġll. bnr* "to (place-name) M-T-B."

3. The Verse

3.1 The verse is to poetry what the sentence is to prose. It is at once a grammatical and a prosodic entity.

3.2 Like the sentence, the verse contains (mostly) a complete self-subsistent thought whose punctuation is usually a period, occasionally a semi-colon. The segments of the verse comprise subordinate or (more often) independent clauses to be punctuated with a comma.

3.3 The break(s) in a verse (if any) is/are accordingly congruent with the syntactic pause(s). On rare occasions the caesura alone produces the pause. But no caesura, whether primary or secondary, can ever run counter to the syntactic pause.

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[2] The final *aleph* may however be quiescent, yielding thereby a word that is disyllabic, *including* case ending.

[3] If the nomen regens of this phrase is without case-ending, then the word is disyllabic *in toto*.

[4] The case of **wyqtlnn* (G) or **yšqtlnn* (Š) is not clear (*pace* UF 7, 295).

3.4 The basic verse-type is the distich. The monostich and the tristich are usually structural variations on the distich employed for strophe-functional purposes, viz., as hyper- and brachycatalectic openings and/or terminations.

3.5 The high degree of conventionalization characteristic of Ugaritic poetry shows itself in the structuring and patterning of the individual verse, especially the distich. This has three main aspects.
3.5.1 The restriction of the total number of verse-units per line and verse. With hardly an exception, the length of individual verse-lines varies between two and four units, and the unit-totals per verse between three and twelve. The overwhelming majority of distich verses contains between five and seven units; of tristich verses, between six and ten.
3.5.2 The numerical relationship between the individual verse-lines. In any given distich one can generally assume that the A-line will either contain the same number of units as the B-line, or that it will exceed it by not more than one unit. This relationship can be represented as the formula [A − B = 0/1].
2.5.3 The total number of verse patterns, which is very small. The most frequent is the so-called "Doppeldreier" (3 + 3), followed by the (4 + 3) and the (3 + 2). The (4 + 4) is quite rare, and the (2 + 2) rarer still. In fact, alone of all the conventional verse-patterns, the latter is never found as a strophic theme.

3.6 The rules posited in the three preceding paragraphs do not apply under conditions of 'counterpointing'.
3.6.1 The use of counterpointing is indicated by the seemingly chaotic patterning and/or sequence of the individual verses.
3.6.2 It represents the counterposing of form and content, and the creation of a tension between the verse as grammatical-notional and prosodic entities respectively.
3.6.3 Its usage is never restricted to a single verse but applies to most, if not all, of the verses in a given strophic unit. In fact a minimum of two (distichic) verses is involved in any attempt at counterpointing.
3.6.4 Although extremely artful, counterpointing is a device used very sparingly.

3.7 Every distichic pattern has one or more corresponding tristichic variations. The (3 + 3 + 3) pattern is the most common tristichic version of the double-three. But the triple-two (2 + 2 + 2) is not unknown, especially as a free substitution for the double-three distich in the torso portion of the strophe. The (4 + 3) occurs in tristichic form both as (4 + 3 + 3) and as (4 + 3 + 2). The standard tristichic expansion of the (3 + 2) is the (3 + 2 + 2).

3.8 The monostich occurs mostly, in fact nearly always, either at the beginning or at the conclusion of a strophic unit. It is generally devoid either of caesura or of thought-parallelism. But these may be found on occasion, especially when the unit count is '4'. Structurally and prosodically viewed, such a parallelism is secondary, and corresponds to the secondary caesura occasionally encountered in the distich (the so-called 'inner-parallelism').
3.8.1 The symbolic representation of such secondary or internal parallelism is via the colon sign. The symbol 4(2:2) denotes accordingly a verse-line (or monostichic verse) whose scansion is '4' with a secondary division after the second unit.

4. The Strophe

4.1 The strophe is the 'highest' and most developed structure of Ugaritic poetry. The narrative poetry of Ugaritic is essentially a chain-like succession of strophic units.

4.2 The strophe is at once a rhythmic/prosodic and literary unit and unity. The regularity of Ugaritic metre is strophically predicated.
4.2.1 The contours of the strophe are delineated by formal prosodic indicators, viz., hyper- and brachycatalexis (cf. *supra*, § 1.4.4). Between the strophe-opening and strophe-closing verses only 'stylistic' variations are possible: *e. g.*, the substitution of a (2 + 2 + 2) for a (3 + 3), or of a (3 + 2 + 2) for a (4 + 3). Subject to the exception that is counterpointing, the *verse-unit totals or valences of each of the torso verses must be identical.*
4.2.2 The strophe is also a literary unity. Strophic divisions, with nary an exception, correspond to clearly discernible breaks in the narrative (assuming one has properly interpreted the text ...): *E. g.*, the transition from dialogue to third-person narrative and vice versa; the transition from one speaker to another; a change in the mise-en-scène, etc.

4.3 The strophe themes correspond formally to the principal (distichic) verse patterns: 3 + 3; 3 + 2; 4 + 3 etc. However, the variations in the execution of the strophe are much more elaborate and intricate than the variations on the verse level.
4.3.1 *E. g.*: a strophe whose theme is 3 + 3 may have any one (and more!) of the following structures:
4.3.1.1 opening monostichic '3' and closing brachycatalectic 3 + 2: 3; 3 + 3; ...[5]; 3 + 2.
4.3.1.2 opening monostichic '3' and closing tristichic 3 + 3 + 3: 3; 3 + 3; ...[5]; 3 + 3 + 3.
4.3.1.3 opening monostichic '3' with optional '3' or '4' monostichic closure; 3; 3 + 3; ...[5]; 3/4.

4.3.1.4 opening monostichic '3' and closing tristichic 3 + 2 + 2: 3; 3 + 3; ...[5]; 3 + 2 + 2.
4.3.2 The foregoing examples involve no change in the strophic opening. However, the latter is also subject to variation: a hypercatalectic 4 + 3 and a tristichic 3 + 3 + 3 are the most common possibilities.
4.3.2.1 Additional variety may be achieved in the torso via 'stylistic substitution' (*supra*, § 4.2.1).
4.3.3 In the event of counterpointing, the mathematical possibilities become astronomically high.
4.3.3.1 *E. g.*: the strophic verse sequence 4; 3 + 2; 2 + 2 + 2; 3 + 4 is a counterpointed variation on a (3 + 3) theme, the normative model of which is *4 + 3; 2 + 2 + 2; 3 + 2; 4; i. e., an opening hypercatalectic '7', a basic 3 + 3 torso, and a 'double-closure' (cf. *infra*, § 4.5.2.) utilising a brachycatalectic '5' and monostichic '4'. (Be it noted that the double-closure contains a verse-unit total of nine, identical with that of the standard tristichic (3 + 3 + 3) closure of a strophe whose theme is 3 + 3).

4.4 Another very important means of variegation is the alternation of short and long strophes, a means inherent in the fact that the strophes contain undefined numbers of verses.
4.4.1 The minimum length of a strophic unit is three verse-lines or equivalent: 3 + 3 + 3; 4 + 4 + 4; etc., in fact all the possibilities of tristichic verse structuring (with the possible exception of the 2 + 2 + 2). The use of a tristichic verse as an independent strophe is called a 'verse-strophe'.
4.4.2 Although there does not appear to be a defined upper limit on the number of verses per strophe, the majority of strophes vary between three and seven verses.

4.5 Still another device which is conducive to strophic variation is the occasional use of two opening and/or closing devices at one and the same time.
4.5.1 *E. g.*, the combination of monostich and tristich in opening positions: 3; 3 + 3 + 3; 3 + 3; ... 3.
4.5.2 More common is the 'double closure', viz., the combination of (e. g.) a brachycatalectic distich with a monostich at the end of a strophe: 3; 3 + 3; ...; 3 + 2; 3/4.

4.6 Finally, we should note the potential for variety inherent in the fact that rhythmic unity is predicated of the individual strophe rather than of any larger entity. Strophe A may have a (3 + 3) theme; strophe B a (4 + 3) theme; strophe C a (3 + 2) theme, etc.

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[5] The three dots indicate an indeterminate succession of identical or similar torso verses.

4.6.1 The integration of strophes into a higher rhythmic unity requires further study. Yet there is no doubt that occasionally, the Ugaritic poet creates his succession of strophes so, that as a result one or more strophes – each with a different rhythmic theme – combine to form a multi-strophic unit.

5. Alliteration

5.1 Alliteration in Ugaritic poetry is a conventionalized – as distinct from an idiosyncratic or sporadic – phenomenon.
5.1.1 Similar to (but not identical with) its usage in the medieval Germanic poetries, alliteration in Ugaritic is in accordance with definable rules or principles; and its total absence in a poetic piece is precluded *de jure* and unknown *de facto*. Even more than parallelism (in the Lowthian sense!), alliteration may be seen as a touchstone in determining what is poetry or poetic influence.

5.2 The structural framework of the alliterative process is the verse. There is hardly a distich or tristich in Ugaritic poetry which is not coloured by a distinctive alliterative pattern or scheme.

5.3 An alliterative pattern results from the repetition of one or more consonants – usually two or three – with a frequency (per consonant!) of not less than 12% of the total consonants; and/or the repetition of one or more consonants in adjacent words, frequently (but not necessarily) in initial position; and/or the repetition of a cluster of two or more consonants, either in identical or variously inverted sequence, usually within individual words boundaries but not uncommonly transcending them.
5.3.1 When the alliterative sequence transcends verse or strophic boundaries, it constitutes 'linkage' via alliteration.

5.4 The phrase 'alliterationis causa', or 'alliterative exigency' refers to the decisive rôle of the alliterative factor in determining the poet's choice of word(s) or grammatical form(s) wherever he has an option.

5.5 The exigencies of alliteration and prosodic structure ('metrics') are assumed to be the two most important factors determining the form of Ugaritic poetry.
5.5.1 Methodologically, 'metre' and 'alliteration' complement each other as criteria for determining correct stichometries – i. e., the division into verse and verse-lines – as well as for determining the suitability of proposals for both restoration and emendation.

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Hebrew Words

אוֹב	"ghost; spirit-of-the-dead" 269
אוֹרוֹת	"'sicanniae'" (Ug. *ur*) 396
√אִיל	"(be) strong" (> *'ēlôn/'allon* "Oak") 414
√בָּרַךְ	"bless (D)" (< 'be abundant' [G]) 377
גֵּיא	"valley" (Aram. חוּלְתָּא) 304
√דָּהַם	"(be) shock(ed); come-to-grief" (< 'black') 228
√הָרָה	"impregnate (H)" 373
√חָלָה I	"(be) weak; ill" 393
√חָלָה II	"entreat; pray" (< 'sweet(en)') 494
חֲלִיפָה	"(suit of) clothes" 240
כַּד	"jug; (a dry/liquid measure)" 209 f.
כֶּרֶךְ	(MHeb. < Aram.) "city" (> '(Kh.) Kērak') 327
√לָאָה	"overwhelm; (over-)burden; (>) tire" 397
מַד	"(fitted) livery (of soldiers)" 456
מַלְקוֹשׁ	"late (winter) rains" 371
מְעִיל	"overcoat (of soldiers)" 456
נָוֶה	"grazing-land; meadow" (Akk. *nawûm*) 295, 417
√נָחַת	"lower" 180
√נָסַע	"travel" (< 'pull-up (stakes)') 414
נִקְפָּה	"(funerary) belt" 383
√פָּלַל	"plead (a case); pray" 393
פָּנִים	"face" 174
√צָבָה	"swell" 325
√צָעַן	"wander about (like a nomad)" (> 'Zigeuner') 415
צָפוֹן	"north; (<) Hermon (Mt.)" 474
קָרֵחַ	"bald" 181
רוּחַ	(MHeb.) "demon" 272
√רָפָא	"repair; heal" (≠ √שָׁבַר) 253

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Ugaritic Words

'a, i, u

√*'bn*: 'be culpable; guilty' 213
√*'gr*: 'hire' 457
√*'nš*: I 'befriend'; II 'see, perceive'; III 'be manly' 322
√'nṯ*: 'be weak'; *tinṯt* 'womankind' 310
abyn: 'indifferent-one' (epithet of El) 267
abl(m): 'meadowland' 416 f.
adr(m): 'great-one(s); best' 293
aḫ: 'meadowland' 417
ay: 'indeed, truly' 399
aymr: = *ay* + √*mr(r)* 'Sure-Driver' 399
aklt: 'grazing-land; steppe' 389
amd: 'end-of-time' 428
anš: 'with' (prep.); < √*'nš* 'accompany; companion' 401
apʿ: 'viper' 350, 353
arṣ: 'Netherworld' 272
aṯr: 'place (of deceased ancestor; of *mrzḥ*) 273
ilib: 'defunct, disembodied ghost' 270
ilnm (var. *ilnym*): 'divine/divinized beings' 348
iṯl: 'a plant in bud'(?) 342 f.
u(n): precative particle 371
uḫryt (√*'ḫr*): '(anatomic) posterior; rump' 315
umt: I 'mother' (var. *um*); II 'nurse-maid' (√*'mn*) 450
un (< √*'ny*): 'lament' 370

B

bbt: 'district (of Netherworld)' 350
*√*bhm*: 'stay behind; remain'; *bhm* (nom.) '(mortal) remains' 408
√*bkm*: 'be silent' 360
*√*bṣq*: 'be calloused'; *bṣql*: 'corn-in-the-husk' 389 ff.
√*brd*: 'serve, present' 209 f.
√*brk*: 'bless' (< 'multiply'?) 448
√*bšr*: 'bring good-news' 387
bt. mnt: 'House of Fate' (in Netherworld) 351

G

*gb'l [restored]: 'bud' 222
gdrt: '(stone-)wall' 350, 353
gml: 'curvature; (moon-)crescent' 286
gpn (< √g(w)p): 'saddle-seat' 360
gpr: 'hole, pit; grave'; gprm 'chthonics' 348, 353
√g(w)r: 'abide; reside (as alien)' 428
grgr (< √grr): 'drag-stick' 431

D, Ḏ

*dgg(m) [restored]: 'weapon(s)' 360
dkrt: 'barrel (of wine)' 178
dǵt: 'incense' (Anat. LW) 446
√d(w)ṯ: 'thresh' 322
ḏmr: 'guardian' soldier' 273
√ḏrq: 'excrete' 205

H, Ḥ, Ḫ

hwt (√hwy): 'speech, utterance' < 'exhalation, ventilation' 190
hmry (√hmr): 'Wet-Hole' ('city' of Netherworld) 350
√hrr: 'impregnate, inseminate' > 'produce rain'; hrnmy (= √hrr + my) 'Rainmaker' (Baal) 172, 259
√ḫbl: 'swell up' 179
ḫbš: 'girdle, belt, pouch' (< 'bind, confine') 340 f.
√ḫwy (II): 'dispossess (forcibly)' 230, 335
ḥmdrt: 'dry(-field)' (Akk. LW) 388
√ḥmṯ: 'rise up; loom' 353
ḥrṯ (< *ḥrḏ): 316
ḥrr (zt): '(olive-)pit' 351
√ḥsp: 'draw out; extract' 365
ḥtk: 'caretaker, host(ess), father (active); scion, offspring (passive)' 469
ḫḫ: 'thorn' 306
ḫṭ: 'staff, sceptre; penial erection (euph.)' 350
√ḫṭ': 'be wayward' (Š: 'disturb') 234
√ḫld: 'rest, abide' 176
*√ḫlp: 'pass through; pierce, sow, braid'; mḫlpt '(hair-)braid(s)'; ḫlpn 'lance, dagger' 240
√ḫsp: 'droop' 358
ḫr(t): 'hole(s); pit(s)'; ḫrn 'excavation equipment' (?) 353, 432

Ṯ, Ẓ

√ṯbq: 'counter, refute' 274
√ẓ'y: 'stink' 239
ẓl(m): 'shade; ghost' 348, 353

Y

√*ybb* (?): 'wail' 233
ybl: 'stream, rivulet' 244
√*ydy*: 'scratch, lacerate' 441
√*y(y)l*: 'wish (someone) ill' 427
yǵl(m): '(underground-)bulb(s)' 394
√*yqẓ*: 'thrash' 233
√*yqǵ*: 'alert, awake' 203
yr: hypostasis of Rainmaker – Baal 259, 363 f., 373
√*yrd*: I 'descend'; II 'approach' 444
√*ytk*: 'flow; pour out (intrans.)' 226

K

kdd: 'child(?); darling(?)' 443
√*kl'*: 'twain' 236
klt: 'bride' 202
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L

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Ṣ

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Q

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Š

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